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The American Catholic Quarterly Review

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Namipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Aftermath of the Scottish Reformation—Rev. George P. Shaw. 372
Bettern, S. J., Rev. F. S.—Cardinal Baronias and the Doomsday Terror of 1000 665
Cardinal Baronias and the Doomsday Terror of 1000—Rev. F. S. Bettern, S. J. 665
Cassidy, B. A., James B.—The Inspiration of James Mary Plunkett 126
Catholic Missions in China—M. F. Valette, LL.D. 29
Catholic Origin of Latvia—A. Palmieri, O. S. A., Ph.D., D. D.. 327
Chadwick, Mary G.—Evangeline in a New Light 276
Chadwick, Mary G.—History in the Making 678
Church and the Abuse of Indulgences in the Middle Ages—Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O. P. 177
Comets as Portents—Herbert F. Wright, Ph.D. 206
Control of Foreign Relations in the United States—Fred B. Hart 439
Courson, Barbara de—The Home Missioners of France 585
Crow, The American—Winifred Wilbur 617
Culdees, The—Rev. George P. Shaw 577
Czecho Slovakia: A Modern Republic—Herbert F. Wright, Ph.D. 91
Darley Dale—Iceland Before and After the Reformation 70

Digitized by Google

YALE LIBRARY

PAGE

Darley Dale—Mediæval Latin Proverbs..... 336
Dreams—Claude C. H. Williamson..... 633
Early Bishops of Iceland—Francesca M. Steele..... 529
Early Catholic Missions in China, Part II—M. F. Valette, LL.D. 414
Early Religious Drama—Claude C. H. Williamson..... 225
Escourt, R.—The Work of Cardinal Gasquet..... 353
Evangeline in a New Light—Mary G. Chadwick..... 276
Fathers of the Society of St. Edmond—M. F. Valette, LL.D... 556
First Printing Press, The—M. F. V..... 669
Four Famous Sons of Ceres—Harriette Wilbur..... 262
Golden Age of English Eloquence—Frank J. Purcell..... 290
Hart, Fred B.—The Control of Foreign Relations of the United States 439
History in the Making—Mary G. Chadwick..... 678
Home Missionaries of France, The—Barbara de Courson..... 585
Iceland Before and After the Reformation—Darley Dale..... 70
Initiation—Rev. T. Slater, S. J..... 476
Inspiration of Joseph Mary Plunkett—James B. Cassidy, B. A.. 126
Insects of Water, Earth and Sky and Hyacinth and Hyacinthus —Harriette Wilbur 484
Is the French Spoken in Quebec a Patois?—Thomas O'Hagan, Ph.D., Litt.D. 343
Jacobi, M. A., J. B.—The Limitations of Realism in Modern Fiction 55
Leahy, E.—Venice 166
Limitations of Realism in Modern Fiction—J. B. Jacobi, M. A. 55
Louismet, O. S. B., Dom S.—A Short Paraphrase of the Canticle of Canticles 600
Lumbreras, O. P. S. T. L., P.—Temporal Goods and Merit.... 429
M. F. V.—The First Printing Press..... 669
Mediæval Latin Proverbs—Darley Dale..... 336
Michael, Rev. G.—The Mission of Catholic Thought..... 657
Mission of Catholic Thought, The—Rev. G. Michael, O. S. B.. 657
Modernism in the Law—Dudley G. Wooten..... 315
O'Connor, R. F.—St. Francis in Literature and Life..... 568
O'Connor, R. F.—Venerable Don Bosco, Part I..... 1
O'Connor, R. F.—Venerable Don Bosco, Part II..... 243
O'Connor, R. F.—Venerable Don Bosco, Part III..... 381
O'Hagan, Ph.D., Litt.D., Thomas—Is the French Spoken in Quebec a Patois? 343
O'Hagan, Ph.D., Litt.D., Thomas—The Poetry and Romance of the Spanish Missions 156
On Progress—Claude C. H. Williamson..... 454
Page From the Past—Herbert F. Wright, Ph.D..... 593

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Palmieri, O. S. A., Ph.D., D. D., A.—The Catholic Origin of Latvia 327
Palmieri, O. S. A., Ph.D., D. D., A.—The Problem of Reunion in Eastern Christendom 467
Philosophy of Social Unrest—Rev. J. A. Schabert..... 653
Plants and Flowers—Harriette Wilbur..... 104
Poetry and Romance of the Spanish Missions, The—Thomas O'Hagan, Ph.D., Litt.D..... 156
Post Reformation Features of English Drinking—E. Von Rycken Wilson 134
Problem of Reunion in Eastern Christendom—A. Palmieri, O. S. A., Ph.D., D. D..... 467
Purcell, Frank J.—The Golden Age of English Eloquence.... 290
Rise and Fall of a Great Metropolis, The—Thomas F. Ryan, S. J., M. A. 302
Ryan, S. J., M. A., Thomas F.—The Rise and Fall of a Great Metropolis 302
Saint Francis in Literature and Life—R. F. O'Connor..... 568
Schabert, Rev. J. A.—The Philosophy of Social Unrest..... 653
Schroeder, O. P., Rev. H. J.—The Church and the Abuses of Indulgences in the Middle Ages..... 177
Shaw, Rev. George P.—The Aftermath of the Scottish Reformation 372
Shaw, Rev. George P.—The Culdees..... 577
Short Paraphrase of the Canticle of Canticles, A—Dom S. Louismet, O. S. B. 600
Slater, S. J., Rev. T.—Initiation..... 476
Steele, Francesca M.—Early Bishops of Iceland..... 529
Temporal Goods and Merit—P. Lumbreras, O. P., S. T., Ph.D. 429
Valette, LL.D., M. F.—Catholic Missions in China..... 29
Valette, LL.D., M. F.—Early Catholic Missions in China.... 414
Valette, LL.D., M. F.—The Fathers of the Society of St. Edmond 556
Valette, LL.D., M. F.—The First Printing Press in America.. 669
Venice—E. Leahy 166
Wilbur, Harriette—Four Famous Sons of Ceres..... 262
Wilbur, Harriette—Insects of Water, Earth and Sky and Hyacinths and Hyacinthus 484
Wilbur, Harriette—Plants and Flowers 104
Wilbur, Winifred—The American Crow 617
Williamson, Claude C. H.—Dreams..... 633
Williamson, Claude C. H.—Early Religion and Drama..... 225
Williamson, Claude C. H.—On Progress..... 454

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Wilson, E. Von Rycken—Post Reformation Features of English Drinking 134
Work of Cardinal Gasquet in the Field of Prereformation History, The—R. Escourt 353
Wooten, LL.D., Dudley G.—Modernism in the Law..... 315
Wright, Ph.D., Herbert F.—Comets as Portents..... 206
Wright, Ph.D., Herbert F.—Czecho Slovakia: A Modern Republic 91
Wright, Ph.D., Herbert F.—Page From the Past..... 593

BOOK REVIEWS FOR 1921.

Apologetica—Rev. James T. Langan, S. J..... 521
Bobby in Movieland—Rev. Francis J. Finn, S. J..... 525
Canon Sheehan's Sermons—Benziger 174
Celestial Circus, The—Cornelia W. McCleary..... 525
Concilium Tridentium—Goerres Society 175
Denys the Dreamer—Katherine Tynan Hinkson..... 525
Dream of Heaven and Other Discoveries, A—Rev. Robert Kane, S. J. 695
Epitome of Priestly Life, An—Canon Arvisnet..... 518
Flame of the Forest—Constance E. Bishop..... 357
Great Penitents—Rev. Hugh Francis Blunt, LL.D..... 700
Hope of the Future, The—Edward E. Eagle..... 522
Institutiones Theologiae—Rev. Gulielmo J. Brosnan, S. J..... 521
Jesuits, The, 1534-1921—Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J..... 695
Jesus Christ, The King of Our Hearts—Very Rev. Alexis M. Lepicier, O. S. M. 520
Loreto—Dr. Georg Hüffer 696
Milltown Pastor, A—Rev. Joseph Conroy, S. J..... 351
Mythology of All Races, The—Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph.D. 522
Potters House, The—Isabel C. Clark..... 525
Rejoice in The Lord—Rev. F. A. Lasance..... 175
Saint Bernardine of Sienna—Don Nazareno Orlandi..... 349
Saint John Berchmanns—Rev. James A. Daly, S. J..... 517
Saint John Berchmanns—Rev. Hippolyte Delahaye, S. J..... 517
Signals From the Bay Tree—Rev. H. S. Spalding, S. J..... 525
Social Mission of Charity, The—William J. Kerby..... 524
Social Organization in Parishes—Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S. J. 350
Son of the Hidalgos, The—Ricardo Leon..... 352
Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas—Fathers of the English Dominican Province 523
Word of God, The—Monsignor Borgondini Duca, D. D..... 519
Writers of Three Centuries—Claude C. H. Williamson..... 699

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

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VEN. DON BOSCO.

I.

ALL the world has heard of Don Bosco and his wonderful work as the apostle of youth, as a social reformer, as the founder of two religious orders, as the organizer of a vast missionary enterprise in both hemispheres, as a benevolent promoter of the interests of the industrial classes and as the creator of a literary propaganda for the dissemination of Catholic truth in the domains of history and polemics. His activities were multiform and wide-reaching in their scope and influence. Few men have wrought more by their individual exertions in their day and generation than this Italian priest. What he did in his lifetime, even if it ended there, would have been much; but more stands to his credit in the record; for his work, in all its phases, is being propagated and perpetuated by the religious bodies and their lay auxiliaries he formed and inspired with his practical and intelligent zeal. He has passed away, after sowing the seed; they are reaping the harvest, and will continue to reap and garner as long as the institutions he founded last, and their traditions along with his spirit survive.

Occasionally articles in magazines or newspapers, some short, but necessarily incomplete biographical sketches in various languages, and the Marquis Crispolti's little work[1] have made his attractive personality and good deeds tolerably familiar to many. But they were only sketches-in-outline. Father John Baptist Lemoyne, a Salesian priest, has given us a complete and finished pen-portrait in

[1] "The Ven. Don Bosco, Founder of the Salesian Society and the Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians." By the Marquis Crispolti. Translated by Walter G. Austen, S. C. Turin, 1918. Salesian Press, Via Cottolengo, 32.

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two bulky volumes.[2] He was exceptionally well qualified to write the standard, authentic and official life of the Ven. Don Bosco, being long and intimately associated with the founder as his secretary. The first volume covers the period between his birth and the complete development of the Oratory of Valdocco, and the second its expansion and that of the numerous works that grew out of it down to his death. The portrait he draws is not drawn for mere effect, an impressionist portrait, *dessiné à grands traits,* but rather a series of pen-pictures full of delicate detail like a Dutch panel, carefully delineated, with touches that show local color and bring out local characteristics in sharp relief. Some may think, after reading the fourteen long chapters detailing his home life and seminary course up to his ordination, that the portrait is somewhat overdrawn, that the details are unnecessarily minute and numerous, that the author labors his subject too much; but if they will suspend their judgment until they reach the conclusion, they will recognize that all these minute details have their proper place and purpose, that they are accessories that come into the picture and serve to make it complete as a portrait of the man and the movement he created and controlled. The narrative, he assures us, is scrupulously conformable to the truth. We can believe it. It is largely autobiographical, for the author had access to memoirs or memoranda written by Don Bosco himself; all his letters, and his correspondence was very voluminous; and, besides, had had confidential conversations with him during their twenty-four years' intercourse. He was full of the subject, nothing had slipped his memory, and in these two volumes he gives us the rich result of his patient researches and of a study which must have been to him a labor of love. He leaves nothing unrecorded. Every fact, every saying, the very dialogues are faithfully reproduced from contemporary notes, which give the narrative a freshness and actuality that make it the more vivid and realistic. He brings the personality of Don Bosco before us "in his habit as he lived"; and it is a personality full of charm. What Boswell was to Dr. Johnson, Don Lemoyne is to Don Bosco; with this difference, that while the great lexicographer and his work have passed into history, Don Bosco and his work still live in his order. *Non omnis moriar,* wrote the pagan poet; the Christian priest might have said the same with a deeper depth of meaning.

The memorable year 1815, which witnessed the ultimate downfall of Napoleon, when Waterloo was fought, lost and won and the vanquished hero of many fateful battlefields was chained in his island

[2] Vita del Ven. Servo di Dio Giovanni Bosco, Fondatore della Pia Societa Salesiana dell Istituto dellefiglie di Maria Ausiliatrice e del Cooperaton Salesiani. 2 vol. Torino Societa Editrice Internazionale, 1920. Nuova Edizione.

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prison like Prometheus to his rock, leaving behind him a record of thrones upset and sceptres broken, witnessed also the birth of Don Dosco, who triumphed over all obstacles in the accomplishment of his great lifework and left an enduring record of a career unselfishly devoted to the Church, humanity and Christian civilization. Napoleon was on his way to St. Helena when John Bosco was born on August 16 of that year in Becchi, a village near Murialdo, in North Italy. The son of Francis Bosco, a small farmer, by his second marriage with Margaret Occhiena, he belonged to the Piedmontese peasantry. As it is the masses, particularly the rural masses, who make the nation, it is the peasantry who have been the mainstay of the Church on the human side, not princes, potentates and aristocracies, who have oftener been a hindrance to its progress. The Italian peasant, Giovanni Bosco, has done more for the Church than any royalty. There is more than a coincidence in this. The Divine Founder of Christianity, who was born in a stable and worked in a carpenter's shop, was sent to preach His Gospel to the poor, and He chose His Apostles from among Galilean fishermen, despised tax-gatherers and tent-makers, people of no social consequence, whom the proud Roman looked down upon with disdain. Don Bosco was born and lived in poverty, not squalid poverty, not actual destitution; but was one of a family of straitened means, who were just able to keep the wolf from the door by thrift and industry. Early inured to work, as a mere child he took his share of field labor and cowherding on his father's little holding.

After the latter's death in 1817, when the care of the farm and the family devoted upon his mother and her stepson. Anthony's continual grumbling at the boy then grown dividing his time between work and reading, he was sent away from home to labor on neighboring farms when he was about thirteen. This hard upbringing soon ripened his mind and strengthened his character and gave him an influence over other boys which he used for their good. He was what is called a manly boy. Strong, robust like most country-bred boys, he was gifted with a marvelous memory. Don Calosso, the priest at Murialdo, whom he called "his guardian angel" and to whom he repeated from memory the two sermons delivered that day at a mission in Becchi in 1826 preparatory to the jubilee promulgated by Leo XIII., took an interest in the lad when he told him that his stepbrother Anthony thought studying was a waste of time and that he should devote his whole time to field work. "And why do you wish to study?" the priest asked. "In order to become a priest," he replied. "And why do you wish to become a priest?" pursued Don Calosso. "In order to instruct the many youths who get into wrongdoing and evil ways because no one is interested in them," he answered. That

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sentence furnishes the key to his whole career. It was his dominant thought from the beginning, was never out of his mind, the germinal idea out of which grew the many beneficent institutions to which it later gave birth. Don Calosso gave him lessons and found him a very apt pupil, but, to his great grief and loss, died in November, 1830. He was his first spiritual guide. "I then began to learn what the spiritual life really was," he notes, "for I had previously acted more like a machine, which works without knowing the reason." At fifteen he attended the public school at Castelnuovo, having to walk to it from Becchi twice daily, as he could not afford to buy a midday meal. This meant trudging ten miles. To spare him this, a tailor named Roberto at Castelnuovo housed him and taught him his own trade and, being choirmaster in the parish church, plain chant; to which he added playing on the violin and harmonium, until he was qualified to act as organist. He also spent some time in the workshop of Savio, an ironworker, and acquired much of the mechanic's craft, and later on, lived with a restaurant-keeper named Pianta, where he became so expert at confectionery that he was offered a partnership in the concern, which he refused. At Chieri he gained some knowledge of shoemaking, which was found serviceable to himself and others. This varied knowledge of crafts, coupled with an inside knowledge of the lives of artisans, was a useful equipment for one who was to be the founder of industrial institutions so beneficial to the working classes; as his earlier practical knowledge of field work and farming fitted him to be the institutor of agricultural colleges and colonies.

When he was being educated at Castelnuovo, the commercial schools were of an eminently Catholic character, in accordance with the ordinances promulgated by King Charles in 1822. There were no mixed schools, and in each was hung the Crucifix, while teaching began and ended with prayer, the first half hour being devoted to catechism. The masters were required to arrange with the parish priest about the children hearing Mass before school, going to confession once a month and assisting at religious functions in the parochial church on feast days. The coördination of religious with secular education was on a par with the admirable system of the Christian Brothers and in sharp and suggestive contrast with the non-denominational or purely secular system of continental schools from which the Crucifix and all that the sacred emblem of our redemption represents have been banned. This training, combined with home education, had its happy effect upon the formation of John Bosco's mind and character. It was a typical Catholic home. He had the advantage of being under the guidance and watchful care of a mother who was a model of Christian motherhood, a

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woman of sound sense and solid piety. She fostered his vocation and impressed upon him high views of the ecclesiastical state, when he early manifested his desire of becoming a priest and often afterward. When he thought of becoming a Franciscan and the parish priest of Castelnuovo advised her to dissuade him, pointing out that he could do much good as a secular priest and at the same time be helpful to her, she said to her son: "I only wish that you should reflect on the step you wish to take, and then follow your vocation without thinking of any one. The first thing is the salvation of your soul. The parish priest would like me to dissuade you from this decision, in view of the need I might have of your help; but I say to you no such consideration enters into these things, because God comes before everything. Don't be uneasy about me. I want nothing from you, I expect nothing from you. I'll be all right; I was born in poverty, I have lived in poverty, I wish to die in poverty. So, I protest to you: if you should decide to become a secular priest and, peradventure, you should become rich, I should not pay you a single visit. Remember that well!" And when he entered the seminary and became a cleric, she said to him: "Giovanni mio, you have put on the ecclesiastical habit; it affords me all the consolation that a mother can find in the fortune of her son. But remember that it is not the habit that honors your state, it is the practice of virtue. If you should ever have doubts of your vocation, ah! for charity's sake, don't dishonor this habit; put it off at once. I would prefer to have a son a poor peasant than a priest neglectful of his duties. When you came into the world I consecrated you to the Blessed Virgin; when you began your studies I recommended to you devotion to her, our Mother; now I recommend you to give yourself wholly to her: love companions devout to Mary, and, when a priest, always recommend and propagate devotion to Mary." Both mother and son were moved as these words were uttered. They came from the heart and went to the heart of the listener. They showed that this humble small farmer's wife had a clearer perception of the spiritual and a better appreciation of the priesthood than many mothers of superior station. She was fit to be the mother of such a son; they were worthy of each other; for he, too, took the same high view of the priestly office. Alluding to some priests difficult of approach, who were somewhat reserved and kept themselves aloof, he said: "If I were a priest I would act differently, I would draw near to boys, call them round me, speak good words to them, give them good advice and devote myself wholly to their eternal salvation." Again: "If I should succeed in becoming a priest, I wish to devote my whole life to youth; they will never see me too grave, but I shall always be the first to

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talk to them." Therein spoke the future apostle of youth. When he was going to the college at Chieri, to his companion Giovanni Filippello, who said, "You will soon become a parish priest," he replied: "Parish priest? Do you know what it means to be a parish priest? Do you know what are his obligations? When he rises from dinner or supper, he ought to reflect, 'I have eaten, but . . . will my flock have had enough to satisfy their hunger?' What he possesses over and above his needs, he ought to give to the poor. And how many other and very grave responsibilities! Ah! dear Filippello, I shall not become a parish priest. I am going to study, because I wish to devote my life to youth."

He began his favorite apostolate very early, as a little boy among boys. It is said that when he was only four years old, he could exercise an influence upon children much older than himself. As he grew older, when cautioned against mixing with undesirable playmates from the neighboring town, he said he did so because while he was with them they behaved better. From accompanying his mother to markets and fairs, frequented by jugglers, he soon learned the conjurers' tricks and gave displays of his skill in sleight-of-hand performances in a field, but, before doing so, got the people to join in the Rosary and to listen to his repetition, from memory, of the substance of that morning's sermon in the village church. He used this and other means of gathering young folk around him. He so astonished the tailor, Thomas Cumino, in whose house he lodged, by his juggleries, that the good man, a fervent Catholic, was much troubled in mind about it. "Men cannot do these things," he said to himself: "God would not lose His time with them; then it is the devil who does it." He almost decided to send Bosco away, but, before doing so, consulted a priest, Don Bertinetti. "Sir," said he, "I have come to you about a serious thing that is on my conscience. I think I have a magician in my house." The affair was referred to Canon Burzio, archpriest and administrator of the Cathedral of Chieri, who examined the boy on the faith and found his answers satisfactory. He was equally satisfied when Bosco gave him some specimens of his sleight-of-hand and explained how he did the trick, and laughingly dismissed him with the remark, "Go and tell all your friends that ignorance is the mother of wonder." Even during his student days he would, when opportunity offered, go through the squares and streets and sometimes into the most quarrelsome quarters to seek out young people and bring them to catechetical instructions. During the vacations he got together about fifty of them, who loved and obeyed him as if he were their father, into a kind of little oratory, many of them ignorant of the truths of faith until he taught them and prepared them for the reception of the Sacraments.

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His family were so poor that priests and parishioners had to provide him with what was needful to form his clerical outfit when he entered the seminary. "I was always in want of everything," his biographer often heard him say. Needless to say, he was in every respect a model seminarist. They called him "the Father," he was so remarked for solidity, sedateness and regularity. By a play upon words it was said that there was in Chieri a very precious wood: *bosco,* in the Piedmontese dialect, signifying wood. Another play upon words, not so complimentary, was made by one of his masters for whom he did farm work and who, finding him so given to reading, asked him the reason why. "Because I am going to be a priest," was the answer. "You a priest!" he said. "And don't you know that you would want nine or ten thousand lire for your studies? Where would you get them? Well," putting his hands on his shoulders, "if you won't be Don Bosco, you'll be Don Boce" (a simpleton or good-for-nothing). One of his early teachers, Don Moglia, had a very poor opinion of the Becchi and did not conceal it. He regarded it as the Beotia of Italy and its inhabitants as asses; told him to give up the study of Latin, that he would not understand it, that he was only fit for gathering mushrooms or bird-nest hunting. But he was soon undeceived and lived to change his mind. Other teachers were of a different opinion; so also were his schoolmates. One of the latter recalled, in 1888, how the servant of God never took any pride out of his gifts, never showed the shadow of affectation or ambition, but that there was something about him extraordinary and supernatural. "From that time he was a saint," he exclaimed with affectionate enthusiasm. Another, after listening to one of his first sermons, delivered before he received holy orders, said: "That cleric ought to succeed in accomplishing something great." He showed remarkable ability in improvising discourses suitable to the occasion at very short notice. During his seminary course, shortened on account of his solid piety and rapid progress in the studies, his growth in holiness owed much to his intimacy with a saintly fellow-student, Luigi Comollo, who died in 1839, before he had completed his twenty-second year, and who appeared to him after his death in a spelndor surpassing noonday light, saying: "Bosco! Bosco! Bosco! I am saved!"

Ordained on June 5, 1841, by Archbishop Luigi Fransoni, he celebrated his first Mass in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, Turin, on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, coincident with the feast of Our Lady of Graces, when the archdiocese commemorated also the Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament. He referred to it as "the most beautiful day of my life. In the memento of that memorable Mass I made devout mention of all my professors and spir-

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itual and temporal benefactors, and particularly of the lamented Don Calosso, whom I have always remembered as my great and signal benefactor. And piously believing that the Lord infallibly grants that favor which the priest asks at his first Mass, I earnestly asked for the power of persuasion *(efficacia della parola)*, to be able to do good to souls. It seems to me that the Lord has heard my humble prayer." His Masses then and ever afterwards were those of a saint. "Many verify what we besides daily experienced," says his biographer; "we have assisted an infinity of times at his Mass, and we were always filled with a lively sense of faith in observing the devotion expressed in his whole demeanor, the exactness with which he followed the sacred ceremonies, his manner of uttering the words and the unction which accompanied the sacred rite. The edifying impression it made could no longer be concealed. Wherever he went, even outside of Italy, to know the hour and place where Don Bosco celebrated, was enough to gather people round his altar. Only to gratify the ardent desire of even once having this great consolation, many made long journeys to Turin; and very often, when he came out from the sacristy to go to the altar of St. Peter, hundreds of devout persons scattered through the church, would leave their places to group round that altar, and when Mass was over, 'He's a saint! he's a saint!' they would continue repeating in a low voice." After saying his second Mass in the Consolata, to thank the Blessed Virgin for the innumerable favors she had obtained for him, he offered the Holy Sacrifice in the Church of St. Dominic at Chieri, at which his old professor, P. Giusiana, who was present, was moved to tears of joy. "I spent the whole of that day with him," he notes, "a heavenly day." At Castelnuovo, where there was a family gathering and great rejoicing, his mother said to him, what he calls "these memorable words": "You are a priest. In saying Mass henceforward you are then nearest to Jesus Christ. Remember, however, that to begin to say Mass means to begin to suffer. You will not realize it at once, but little by little you will see that your mother has told you the truth. I am confident that every day you will pray for me, whether I am living or dead: that is enough for me. Henceforward, think only of the salvation of souls, and don't be troubled in mind about me."

A singular feature of Don Bosco's life was that his special mission and its successive development were foreshown to him in symbolical dreams, or what would be called in Scriptural phrase, "visions of the night." They were not, of course, ordinary dreams. The first of these was in his early boyhood, when he was about nine. He thus relates it: "I seemed to be near home in a yard of large size, in which a multitude of boys were gathered together. They

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were playing and laughing as boys do, and some were using bad language. On catching the sound of these evil words, I hurried at once into their midst, urging them by voice and manner to cease. At that moment a man of august presence appeared. He was in the prime of life, finely clad, and his face seemed to shine so brilliantly that I could not look upon it. He called me by name, and told me to become the leader of the crowd of boys, and said: 'You will not win over these friends of yours by blows, but by gentleness and charity; you must set to work at once to instruct them in the vileness of sin and the excellence of virtue.' In dread and utterly confused, I answered that I was but a poor and ignorant boy. But at that moment the others ceased their noisy games and evil talk, and gathered round the majestic Person who was speaking. Without knowing quite what I was saying, I asked him who he was; to which he replied: 'I am the Son of her whom your mother has taught to salute three times a day.' And then I saw by his side a Lady of majestic bearing, with a shining mantle about her. She looked at me, and signing for me to approach, took me by the hand and said: 'Look!' I turned round and perceived that the boys had all disappeared, and in their place was a herd of animals of various sorts. Then said the Lady: 'This is your field of labor. You must become humble, bold and strong, and what you now see happen to these animals you must do for my children.' I looked about again, and perceived that instead of the wild animals, they had become so many lambs. Then I began to cry, and begged the Lady to speak openly to me, for I could not imagine what it all meant. She placed her hand upon my head and said: 'At the proper time you will understan its full meaning.' When I related this dream the next morning it was the cause of much laughter. Anthony exclaimed sarcastically, 'Perhaps you are to be the captain of the bandits.' Joseph said, 'You are evidently intended for a shepherd.' Our old grandmother remarked in a decided way, 'No notice should be taken of dreams.' Margaret looked at her boy for a time and then said, 'Why should it not mean that you are to become a priest?' "

They called him after that "the dreamer." But Don Bosco, as the sequel proved, was no dreamer, but very wide awake, very much alive, alert and practical, with nothing of the visionary about him or his methods of action.

When he was at school at Castelnuovo he formed an intimate acquaintanceship with a companion named Joseph Turco, who introduced him to his family, the owners of a vineyard. Joseph's father took greatly to him and, knowing his wish to become a priest, would put his hand on his head and say to him: "Have courage, Giovannino, be good and study so that Our Lady will help you." "I have

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put all my confidence in her," he replied, "but always am in uncertainty: I would like to learn Latin and become a priest, and my mother cannot help me." "Don't be afraid, caro Giovanni, you'll see the Lord will smooth the way for you." "I hope so," concluded the poor boy, "but—but—." One day he ran in quite joyful. "What's the matter with you, Giovannino," asked Turco, "that you are so glad, while a short time ago you were so pensive?" "Good news! good news!" exclaimed Bosco, "this night I had a dream in which I saw that I would continue my studies, become a priest and be at the head of many boys whose education would be my occupation for the rest of my life." "But that is only a dream," observed the good Turco, "and there is a great difference between saying and doing." "Oh, the rest is nothing!" confidently answered Giovanni. "Yes, I will become a priest, I will be over many, many boys, to whom I will do good." The next day, after hearing Mass, he visited the Turco family, to whom he repeated his dream, saying that he had seen coming towards him a great Lady leading a very numerous flock who, calling him by his name, said: "Here, Giovannino, all this flock I confide to thy care." "How," he asked, "shall I take care of so many sheep and lambs? Where shall I find the pastures to which to lead them?" The Lady replied, "Fear not, I will help thee," and disappeared. He was then sixteen.

The "sheep and lambs" he was destined to shepherd were the derelict denizens of the Piedmontese capital, the stray waifs who are to be found in every large city. The wretched, abandoned condition of the poor neglected boys in Turin, untaught and uncared for, as they wandered through the streets, lurked in hidden byways or helped to fill the jails, appealed to his compassionate heart and he "took them up into his pity." This was the work reserved for him, his special mission, and it found him ready. Another social reformer had preceded him and led the way. This was the Ven. Cottolengo,[3] a kindred spirit, another servant of God and of the people, who, at their first meeting, studying his features, said: "You look like an honest man; come and work in the Little House of Divine Providence, where you will have plenty to do." Don Bosco, kissing his hand, promised, and after a few days repaired to Valdocco.

Cottolengo's work at that time (1841) was already colossal. Begun in a small way in 1827, it prospered, and then counted eighteen hundred persons of both sexes, orphans, cripples, paralytics, epileptics, weak people unable to work, the ulcerated and the sick, stricken with every malady, gathered from other hospitals because rules

[3] The Ven. Joseph Cottolengo was born in Bra on May 3, 1786, and died in Chieri on April 30, 1842. The Cause of his Beatification was introduced on July 19, 1877.

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hindered their reception, but who were all received gratuitously in the Piccola Casa, treated with the greatest kindness, provided with everything and all the necessary care bestowed on them. Don Bosco, on entering this abode of suffering, read in its motto, *"Charitas Christi urget nos,"* the secret of so many miracles of charity, and, kneeling before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the anteroom, was moved to tears, when the words, *"Infirmus eram et visitastis me,"* inscribed over the entrance, met his gaze. Canon Cottolengo showed him over the large establishment. He saw in the infirmary boys over whom the angel of death already expanded its wings as they lay prostrate, and speaking to them some words of comfort, said to himself: "Oh, how much poor youth need to be forewarned and saved!" When he was leaving, Cottolengo, passing between his fingers the sleeves of the young priest's garment, said: "But your gown is too fine and thin. Get a much stronger one, of closer texture, that the boys may hold on to without tearing it. A time will come when your gown will be plucked by many people." He had hardly returned to the Convitto di S. Francesco, a house for young priests established in Turin in 1818 by Luigi Guala, a zealous and learned ecclesiastic, where he then stopped, when Don Bosco suddenly found himself in the midst of a swarm of little boys who had followed him through the streets and squares and into the very sacristy of the church attached to the institute. He could not then take charge of them for want of a suitable place. But he taught them some catechism, invited them to return and be prepared to receive the Sacraments.

He had already decided to begin some particular work in favor of the poor and derelict and awaited the moments providentially fixed, commending the project to God in persistent and fervent prayers, and taking counsel with Archbishop Fransoni, who gave it his approval. On the 8th of December, 1841, feast of the Immaculate Conception, he felt in his heart a more earnest desire than usual of forming a company of the most needy and destitute youths under the protection of the Blessed Virgin. An apparently casual incident was the immediate occasion. While Don Bosco was vesting, the sacristan, Giuseppe Comotti, seeing a boy there, invited him to come and serve Mass. The lad, protesting that he did not know how, the angry sacristan boxed him. Don Bosco, intervening, made him bring back the boy, who had gone away. The poor boy, trembling and weeping, after the beating he got, returned. "Have you already heard Mass?" Don Bosco inquired. "No," replied the other. "Come, then, and hear it," said the priest; "afterwards I'll have a talk with you which will please you." He felt the liveliest desire to soften the blow and remove the bad impression it may have left upon

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the boy. After his Mass and thanksgiving he received him with a pleasant face and assured him that he need not be afraid of another beating. The boy, Bartolomeo Garelli, was an orphan of sixteen from Asti, who did not know how to read or write and had not made his First Communion. He had been to confession when he was very young, but was ashamed to attend catechism, because smaller boys who knew it were there. Don Bosco undertook to teach him privately, and began that very evening, kneeling and saying an *Ave Maria* before the lesson, because the Madonna had obtained for him the grace of saving that soul: "That fervent *Ave Maria,* joined to a right intention," says his biographer, "was productive of great things!" The poor boy did not know how to make the sign of the Cross until he taught him. Such was the origin of the Oratory, the great fold into which this truly good shepherd of souls was to gather so many human sheep and lambs; to which he refers in his many memoirs and in the relation he sent to Rome in 1864 for the approval of his Pious Society, in which he wrote that "the work of the Oratories" was begun in 1841 "with a simple catechism in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi." Bartolomeo Garelli, Don Lemoyne says, was the foundation stone of the work of the Festive Oratories, and continued to be an affectionate disciple of Don Bosco.

Its beginning bore that hallmark of littleness and lowliness that has invariably been the characteristic of all good and great works inspired by the pure spirit of Christian charity, without any alloy of worldliness, self-seeking or self-glorification. The next Sunday, December 12, 1841, Garelli brought with him six other boys along with two recommended by Don Cafasso. The first reunions were in a room adjoining the sacristy. That winter he devoted his special care to the big boys from iBella and Milan, strangers in Turin, who were most in need of religious instruction; preference being given to those who had been released from prison. He attracted them by readings from interesting books and by teaching them singing, accompanying on the organ or piano sacred canticles composed for the feasts and set to music by himself. By the feast of the Purification, 1842, there were already twenty good singers who made the place resound with the praises of the Madonna, always so near and dear to the hearts of Italians, even those who are in other respects indifferent Catholics. Soon the number rose from twenty to thirty and then to fifty. When he met boys wandering here and there, in the squares or streets, or found them in workshops, he invited them to his catechisms, to which they willingly came; and when he learned that one of his little friends was out of work or with a bad master, he got him employment or a good Catholic master. Not content

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with that he went daily to visit them in their workshops, to their own and their employers' gratification and mutual advantage. They became greatly attached to their benefactor, and when they met him on the street would cry out: "Viva Don Bosco!"

Not less fruitful of good results was his apostolate in the prisons. In the beginning he felt a certain repulsion in entering these humid, unhealthy abodes, where the sad sight of the prisoners and the thought of finding himself in the midst of people stained with every crime, even bloodshedding, greatly disturbed him. He called to mind the words of the Gospel, "I was in prison and you visited me" (Matthew xxv., 36); but that made his sympathetic heart bleed the more, thinking of the poor boys that society was obliged to imprison as a danger to it. Don Bosco in a short time exercised the same irresistible fascination over them by his personal magnetism and transparent sincerity. He gradually got them to realize the dignity of manhood, how reasonable and right it is to earn their daily mread by honest labor and not obtain it by thievery; impressing upon their minds and reviving therein the principles of morality until they felt in their hearts a peace and pleasure of which they knew not the source, but which made them resolve to amend. "In fact," he says, "not a few changed their conduct in the prison itself, and others, on coming out, lived in a way not to deserve reincarceration, and that because they were no longer abandoned."

He did not lack co-operators from the start in his work among boys. One of the most notable of these was Luigi Nasi, then a cleric, later Canon of Corpus Domini, who belonged to a noble family of Turin, and was a celebrated pulpit orator. Desirous of devoting himself to youth collected in institutes, he threw himself ardently into the work begun by Don Bosco, whom he helped with the enthusiasm of a saint. Poet and artist of uncommon merit, he composed for them verses and music, and for several years was their organ accompanist and choirmaster.

The little Oratory progressed wonderfully in 1843, although Don Bosco was somewhat cramped for space. The number of boys increasing and the clamor they made during recreation (and plays were essential to draw them to the instructions) causing a disturbance to the congregaion frequenting the Church of St. Francis, he had to take them elsewhere and to divide them into sections. It was hard to control these lively Italian boys, street-reared and undisciplined, with their mercurial southern temperament; but he did it most effectively. A glance from him was enough to send home the truant who had wandered away from it; to make another with a taste for idleness and vagabondage go to work; while those who had served their term of imprisonment became models to their com-

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panions, and boys who had been wholly ignorant of what concerned the faith were well instructed in it. His sympathetic and penetrating vision saw the good that was in them overlaid by contracted habits more or less superficial. "The young," he says, "who form the most cherished and attractive portion of human society, and in whom are centred all our hopes for a happy future, are by no means intrinsically perverse or inclined to wickedness. Once you have counteracted the carelessness of some parents, the effects of idleness and of evil companions, it becomes the easiest thing imaginable to instill into their young hearts the principles of order, of good behavior, of respect towards others, and to accustom them to the practice of religion; and if you should meet any who are already spoiled at that tender age, it is the result of neglect rather than of downright wickedness. These are the ones who especially need a helping hand; the difficulty lies in finding the means of gathering them together in order to speak to them and control them. This was the mission the Son of God took upon himself; this can be done by His holy religion alone, which is eternal and unchangeable in itself, which was and always will be the teacher of mankind, which contains a doctrine so perfect that it is suited to all times, and adapted to the different characters of all men." That Don Bosco used the right measures and the right method has been evidenced by his signal success. Many have borne testimony to it. Canon Anfossi said: "I myself saw big, unruly lads, who after a few weeks became well-behaved and practical Catholics."

This success was not achieved without difficulties and obstacles. One of the obstacles was raised by himself. The thought of becoming a religious and devoting himself to foreign missions recurred to him, but his spiritual director, Don Cafasso,[4] dissuaded him, saying: "And who henceforward will think of your boys?" "Yes, it is true," he answered; "but if the Lord should call me to the religious state, He will provide that some one else will think of them." Then Cafasso, looking very seriously at him said, with a certain air of paternal solemnity: "My dear Don Bosco, give up any idea of a religious vocation; go and unpack your traveling bag if you have got it ready, and continue your work for boys. This is the will of God and none other!" At these grave words, he bowed his head and smiled, for he had learned what he wished to know. Fearing that the Archbishop might send him as curate to some country parish, and wishful of retaining him in the capital, Don Cafasso spoke to their mutual friend, Don Borel, director of the

[4] The Ven. Joseph Cafasso, master and model of the Subalpine clergy, was born at Castelnuovo d'Asti in 1811 and died in Turin in 1860. The Cause of his Beatification was introduced on May 23, 1906.

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Refuge, through whose intermediary he was appointed chaplain of St. Philomena's Hospital, founded by the Marchioness Barolo. "Endowed as he is with activity and zeal," he said, "he will do great good among youth. He is destined by Providence to become the Apostle of Turin."

The Refuge is one of those providential institutions which Turin fortunately possesses. It is in Valdocco and is the first in order of time of the many charitable foundations of that zealous, active and very pious lady, the noble Marchioness Giulietta Colbert, wife of the Marquis Tancredi Falletti di Barolo. Poor and unfortunate girls who needed a helping hand to uplift them had recourse to her in large numbers and the Marchioness had built for them a retreat capable of accommodating two hundred persons and placed under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Refuge of Sinners, and in care of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Some of the rescued ones consecrated to the Lord the remainder of their lives and entered the adjacent Monastery of St. Mary Magdalen, near which was founded a third house for girls under fourteen in danger of falling, whose education was confided to some of the Sisters of St. Mary Magdalen. Finally, in 1844, near the Refuge and the Magdalens was erected the hospital of St. Philomena, for crippled and infirm children. This was the place where Don Bosco was invited to exercise the sacred ministry and in a room assigned to him by the Marchioness to collect on feast days his juvenile troop.

On the night preceding the transference of the Oratory to Valdocco (October, 1844), he had another remarkable dream. "I dreamt I saw myself in the midst of a multitude of wolves, goats, kids, lambs, sheep, rams, dogs and birds," he writes. "They all together made a disturbance, a noise, or rather a clamor, enough to fill with dread the most courageous. I wanted to flee when a Lady, well made up in the form of a shepherdess, signed to me to follow and accompany that strange flock, while she led. We went wandering to various places; we made three stations or stops; at every stoppage many of these animals changed into lambs, whose number continually increased. After much walking I found myself in a meadow where these animals gamboled and ate together, without one trying to bite the others. Oppressed with fatigue, I wanted to sit down near a road in the vicinity, but the shepherdess invited me to continue my way. After again making a short journey I found myself in a large court, with a round portico at the end of which was a church. Here it appeared to me that four-fifths of those animals had become lambs: their number then was very great. At that moment came several young shepherds who increased and took care of the others. These little shepherds becoming very numerous, divided and went

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elsewhere to collect other strange animals and lead them into other folds. I wished to leave, because it seemed to me time to celebrate holy Mass, but the shepherdess invited me to observe until noon. While looking, I saw a field in which were sown mint, potatoes, cabbages, beet root, lettuce and many other vegetables. 'Look again!' she said to me. I looked again and a stupendous and lofty church. A choir, instrumental and vocal music, prompted me to sing Mass. In the interior of that church was a white band on which was written in large letters: *Hic domus mea, inde gloria mea.* Continuing in the dream, I wished to ask the shepherdess where I was and what that walking, that house, church and then another church indicated. 'You will understand everything,' she replied, 'when, with thy material eyes thou shalt accomplish what thou now seest with the mind's eye.' But, it seeming to me that I was awake, I said: 'I see clear and see with the corporeal eyes: I know where I am going and what I am doing.' At that moment the bell in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi rang the *Ave Maria,* and I awoke. This dream lasted as it were the whole night; many other particulars accompanied it. Then I little understood its significance, because, self-distrustful, I put little faith in it, but things, gradually grasped, had their effect. So later on this, in conjunction with another dream, served me as a programme in my deliberations at the Refuge."

The first Oratory for a time led a nomadic existence. The boys followed him in increased numbers to the hospital, but as he had no chapel in which to gather them together for Mass, he had to lead them to the various city churches, until the Marchioness gave him a couple of rooms, which were transformed into a chapel, opened on December 8, 1844, and dedicated to St. Francis de Sales, under whose protection he placed his work. There was a certain spiritual affinity between the Apostle of the Chablais and the Apostle of Turin. They were both animated by the same spirit, the spirit of faith working through charity, and employed the same method to attract souls, imparting to others the sweetness and light which their own souls possessed and diffused. Besides, the Marchioness di Barolo, to help Don Bosco, was revolving the idea of founding near the Hospital a Congregation of priests under this title.

For a time all went well. He and Don Borel opened evening classes for the boys, whose ignorance was a great hindrance to their advancement in their various trades. It was a happy thought. There were then no evening classes anywhere in Italy; now they are spread all over the country. They owe their initiation to Don Bosco who, in 1847, three years after they were started, had the satisfaction of having their value recognized by a commission appointed by the municipality to test them by their results and who were amazed that

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boys, of no previous education whatever, could have made such marvelous progress in so short a time.

Another obstacle to the progress of the work came from an unexpected quarter. The Marchioness Barolo, apprehensive that the number of boys who, as boys even of a better class might do, made their presence an embarrassment, would interfere with her institute, after a few months desired him to find other quarters for them. He then took them to the Church of St. Peter in Chains, with the permission of the chaplain, Don Giuseppe Tesio, an ex-chaplain, and used the ground attached to it as a playground for the too lively youngsters. The transition occasioned further and greater trouble. The chaplain's housekeeper, a virago, when she heard the loud racket the boys made at play, became furious and drove them away with torrents of abuse, for she had a shrewish tongue. Resovled to have done with them there and then, she said: "By Sunday next, at whatever cost, I shall not be disturbed by you." Don Bosco, to placate her, ordered the boys to cease, and then, turning to the woman, said: "My good lady, you are not certain of being here next Sunday, and make bold to tell us that absolutely you'll not let us come here again." "Oh! what a bad woman that is to scold like that!" said one of the boys. Don Bosco excused her, saying she was to be pitied because she was not in good health, adding: "Be easy about it; next Sunday that woman will no longer scold you!" After the Rosary in the church, as they were going away the irate housekeeper again gave vent to her anger. "Poor woman," said Don Bosco, in an undertone, "she tells us we shall not set foot here again, and next Sunday she will be in her grave!" Meanwhile she denounced the boys to the chaplain, on his return, as revolutionaries and profaners of holy places and low rabble, and, seeing Don Bosco, he said to him: "You shall not come here any other Sunday to raise such a tumult and disturbance. I'll take the necessary steps to stop it." "Ah! poor man," was Don Bosco's comment, "he doesn't know if he'll be alive himself next Sunday!" The chaplain addressed a strongly worded complaint to the municipality who had granted him the use of the place. It was the last letter he ever wrote. The next day he got an apoplectic stroke, from which he died. The grave had hardly closed over him, when another was opened to receive the corpse of the housekeeper, whose death followed two days afterwards. "These incidents," wrote the servant of God, "made an impression on the minds of the boys and all who took note of them." "It was impossible," observes his biographer, "not to see the hand of God therein; and the boys were so intimately persuaded of it that, instead of withdrawing, they loved Don Bosco and the Oratory the more, promising never to abandon it."

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When he had to leave the hospital—and he told the Marchioness he was ready to endure anything rather than forsake his boys—he was consoled and enlightened by another dream, which he told to Don Giulio Barberis in 1875, and which foreshadowed the future of the Oratory. He seemed to be in a large plain full of an immense number of boys, some wrangling, others cursing, stealing or ill-behaved; while a shower of stones hurtled through the air, flung by those who were fighting. They were youths abandoned by their parents and corrupted. Directed by the Lady, of whom he makes frequent mention, to go and work among them, he did so, but saw no place to which any one wishful of doing them good could take them. He turned to persons who remained observant in the distance and might have supported him, but none helped him. He then turned to the Lady, who said: "Here is the place," and showed him a meadow. "But there is only a field here," he said. She replied, "My Son and the Apostles had not whereon to lay their heads." He set to work, admonishing, preaching and confessing, but saw that for the great part every effort would be useless unless he could find some place wherein to gather these derelicts. Then the Lady led him a little to the northward and said, "Observe!" And, looking, he saw a small low church, a little courtyard and numerous boys, and then another and larger church and a house adjoining. She next led him a little nearer to a cultivated piece of ground before the façade of the second church, saying: "I wish God should be specially honored in this place where the glorious martyrs of Turin—Adventorius and Octavius—suffered their martyrdom, on this ground watered and sanctified by their blood," indicating the precise spot.

"At once," he proceeds, "I saw myself surrounded by an immense and continually increasing number of youths, but, the Lady looking on, the means and the site increased likewise; and I then saw a very large church precisely in the place where she showed me took place the martyrdom of the three soldiers of the Theban Legion[5] with many buildings all around and a fine monument in the midst. While these things occurred I, still in a dream, had priest coadjutors who gave me some help and then fled. I strove with great efforts to retain them, but they after a short while went away and left me alone. Then I turned again to that Lady, who said: 'You wish to know

[5] The martyrdom took place during the persecution under Diocletian at, some say, the beginning of the fourth century. There were six Theban Legions. One of these, called Prima Diocletiana Thebœorum, fought in Italy, where it defended Aquilea against the Quades. Paul Allard ("Hist. des Persécutions, Paris, 1890") fixes the date of the martyrdom as prior to the year 292, not, as generally stated, in 303. The place pointed out to Don Bosco in his "dream" was that in which were martyred Saints Adventorius and Octavius, and whence fled Saint Solutorius, wounded by a thrust from a lance, to die in Iovea, confessing Christ.

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how to act so that they may no longer desert you? Take this ribband and bind it on their foreheads.' Reverently taking the little white ribband from her hand I saw that upon it was written this word—*Obedience*. I at once proceeded to do what the Lady told me, and began to bind the head of each of my voluntary coadjutors with the ribband, and suddenly saw a great and wonderful effect; and this always increased while I continued to fulfil the mission entrusted to me, for they gave up the idea of going elsewhere and resolved to help me. So was constituted the Salesian Pious Society."

He saw many other things which alluded to great future events. "Suffice it to say," he says, "that from that time I went on always confident whether as regards the Oratories, the Congregation, or the way of acting in relations with outsiders, with whatever authority invested. The great difficulties that are to arise are all foreseen, and the way of overcoming them I know. I see very well, bit by bit, all that will happen to us, and I will go forward in broad light." When he told all this to others, many thought he was going out of his mind and regarded him as mad.

At his suggestion, in 1856, Canon Lorenzo Gastaldi wrote and published a book on the three Theban martyrs, making a close study of the subject with a view of finding out from history, tradition and topography in what part of the city their martyrdom took place, with the result that it could only be known for certain that they took refuge outside the city gates near the Dora River, were discovered and slain hard by their place of concealment. The large tract that extends from the walls of Turin towards the Dora, to the west of the borgo so named, called in ancient times *vallis* or *vallum occisorum*—the vale or valley of the slain—and now Val d'occo, from the first syllable of each word, perhaps in allusion to this martyrdom, seemed most certain to be the site to be blessed by God through the marvelous institutes of piety and charity that have arisen there. According to the ancient topography of the City the Oratory of St. Francis de Sales was built near this hallowed ground or within the ambit of its walls.

Through the intermediary of Archbishop Fransoni he obtained from the municipality the use of a chapel in the Church of St. Martin, near the Dora, to catechize his boys and of some open ground adjoining for their recreations. It did not last long, for the people of the neighborhood soon grumbled at the noise of three hundred boys at play. The one who was deputed to lay their complaint before the Municipal Council was soon after struck down with a disease which deprived him of his means of livelihood; but Don Bosco frequently came to his relief. It was the secretary of the Molini (whose name he suppresses) who wrote to the authorities an exaggerated account

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of the disturbance caused by the boys. It was the last letter he wrote, for he was subsequently seized with a very violent trembling in the right side and died three years afterwards. Providence, he notes, brought it about that this man's son was reduced to beg bread, and receive it at the hospice opened in Valdocco. It was about this time (1845) Don Bosco first met Michael Rua, then a little boy, who was destined to become his right hand, his vicar during his closing years, and, after his death, his immediate successor.

The wanderings of the Oratory and its protegés were not yet over. Having no chapel, he had to lead the boys at one time to Sassi, at another to the Madonna di Campagna or to the Monte dei Cappuccini, where, with the permission of the parish priest or religious, which was never refused, he took them into the church and with the help of some priests, heard their confessions, said Mass and gave Communion to such as were prepared. In the afternoon he reassembled them for catechetical instruction, and then took them for a walk in the country, returning to Turin when the sun began to set behind the Alps. When they had definitely to abandon St. Martin's, as he emerged from it, raising his eyes heavenward, he exclaimed, *"Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus!"* and then to the boys, "Patience! the Blessed Virgin will help us! Let us go in search of another place."

At Christmas a multitude of youths, ready to follow him wherever he would lead, crowded the room at the hospital and went with him to a neighboring church to hear the three Masses. He afterwards told them a thousand wonderful things about the future Oratory, which then only existed in his mind and in the decrees of Providence. "Don't be afraid, my dear children," he said. "There is already prepared for you a beautiful building, and soon we'll go and take possession of a grand house, a splendid courtyard, and an immense number of boys will take their recreations, pray and work there." The boys believed him.

At that time another magnificent spectacle was shown him in a "dream." He seemed to be on the northern side of the Rondo or Circola Valdocco when, from the direction of the Dora, he saw, between the tall trees that then adorned the Corso Regina Margherita, near the Via Cottolengo, in a field covered with kitchen gardens, three very beautiful youths, resplendent with light, who stood in the place which, in a previous dream was indicated to him as the scene of the glorious martyrdom of the three soldiers of the Theban Legion. They invited him to descend and go with them. Don Bosco hastened, and when he reached them they accompanied him with great affability towards the extremity of the ground where now rises majestically the Church of Mary Help of Christians. Then, in a short space passing from one marvel to another, he found himself in

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presence of a Lady magnificently attired, of indescribable grace, majesty and splendor, near whom was distinguishable an assembly of ancients of princely aspect. Innumerable personages, adorned with dazzling beauty and magnificence, formed her most noble queenly cortege, and round and round as far as the eye could see extended other legions. The Lady appeared at the spot where now rises the high altar of the sanctuary and invited the servant of God to draw near, and, as he did so, told him that the three young men who had led him to her, were the three martyrs—Solutorius, Adventorius and Octavius—as if she wished to show him that they would be the special patrons of that place. Then with a charming smile on her lips and with affectionate words she encouraged him not to abandon his children, but to pursue with ever increasing ardor the work he had undertaken. She implied that he would encounter very great obstacles, but that these would be conquered and overcome with the confidence he would place in the Mother of God and in her divine Son. Finally he was shown at a short distance a house that really existed and was then known to be the property of a certain Signor Pinardi, and a little church in the precise place where now is the Church of St. Francis de Sales with the annexed fabric. Then, raising the right hand, in an ineffably melodious voice she exclaimed: *"Hæc est domus mea! Inde gloria mea!"* At the sound of those words Don Bosco was greatly moved, and the figure of the Virgin—for such was the august lady—with the whole vision slowly vanished like a mist before the risen sun. He at once, trusting in the divine goodness and mercy, had renewed at the Virgin's feet the consecration of his whole self to the great work to which he was called. The next morning he hastened to visit the house pointed out to him by the Blessed Virgin. On leaving his room he said to Don Borel: "I am going to see a house adapted to our Oratory." But what was not his surprise when, on reaching it, in place of a house with a church, he found it to be the dwelling of bad-living people!

Through the good offices of a priest named Antonio Giovanni Moretta, he was able to fit up three rooms in a house not far from the Refuge, where in after years was opened the girls' Oratory of St. Angela in the Via Cottolengo, and where, without suspecting it, the boys drew near the end of their peregrinations to their promised land. Still needing a chapel, they continued to hear Mass in some church, usually the Consolata, where the Oblates of Mary were friendly and helpful, or St. Augustin's. Don Bosco's health being impaired, the Marchioness di Barolo, hearing of it, insisted on his taking care of himself and sent him an offering of 100 lire for his Oratory. For a short time he had to give up his attendance at the

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Hospital and Refuge, but no one ventured to suggest his abandoning his boys.

Meanwhile his activities sought and found other spheres for their exercise. Everybody did not understand such zeal. Some thought it was vainglorious and dangerous; malicious tongues said Don Bosco was a revolutionary, people who saw red in every new departure; others said he was a fool, others that he was a heretic. To them the Oratory was an expedient to withdraw youth from the parishes and instill into them suspicious maxims. This last accusation was the commonest and had its foundation in the opinion that he shared the views of the liberal school of pedagogy, seeing that he allowed the boys all sorts of noisy recreations. The old educational discipline was based on the harsh idea of the master and the lash; and his innovations allowed too much liberty. Among these were not wanting some partisans of the anti-Catholic or irreligious parties who perhaps spoke with the intention of drawing away the youths and breaking up the festive meetings. Various clergy, seeing in Don Bosco something extraordinary which they could not explain, especially his activity and his art of gathering round him souls and swaying hearts, repeated: "Woe to us and to the Church if Don Bosco is not a priest according to God's own heart . . . and who knows?" They could not persuade themselves that they should aid the advancement of a heavenly mission instead of retarding it. At a clerical conference where the subject was debated Don Borel defended Don Bosco with the approval of the majority; but it was resolved that he should be instructed to send the boys to the several parish churches. Don Bosco, when this view was put before him by a deputation of two priests, explained that the greater portion of his boys were strangers far from parental supervision and unacquainted with the parochial boundaries, that not a few were attracted to the Oratory by recreative amusements and by these and other means brought within the sphere of religious influence who otherwise, perhaps, would not go to any church, to the grave injury of their souls. Shortly after, meetings of the parish priests of Turin were held, at which it was considered whether the Oratories should be promoted or reproved, when word was sent to Don Bosco to go on with his work.

One obstacle was overcome, but another arose. Objection was again raised to the noise made by the boys, and Don Moretta was reluctantly constrained to send them away. They were then taken to a field, from which they were subsequently expelled because, it was alleged, they had trampled too much on it. They now numbered four hundred. Some weak-minded persons, seeing him leading this crowd of boys here and there, censured him as if he were keeping

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them from work and subjection to parental control and accustoming them to a free and easy life of independence; and talked of popular revolts and commotion in some parts of Italy. The affectionate obedience of the boys to the servant of God led to the ridiculous rumor that he might become a dangerous man and at some time create a revolution in the city. This fantastic insinuation had an apparently specious foundation in the fact that a certain number of his boys who had become pious and well conducted were originally young jailbirds. These rumors reached the ears of the local authorities, specifically of the Prefect of Turin, the Marquis of Cavour, father of the famous Count Camillus Cavour, the Sardinian Statesmen, the chief of the makers of New Italy. He had, some time before that, seen Don Bosco in the fields seated on the ground in the midst of a circle of boys into whom he was instilling the principles of religion and morals. "Who is that priest in the midst of those rogues?" he asked. "It is Don Bosco," he was told. "Don Bosco! Oh, he is a fool," he observed, "or at least a man to be sent to the Senate" (meaning the prison of the palace called the Senate). With this idea in his mind, he now sent for Don Bosco to whom, after a long conversation, he said, "My good priest, take my advice and leave these young ruffians alone; they will only disgust you and give trouble to the public authorities. I am certain these meetings are dangerous and I cannot tolerate them any longer." In vain Don Bosco explained the work of the Oratory; the Marquis threatened him with imprisonment; but, undismayed by this threat, he never lost his calm self-possession, nor relaxed his habitual smile. This noble resistance displeased Cavour, who angrily added: "This is a disorder, and I wish and must put a stop to it. Don't you know that every assemblage is prohibited without a legitimate permit?" "My assemblages have no political object," he replied. "I am teaching catechism to the poor boys, and I am doing this with the Archbishop's permission." "Is the Archbishop made aware of these things?" he was asked. "He is fully informed," he answered. "I have never taken a step without his consent." "And if the Archbishop told you to desist from this ridiculous undertaking of yours, you would put no difficulty in the way?" queried Cavour. "By no means," he said. "I have begun and continued until now with the advice of my ecclesiastical superior, and at a simple word from him shall be altogether at his commands." When the Archbishop was told of the interview, he counselled Don Bosco to have courage and patience. He needed them; for Cavour would not allow the continuation except on certain conditions, which were unacceptable. He wanted to limit the number of boys, prohibited their leaving or entering the city in a body, and absolutely excluded the grown-up

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ones as dangerous. To the calm and deferential observations of Don Bosco, he replied: "But what are these roughs to you? Leave them to their families. Don't take such a responsibility upon you." The result was that he and his poor protegés were placed under police supervision. When he found himself escorted to and from the place of meeting by carbineers he only smiled. He used to say that the most romantic time of the Oratory was that of these field gatherings.

In his "dreams" he had luminous visions which he narrated to Don Rua and others; visions of a large house and church, like that of St. Francis de Sales, as before, with *"Hæc est domus mea, inde gloria mea"* over its portals, through which entered boys, clerics and priests. Now to the spectacle, in the same place succeeded another like the small Pinardi house, and around its porticos and church little boys and ecclesiastics in very large numbers. "But this is not possible," he said to himself; "this is quite other than a dwelling suited to us. I am afraid I am the prey of a diabolical illusion." And then he distinctly heard a voice which said to him: "And dost thou not know that the Lord can enrich his people with the spoils of the Egyptians?" The dream of the night preceding the second Sunday of October, 1844, was near its fulfillment. The Oratory was to pass through three stages before it had a settled dwelling place. The end was then near!

But Don Bosco was not yet at the end of his troubles. Opposition revived. Several of his friends, in place of encouraging him to persevere, suggested to him to abandon the work. Some thought he was the victim of a monomania. His fellow-students at the seminary advised him to change his method of apostolate, saying he compromised the sacerdotal character with his extravagances, lowering himself in taking part in the playing of so many rogues and permitting them to raise such an unseemly tumult; adding that such things had never been seen in Turin and were contrary to the customary habit of a clergy so grave and reserved. And when their logic failed to persuade Don Bosco they said his head was turned. Even his old friend Don Borel said,: "Dear Don Bosco, not to expose ourselves to the danger of losing all, it is better that we should save a portion. Let us wait for times more favorable to our dsigns; let us dismiss the present Oratory boys, retaining twenty of the youngest; meanwhile let us privately continue to occupy ourselves with these few. God will open a way for us to do more, providing us with the means and a place." Like a man sure of what he was doing, he replied: "Not so, not so! The Lord in His mercy has begun and will finish His work. You know with what trouble we have been able to rescue from evil ways such a great number of boys

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and see how they follow our lead. It is not fitting now to leave them again to themselves and to the dangers of the world to the grave injury of their souls." "But in the meantime where are we to assemble them?" "In the Oratory." "And where is this Oratory?" "I see it already built. I see a church. I see a house, I see an enclosure for recreations. This is ours," he said, "and I see it." "And where are these things?" "I cannot yet say where they are, but they really exist and will be ours." On hearing these words Don Borel was deeply moved; they seemed to him sufficient proof of his friend's madness, and he said to himself: "Poor Don Bosco! truly his brain is really going away!" and, as he withdrew, shed tears. Don Pacehiotti, too, glancing at him with compassion, repeated sadly: "Poor Don Bosco!" The rumor of his mental alienation spreading, some leading priests visited him. They pointed out how he could do great good to souls in otherwise exercising the sacred ministry, preaching missions, helping in some city parish or devoting himself exclusively to the Marchioness Barolo's works. "It does not do to be self-willed," they urged; "you cannot accomplish impossibilities; Divine Providence, too, seems clearly to indicate that it does not approve of the work you have begun. It is a sacrifice, but it must be made; dismiss the boys." "Oh! Divine Providence!" exclaimed Don Bosco, raising his hands to heaven, while his eyes shone with extraordinary splendor. "You are in error! I am very far from not being able to continue the Oratory. Divine Providence has sent me these boys, and I will not send away one, be sure of that. I have the invincible certainty that Providence itself will supply me with all that is necessary. So the means are already prepared; and, as they won't let me a place, I shall build one with the help of Mary most holy. Yet, we shall have large buildings, with schools and dormitories capable of receiving as many boys as shall come; we shall have workshops of every kind, so that boys can there learn a trade according to their liking; we shall have a fine courtyard and a spacious cloister for recreations; in fine, we shall have a magnificent church, clerics, catechists, assistants, head masters, professors ready at command, and numerous priests who will instruct the boys and take special care of those in whom there are signs of a vocation." Astonished at this unexpected reply, and looking at each other, these good priests said: "You mean then to form a new religious community?" "And what if I had this project?" "What device would you assign to your religious?" "Virtue," replied Don Bosco, not wishing to explain minutely. They wanted to know with what habit he would invest the new religious. "I wish," he said, "they should all go about in overalls, with sleeves like working stone masons." A laugh greeted this. Don Bosco

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smilingly observed: "Perhaps I have put it in a strange way? Don't you know that to go about thus means to be poor, and that a religious society without poverty cannot last?" "We understand perfectly," they replied as they retired, unanimously of opinion that his mental facilities had lost their equilibrium.

This persuasion prevailed throughout Turin. His friends were grieved; the indifferent or envious derided him; and almost all stood aloof. Some official personages of the archiepiscopal Curia sent a prudent person to further examine him, fearing that if he was as rumored, something might occur injurious to the dignity of the priesthood. The envoy came to the conclusion that he was under an hallucination, that he had a fixed idea of possessing what he would never have. They were undecided as to what course to pursue, because the Vicar General Ravina, a friend of Don Bosco, would not permit any precipitate decision. But others took the matter in hand and, imagining that his "illusions" would inevitably lead to insanity, thought to prevent such a calamity by sending him to an asylum where he would have every care that charity or medical skill could suggest. Accordingly arrangements were made with the superintendent, and the execution of the plan was entrusted to Don Vincenzo Ponzati, parish priest of St. Augustin's, and a young priest Luigi Nasi. They went to Valdocco, where, after engaging in conversation for some time, they invited him to go out for a drive, saying they had a carriage in readiness. "A little open air will do you good, dear Don Bosco," said Ponzati. Don Bosco suspecting they were among those who thought him out of his mind and intent on giving them a surprise, accepted the invitation. They politely requested him to enter the carriage first. "No," he protested, "it would be a want of respect on my part; you go in before me." They entered without suspecting anything, sure that he would follow them. But when he saw them seated, he slammed the door and said to the coachman: "Go immediately to the Asylum where these gentlemen are expected." The driver drove rapidly, unheeding the appeals of the two priests to stop, and quickly reached the Asylum, which was very near the Refuge. As soon as they were within, the porter hurriedly shut the outer gates, and the carriage was at once surrounded by the attendants. To their surprise, instead of one priest, whom they were told to expect, they found two who, despite their energetic protests, were detained. They demanded that the doctor should be called, but he was not in the house; the chaplain, but he was at dinner. Finally, after reiterated and urgent requests, the latter made his appearance and, seeing they had been caught in their own trap, burst out laughing and had them set at liberty. The feelings of the poor priests may be easily imagined. Don Bosco had turned

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the tables on them; they kept out of his way in the streets whenever they saw him approaching; they had become a laughing stock throughout the city.

After that they left him alone; the question of his sanity was no longer discussed. Monsignor Fransoni, who never withdrew his support, advised him to resolutely go on with his work. It was fortunate that the see was filled by a prelate so intelligent in the ways of Divine Providence, so well disposed; otherwise, without a miracle, the work would have failed. Don Cafasso helped him with alms; and to temporizers who would have Don Bosco put a limit to his too enterprising zeal, said in grave and as it were prophetic accents: "Leave him to his work! let him work on!" *(lasciatelo fare!)*. Don Borel was always ready to help him, but was then a silent observer who compassionated his friend. The servant of God let him into the great secret that he had had, and more than once, certain visions from God and the Blessed Virgin, that the fields of Valdocco would be the crade of the Oratory and a new Pious Society he had it in mind to found.

All Turin was talking about him. When he passed through the streets with his boys, people came out of their houses, or out on their balconies, or went to the windows to see the sight. Some said he was a great saint, others that he was a great fool. Sometimes, on returning from their rambles, the boys halted and, seizing Don Bosco's arms, raised him on their shoulders and carried him in triumph into the city, the good priest striving in vain to prevent them; although he had them under such control that in the fields a word, a sign, a glance from him was enough to impose silence. A carbineer, who witnessed this, exclaimed: "If that priest was a general, he would fight the best-disciplined army in the world with the certainty of victory!"

Yet he was not a martinet. In the midst of this crowd of boys, mostly wild shoots when they came to him first, rude, untaught lads, he was like a father in the midst of a large family. He was not repelled by their roughness; he drew them to him by his kindliness until they learned to love him as he loved them; he laughed with them, joked with them, played with them, made them feel quite at home with him; attracted them by innocent artifices until he gained their hearts and then opened their minds to the knowledge of the truths of religion, purified their souls by confession and absolution after he had enlightened their intellects and then gave them Holy Communion. He resembled St. Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians, who once said he did not care if they broke sticks on his back so long as they did not sin.

One of the saddest days of his life was Palm Sunday, April 3, 1846,

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the last day he was allowed to use the field in which he was wont to assemble his boys. He did not know where to take them on Easter Sunday. Meanwhile they went on pilgrimage to the Capuchin Church of the Madonna di Campagna to beg Our Lady to obtain for them another place for their Oratory meetings. After Mass he delivered a little *ferverino* in which he compared them to birds whose nest had been destroyed. They did not pray in vain; some of the boys, his biographer avers, were "angels of virtue." He prayed very fervently himself, for he was pensive and melancholy, and his eyes filled with tears when he reflected that he had no place, no fold into which to gather his young flock. When they went back to the field in the evening and the boys were at play, while he stood, sad and isolated, in a corner, one Pancrazio Soave told him Francesco Pinardi had an outhouse to let. He went at once to inspect it, terms were agreed upon, and when he announced the glad news to the boys they leaped for joy, and then recited the Rosary in thanksgiving to their heavenly benefactress.

R. F. O'Connor.

Dublin, Ireland.

(To be continued.)

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CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA.

"THE Celestial Empire" or the "Flowery Kingdom," as China has, at times, been called, was long closed to the outside world, but history teaches us that there is no land on the face of the globe that can long remain closed to the Catholic missionary, especially if that land has never heard the "glad tidings" that secure the salvation of souls, redeemed by the awful sacrifice on Calvary.

The work of the missionary began with the birth of Christianity. "Ite-do-cete" was the command given by the Redeemer of the world to His disciples, and they went forth to suffer like their divine Master, to do and die for the faith that was in them. Neither the prison, nor the rack, nor the sword of the executioner could stay their progress. In all ages and in all climes they labored amid untold sufferings and unwearied toil—leaving behind them all the bright prospects their native land offered them to gain the eternal reward promised to them that "teach unto justice," or to gain the crown of martyrdom, knowing full well that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christianity." It is the planting of this seed in China and the good fruit it brought forth that shall engage our attention in this article.

The Chinese mission is attracting no little attention to-day, and this fact may lead many persons to imagine that it is a new field for evangelization taken up by the Church. It is a comparatively new move on the part of the American missionary, but it is centuries old on the part of the Church.

It will not be necessary for us at the present moment to deal, in detail, at least, with the earliest missions. It will be sufficient for us to state that the Nestorians were permitted to preach their heresies in China in A. D. 685. They were expelled in 845, and we find no trace of them, except perhaps what Thévenot tells us in the Lama-series of Thibet. It is also recorded that Marco Polo, as early as 1275, introduced Christian missionaries into China. They were probably Dominicans, but, like Gaspar de la Cruz, they did not remain long, for lack of proper means for prosecuting their work.

We do know, however, that Pope Clement V. (1305) appointed the celebrated Franciscan, Juan de Monte Corvino, as Metropolitan—a man, as Neander describes him—"in whom we recognize the pattern

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of a true missionary, who spared no pains in giving the people the word of God in their own language."[1]

We know that in 1552 St. Francis Xavier left Goa in Japan for the Chinese mission, where he proposed to labor for some time to come, but God deemed his labors completed and called him to his eternal and well merited reward. The great "Apostle of the Indies" died on his way to China, on the island of Sandian, on the coast of the land he was going to evangelize, abandoned by treacherous Chinese he had hired to take him to Canton.

But this field was not to be abandoned, for almost at the very hour of the death of the great St. Francis, there was born one who was destined to take up his work. It was in 1583 that a child, now grown to man's estate, and like St. Francis, a member of the Society of Jesus, began a work at which he labored for twenty-seven eventful years, and which may be said to be the beginning of the history of permanent modern Catholic missions in China.

Between 1536 and 1575 missionaries of different orders made repeated attempts to establish Christianity in China. Among these were Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, etc. Such were the efforts of Gaspar de la Cruz, a Spaniard, at Canton, in 1556; of Martin de Rada, O. S. A., at Tonkin, in 1575. But all these attempts seem to have been untimely and were productive of very little fruit, at the expense of great hardship. They had to bide their time.

Father Matthew Ricci, S. J., in his "Memoires," tells us that about the year 1580, Father Valgnan, Superior of the Jesuit missions in Japan, anxious for the conversion of the Chinese, prepared for a work which would "redound to the greater glory of God and which promised an abundant harvest of souls for the Church of Jesus Christ." He at once appealed to the Fathers residing at Macao (a city acquired by the Portuguese as a commercial station, in 1586, in return for their assistance against pirates). Macao, or Amaca (Port Anna) Ama-Keu, derives its name from an idol venerated by the mandarins of the archipelago. It is known among the natives of to-day as Ngao-Men.

We know that in 1580 Father Ruggieri, S. J., succeeded in entering

[1] "History of the Christian Religion and Church," Vol. VII., p. 76. Ed. Torrey. In connection with Father Monte Corvino, it may be well to remind the reader that when Pope Clement V. in 1307, learned from this indefatigable missionary the progress that Christianity was making in the far Orient, he was moved to give what assistance and encouragement he could to so great and important a work, carried on for eleven years, almost alone, by Father Monte Corvino. He appealed to the General of the Franciscans for missionaries who were willing to devote their lives to the work in these remote regions. A band of zealous men responded to the Pope's appeal. Seven of their number were consecrated Bishops before leaving Europe. These were instructed, as soon as they reached Pekin, to consecrate Father Monte Corvino as Archbishop of Kan-Ba-Lick, whose suffragans they were to become. Only three of the seven reached their destination, and these carried out the commands of the Sovereign Pontiff.

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Canton with a company of merchants. His stay was not long at this time, but he returned in 1583 with two confrères, Father Matthew Ricci and Father Pasio. Father Ricci may be regarded as the founder of the Chinese Missions. We are told that he landed at Canton "without money and without books," but he had confidence in his vocation and in the grace of God. He knew full well that he was at the mercy of the Viceroy and that his first years of labor would be full of danger, but to this he gave little thought. He knew that venturing upon his new field of labor he might expect all that had been prophesied of old: that some of his kind "had been put to death and crucified, and some scourged in the synagogues, and persecuted from city to city," and he expected the same fate. He knew also that if he fell there were others who would gladly take his place and the work of redemption would go on until it was successfully accomplished.

On his first arrival at Canton, Father Ricci thought it advisable to don the garb of the *Bonze,* but finding that it was far from commanding the respect he anticipated, he exchanged it for that of the *Literater,* a garb which he and his confrères retained ever afterwards.[2]

Although his first convert was a poor outcast whom he found dying by the roadside, yet he acted towards him the part of the good Samaritan. He saw a soul to save, and he prepared the unfortunate man as best he could for a better world. This was a poor beginning, it is true, but it paved the way, and was a forecast of the day when nobles and princes were to be counted among his disciples. By indefatigable study, he acquired such a mastery of the principal Chinese dialects that his compositions, as Bridgman, in his "Church and Christianity," tells us, already attracted the admiration of the most learned and critical readers, and one of these works was destined to fill a place it still occupies in the Imperial Library.

It would require a volume, yes, a series of volumes, to follow Father Ricci in his journeyings "from city to city." Through many difficulties and barriers he fought his way; ever prudent, never deviating from his purpose. From Tchao-Tcheou he went to Nankin, and although he did not accomplish all he had anticipated, he did not despair. In 1594, after his labors in the Province of Kiang-Scoú, where he was well received, he established a station at the town of Nau-Tchang-Fou. In spite of all he was made to suffer from a part of its inhabitants and from treacherous proselytes, this station, in time, became a most flourishing Christian settlement because of the character and number of its converts.

Faher Ricci's persistence, as we have seen, was marvelous. He seemed to anticipate every obstacle and to meet it with prudence,

[2] Vie du Père Ricci, par le P. d'Orleans.

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sagacity and fortitude. A Protestant missionary, Dr. Gutzlaff, in speaking of him, says: "Few men ever lived who did so much within so short a time as this Jesuit. . . . It will scarcely be credited that at his death there existed in Keang-Nou province alone, thirty churches. . . . There were few large cities in which some Christians were not to be found."

It is well known that the Chinese were acute astronomers as far back as the reign of Yao, B. C. 2357. Father Ricci and his companions were not slow in taking account of this fact, and their proficiency in the sciences found favor in the eyes of some of the most learned mandarins. Father Ricci not only established houses in Pekin, but even within the precincts of the imperial palace. His rare scientific knowledge was cheerfully given to the service of the government, but he would accept no compensation. He would be their philosopher and mathematician at court, but the only compensation he was willing to receive was permission to be a missionary outside of the court, and non-Catholic writers tell us that "he was successful in both characters."[3]

The scientific work of the Jesuits has been kept up, even down to our own time. M. François Garnier, who if he had any feeling concerning the missionaries, it was rather hostile than otherwise, in his "De Paris à Thibet" (1802) after criticizing the work of the Jesuits, seems to forget his adverse criticisms and tells us that the scientific researches of Father David, C. M., earned for him the title of correspondent of the Academy of Science, a title of great value. Of course, Father David was not a Jesuit, but he was a missionary, nevertheless. The works of Father Hende on the conchology of Kiang-Nan, his curious studies on deer and turtles, were admired and rewarded by the same Academy.[4] Then there is Father Degelois, who wrote a series of geographic observations, and Father Dechevians, who wrote a meteorology and a work on the course of typhoons. The Jesuits also devoted themselves to the study of the sciences and established astronomical and meteorological observatories in many

[3] In the "History of China," by Thomas Thornton, Esq., preface, p. 13, we read: "The geographical labors performed in China by the Jesuits and others of the Roman Catholic faith will ever command the gratitude and excite the wonder of all geographers. . . . Portable chronometers and aneroid barometers, sextants and theodolites, sympiezometers and micrometers, compasses and field horizons, are, notwithstanding all possible care, frequently found to fail, and yet one hundred and fifty years ago, a few wandering European priests traveled the enormous State of China proper and laid down on their maps the positions of cities, the direction of rivers and the height of mountains with correctness of detail and a general accuracy of outline that are absolutely marvelous. To this day all our maps are based upon their observations." "The Taeping Rebellion in China," by Commander Lindsay Brine, R. N., F. R. G. S., ch. iii., p. 39 (1862). And Mr. Thornton adds that "the Chinese chronology rightly examined rather confirms than contradicts the Mosaic account." Mr. Gutzlaff adds that "whatever is valuable in Chinese astronomical science has been borrowed from the treasures of the treatises of the Roman Catholic missionaries."

[4] "Memoirs concerning the National History of the Chinese Empire."

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places. Missionaries are never behindhand in the sciences. In proof of this, an envoy from the Ministry of Public Instruction of Paris, charged with a scientific mission to Siberia and Japan, relates that he "made experiments for the first time in the Catholic Mission House of Ou-tchang-fou, in the very heart of China."[5]

Father Ricci's converts were not confined to the humble classes. His luminous teachings and mortified life attracted the attention of no less a person than Pau-Seu, one of the most prominent dignitaries of the empire. He with his whole family became converts to the faith, and their descendants to this day are devout Catholics. Du Halde (Vol. III., p. 79 et seq.) records the fact that his granddaughter, Candida, "during thirty-four years of widowhood, imitated perfectly those holy widows whose characters St. Paul describes to us. She founded no less than thirty churches in her own part of the country, and caused mission stations to be built in different parts of the empire." This same writer is obliged to admit, much to his regret, that in the single province first evangelized by Father Ricci, "the Catholics to-day number about 70,000 souls."

Right here, in summarizing the reports of conversions, we might be led to imagine them greatly exaggerated, but when we find them verified by very reliable authorities, and these reports not always given without reluctance, we are forced to accept them. Yet, when these results are compared with those of non-Catholic missions, they appear almost incredible.

But, if Father Ricci met with almost phenomenal success, he was too experienced a missionary not to foresee that an inevitable day of suffering was in store for him in the near future. He was not slow in preparing his spiritual children to meet it with the fortitude of the early martyrs. He knew that persecution had already manifested itself in the provinces, and he fully realized the terrible struggles and the Christian blood that was soon to dye the soil of China. The greatest precaution was now necessary in admitting converts into the Church. Du Halde and Hennion tell us that they were required to make "a public declaration of their faith *composed by themselves.*" Le Conte also tells us that "the mandarins venture all as soon as they think of becoming Christians and both they and their teachers know it. But in spite of persecution" they persevere to the end. Mr. Gutzlaff, a non-Catholic missionary, does not hesitate to say that Father Ricci "had only spent twenty-seven years in China, and during that time he had performed a herculean task. He was the first Catholic missionary who penetrated into the empire and when he died *there were more than three hundred churches in different parts*

[5] "Un Touriste dans l'Extrême Orient," par Edm. Colleau; p. 344.

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of the province." While admitting this fact, Mr. Gutzlaff could not resist a fling at Father Ricci's work. "They [the Jesuits] converted thousands without touching their hearts." Which are we to believe, this statement or the story told by the dungeons and scaffolds of China?

Feeling that his end was near, he called his confrères around him and spoke to them as follows: "My Fathers, when I consider the means by which I may most efficiently propagate the Christian faith among the Chinese, I find no better nor more persuasive than my death," and in fact, as Father Huc, C. M., testified many years after Father Ricci's death, when he tells us that "by his public funeral, with the Emperor's official sanction, Christianity was legalized in China." In the "Memoires de la Congregation de la Mission," we read: "Father Ricci died at his residence in Pekin on May 11, 1610. He was fifty-eight years of age. On the occasion of his death the Emperor, Ouang-Ly, gave the missionaries as a burial place for the religious, whom he had honored with his esteem and favor, a large property, the country house of one of the chief *eunuques* of the palace, who had been condemned to death. It is situated beyond the city limits, near the eastern gate, called by the Chinese Che-Men, because of the white marble doors that embellish the entrance. The tomb of the great missionary is in the northern part of the cemetery, east of the 'Calvaire.'"

After the death of Father Ricci, the missions progressed for a time; new "stations" were established in the province of Nankin, notably that of Chan-Si, where the number of converts increased very rapidly under the protection of a Christian mandarin from Pekin. Father Sameda reports that in 1642 this was the largest and most flourishing Christian settlement in China. All seemed very promising, but Father Ricci's fears were to be realized in 1645, when a persecution broke out, which increased two years later, when a decree was promulgated banishing all Christian missionaries except those at Pekin, where they found protection in high places.

This condition of affairs continued for some ten years, but in 1625 it became more serious; the incursions of the Tartars from the East —the perpetual enemies of the Chinese—became more and more frequent and the court of Pekin was kept in continual disquiet. It was at this time that the Emperor, hoping to ingratiate himself with the Portuguese through the intervention of the missionaries, ordered a cessation of the persecutions and even permitted the return to Pekin of such missionaries as might still be remaining in the country.

The work of evangelization was gladly taken up by Father Schall and his Jesuit confrères. This valiant soldier of the Cross, a native of Cologne, and successor of Father Ricci, soon acquired no little

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influence at the court of the Emperor, Choun-Tje. It was during this period of comparative peace that in 1556 a large and beautiful church was erected at Pekin and placed under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception. The Emperor, wishing to manifest his high appreciation of Father Schall and his companions, not only gave the ground upon which the church was built, but contributed, in cash, 10,000 taels ($16,000). A century later, when this church was destroyed by fire, the Emperor, Kien-Long, not only permitted it to be rebuilt, but contributed for that purpose a sum equal to that contributed by his imperial ancestor for the same purpose. A tablet on the door of the Church records this act of munificence.

In 1631 other missionaries came into the field. Dominicans and Franciscans began their labors with marked success. We shall refer to them in their proper places. Father Schall's companion, Father Kuffler, had the happiness to pour the saving waters of baptism upon the heads of the mother of the Emperor, his principal wife and his eldest son. This toleration on the part of the Emperor was only of a capricious nature, and his interest in the missionaries was of a personal character. "The mandarins," the sovereign was wont to say, "ask me daily for new favors, but Ma-fa (a name he had given to Father Schall, who had just completed the reform in the calendar) though he knows that I love him, always refuses even those which I press him to accept." Moreover, when the good missionary rebuked the monarch's vices, the latter replied: "I pardon your invectives, because I am convinced that you love me."[6]

But the sun did not always shine so brightly on the lives and labors of the missionaries. The divine Master who sent them forth to preach the Gospel to every creature suffered even in His own day; could His disciples expect less, even down through the ages?

On the death of the Emperor and during the minority of his successor, Chang-hi, a terrible persecution broke out. Père d'Orleans tells us that "the four regents went so far as to confer the title of Preceptor to the young Emperor on Father Schall, but a cabal of Bonzes and mandarins aroused such a tempest against Christianity as to result in an attempt at its extermination."[7] The venerable Father Schall, at the age of seventy-four, was loaded with chains and cast into prison with a number of converted mandarins, of whom five earned the crown of martyrdom. Father Schall was sentenced to be strangled and chopped to pieces, but his life was finally spared through the intercession of the Emperor's mother. It also happened that at the time when the tribunal was deliberating the fate of the missionary, a sudden earthquake occurred, and the people, interpret-

[6] Hennion, tom. II., p. 376.
[7] "Hist. of the Tartar Conquerors," Bk. I., p. 43

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ing this as a warning from heaven, prevailed upon the judges to consent to a reversal of the sentence they had imposed on Father Schall.

But this stay in the persecution was only of short duration, and poor Father Schall, worn out by infirmity and sufferings his strength could no longer endure, went to receive the well merited reward of his labors, in 1666. "Fallen from fame," says Père d'Orleans, "stripped of his dignities, overwhelmed with reproaches and calumny, he endured imprisonment and chains, showing by his constancy that he deemed himself even more happy to confess the name of Christ in a dungeon than to have preached it with honor in a palace."

The death of Father Schall, however, did not put an end to the persecutions. Twenty-five missionaries, all but four of whom were Jesuits, were arrested and driven from the interior of China to find a refuge in Canton. Here they calmly awaited a lull in the persecution, and when it came, it found them once more among their dear converts.

In 1671 Father Ferdinand Verbiest, a native of Belgium, and the worthy successor of Father Schall, soon, by his scientific services, acquired a good influence over the new Emperor, and obtained permission for the missionaries to resume their work, and in that single year, as the Protestant missionary, Mr. Medhurst, tells us in his work entitled "China, Its States and Prospects" (ch. ix., p. 232), when he reports that "more than 20,000 Chinese were converted." Persecution had won the admiration of the pagan, for he realized that a religion that could inspire so much courage and fortitude under torture must have something in it. We may add that in 1672, an uncle of the Emperor, together with many other persons of high rank, including eight "political generals" who commanded the Tartar forces, embraced the Christian faith. This encouraged the missionaries to look forward, after all their trials, to the triumph of the Cross in China.

But even during this period of seeming security, the missionaries were not without misgivings and anxieties. Spies followed them at every step, invaded their homes and watched and reported their inner life. It was a mystery to the mandarins that men of the stamp of Fathers Verbiest, Grimaldi and Pereira, versed as they were in all branches of human science, could persistently refuse dignities and emoluments so often offered to them and deliberately prefer to spend their lives in prayer, fasting and continence. But the evidence produced by the spies confirmed their mode of life, and did not fail to impress the Emperor, so much so, that when, in 1683, additional missionaries arrived at Ningpo and their entrance was violently opposed by the pagan mandarins, the Emperor Chang-hi, wrote with

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his own hand to his over-zealous subordinates: "It is not men of this kind who should be driven from my empire. Let them all come to my court; such as are versed in mathematics shall remain near my person, the others may go to the provinces or wherever they find a field for their work."

Good Father Verbiest died in 1680. So great was the esteem in which he was held that the Emperor himself insisted upon pronouncing his eulogy, in which he took occasion to state that "not one of his calculations as to the movements of the heavenly bodies had been found defective." The Rev. Mr. Medhurst, above quoted, spoke of Father Verbiest in the most complimentary manner, and he adds: "His character for humility and modesty was only equalled by his well-known application and industry. He seemed insensible to everything but the promotion of science and religion; he abstained from idle visits, the reading of curious books, and even the perusal of European papers, while he incessantly employed himself either in mathematical calculations, in instructing proselytes, in corresponding with the grandees of the empire in the interests of the mission, or in writing to the learned of Europe, inviting them to repair to China. His private papers are indicative of the depth of his devotion, the rigor of his austerities, his watchfulness over his heart amid the crowd of business and the ardor with which he served the cause of religion."

Father Schall and Father Verbiest, good and zealous men as they were, were only types of the numerous apostles which the Church sent out to "teach all nations." No sooner was Father Verbiest called to his heavenly reward than his place was taken by Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, who like their predecessor, were received at the court of Chang-hi, who, we are told, obliged them "to learn the Tartar dialect, which he preferred to speak, and constantly examined them himself to ascertain the progress they were making in his favorite language," in which Chateaubriand tells us, one of them subsequently translated the scientific treatises of Fontenelle.[8]

In the meantime the progress of Christianity in the southern pro-

[8] The missionaries gave much attention to the intellectual development of the people. The only French-Korean dictionary and the only Korean grammar in existence up to 1896 are the work of the Fathers Les Missions Étrangères of Paris, published at Yokohama in 1880. One of these Fathers published a Chinese Dictionary, which was highly prized. We must not lose sight of the fact that these men were the confrères of Father Amiot, the creator of the sinology of the last century, and that the Jesuits issued from their press, at Zi-Ka-wei, an entire series of Chinese works, "Les Variétiés Sinologiques, the Boussole du Langage," the Franco-Chinese Method of Father Henri Boucher; the "Cursus Litteraturæ Sinicæ," by Father P. Noltoli, both works crowned by the Academy. This Father also publishes a large Chinese dictionary. We might add that Father Seraphin Couvreur has published another which earned the Stanislas Julien prize conferred by the Institute. It is evident that the traditions of Fathers Ricci, Schall and Verbiest have not been abandoned.

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vinces continued with unabated zeal. The Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans had succeeded in the early part of the seventeenth century in obtaining a foothold in China, and by 1660 the Franciscans had made 4,000 converts in Canton, while the Dominicans had made 10,000 in the three provinces of Fo-Kien, Tehi-Kiang and Kouang-Toung. But, with all this, the missionaries were not without cares and anxieties, sometimes, we are sorry to say, from so-called Christian Europeans. The commercial relations between Spain and Portugal interfered considerably with their work. To these were added local persecutions, but in spite of all this, the good work went on to such an extent that their facilities were sorely taxed to meet existing conditions. Father Rhodes, S. J., of Tonkin, went to Rome in 1658 and petitioned the Holy See for the erection of some Vicariates Apostolic outside of Portuguese jurisdiction, and also for the establishment of a theological seminary, as it has always been the policy of the Church to secure a native clergy wherever possible in missionary lands.

Pope Alexander VII. approved of the proposition made by Father Rhodes, and, in the same year, appointed three French priests as Vicars Apostolic; they were Father Pullu, Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin, and Administrator of five provinces in southeastern China; Father Lamothe-Lambert, Vicar Apostolic of the southern provinces, and Father Cotolendi, Vicar Apostolic of Nankin, Administrator of Pekin and three provinces north of Korea. Shortly after this, in order to make the work of these Vicariates more effective and of affording them the benefits of pious generosity, the Society of Foreign Missions was founded and located in Paris, at the Seminary of the society, which has given the Church so many missionaries and martyrs.

The work of the missionaries was not confined to making converts alone. The seminaries they established, in time, produced native priests and native Bishops, and when the dreadful persecutions decimated the ranks of the missionaries they were filled up, in part, by natives. Among these was Father Gregory Lou (Spanish Lopez), a Dominican, who, in 1679 was nominated titular Bishop of Basilea, and successor to Monseñor Cotolandi, Vicar Apostolic of Nankin in 1687.

Notwithstanding all this progress the missionaries never felt safe from the machinations of secret enemies. In 1662, after the death of the Emperor Choan-Tje, who had been the warm friend of Father Schall, as we have shown, the four regents proclaimed their hostility to Christianity, and a bitter persecution followed, the missionaries were driven away, and their residences pillaged and destroyed. After this storm better days came, so that in 1695 Pope Alexander VIII.

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decided upon the erection of two new episcopal sees, one at Pekin, the other at Nankin. The See of Macao had been erected by Pope Gregory XIII. The two new sees were suffragans. It may not be out of place to state here that there were six successive Bishops at Pekin up to the time of the suppression of that see. These new Bishops were of various nationalities and of different religious orders.

The good Fathers lost no opportunity of making themselves useful to the government when they could do so conscientiously. When it became necessary to effect a treaty between China and Russia, the Fathers were called upon to act as interpreters. They succeeded in obtaining such advantageous terms for China, as gained for them the confidence and protection of the Emperor, who offered them magnificent remuneration. But the missionaries rejected all. "Oh!" cried Father Parmentin, "oh, for fewer gifts to the missionaries and more justice to the religion they preach!" The Fathers were able, some years later, to profit, in a way, from the services they rendered. Thus we find that when the Viceroy Teha-Kiang, friend of the famous Yang-Kouang-Shien, who had inherited all his kinsman's hatred of Europeans and their religion, incited a persecution against them which agitated the entire province, the Jesuits of Pekin, through Prince Sosan, sought the intervention of the Emperor, who in 1692 issued an edict granting the fullest freedom to the missionaries "to preach the Gospel and to the subjects of His Majesty to embrace the new faith and to practice it at will."

The effect of this edict was really wonderful. The number of converts increased so rapidly that the missionaries found it very difficult to minister to them properly for want of helpers. It was, indeed, a case in which "the harvest was great, but the laborers were few."

While recording the wonderful achievements of the missionaries, we must not lose sight of the fact that they had their dark days as well, but we cannot, within the limits of a magazine article, go into all the details of their sufferings during the periodical persecutions that they were called upon to endure. We may, however, call attention to the great persecution of 1736. It took place during the reign of Kien-long, and may, indeed, be considered as a continuation of the trials the Church in China had endured for one hundred and fifty years. In some provinces there had been as many as three generations of martyrs in the same family. A writer in the "Lettres Edifiantes,"[9] who had been an eye-witness of the horrors he describes, tells us that "all, except a very small number who were intimidated by the instrument of torture, displayed heroic constancy amid

[9] "Lettres Edifiantes," tom. XX., p. 333.

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the most cruel torments. In vain they beat their faces with rods till they were covered with blood; or stretched them on the ground and lacerated them with whips and rods. They answered constantly, 'We will live and die Christians.'" When asked by their pagan judges, whose admiration was gained by the patience of their victims: "Why should you die? Obey the command of the Emperor by outward compliance and believe what you please in secret," but deception was not in accordance with the teachings of Father Parmentin and his confrères. Another victim said calmly to the officer who was binding him: "You need not fear lest I should move; a Christian is only too happy to die for his faith." A physician, who had been beaten almost to death, was besought by a youth whose godfather the physician was, to allow him to take his place. "Why, my son',' replied the physician, "would you deprive me of the crown which God has prepared for me?" It is true that during ten years of terrible persecution that followed, some of the victims gave way, unable to bear their cruel torments, but the great majority "not princes only, but magistrates, soldiers, merchants, boatmen, women and even children"[10] met their tortures with a heroism that would have done honor to the primitive Christians. A young girl of nineteen, on being dragged before the tribunal, displayed such joy in her countenance at the honor she would have in confessing herself a Christian, that the enraged mandarin said to her: "Knowest thou not that I can condemn thee to the sword?" Like St. Agnes of old, she calmly replied: "Here is my head, you can order it severed from my body, but it will be unspeakable joy to me to lay down my life for Him who died for me."[11] The mandarins, finding they could do nothing to shake the faith of the converts, turned their attention to the missionaries.

Fathers Royo, Serrano and Diaz, one after the other, fell into the hands of the mandarins and were subjected to the most excruciating mutilations. In answer to the questions of the judges, Father Royo told them that he had labored in China for over thirty years. He was delivered into the hands of his tormentors, while his two companions shared the same fate without even a question asked. The venerable Bishop Sanz, whom the Christians had kept in concealment for a time, now thought it time to give himself up and share the fate of his devoted priests. No sooner was he in the presence of the judges than he was condemned to receive twenty-five blows on the face with a bamboo rod. This was afterwards increased to ninety-five, and this, in spite of his advanced age. Finally, after an apostolate of

[10] Rorhbacher: "Histoire de l'Église Catholique," tom. XXVIII., liv. xci., p. 470.

[11] Rohrbacher: "Histoire de l'Église Catholique," tom. XXIII., liv. xci., p. 475.

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thirty years, this faithful shepherd suffered martyrdom on May 25, 1747. His dying words, addressed to his executioner, were characteristic of the Christian Bishop: "My friend, you are sending me to heaven; would that I could take you with me."

One after another these heroic shepherds gave up their lives for their flocks, but their fall became the seed of Christianity and others hastened to fill their places. On September 12, 1748, the year after the martyrdom of the venerable Bishop Sanz, Father Tristan de Attermis and Father Jose Henriquez were strangled in prison after unheard-of tortures, and on October 28 of the same year, four Dominican missionaries received the crown of martyrdom at the same time.

The tenacity of the Christian converts to the new faith was really wonderful. Father Parronnin tells us of an old Tartar officer who for many years assembled in his house the Christians around him, on all festival days. "We pray together," says this devoted catechist; "I give them notice of the days of fasting and abstinence. All are eager for the happiness of seeing a missionary so as to be able to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments. Most of them had not seen a priest in twelve years." Everywhere the missionaries were the same to their converts, the affection of the converts for the missionaries was the same and the fortitude with which they bore their trials was ever the same.

The mission of Tong-King was founded in 1627 by Father Antoine de Rhodes, S. J. In a few months after his arrival, as we read in the "Lettres Edifiantes," he converted two hundred idolatrous priests, a sister of the King, and seventeen of her near relatives. In less than three years, he and his confrère, Father Antonio Magrués, baptized over 6,000 pagans, among whom were several bonzes of high standing, who were willing to accept the humble position of catechists, and in this way rendered incalculable assistance to the missionaries. When we read records like this we can readily understand that the ire of the King's wives was aroused against men who might induce even their own husbands to embrace a religion which condemned polygamy, and they succeeded in obtaining the banishment of the two missionaries.

But this did not in any way diminish the number of the faithful, for when the two missionaries returned, secretly, the following year, they found that the zealous catechists had not only kept the faith themselves, but had prepared *four thousand* neophytes for the reception of the Sacraments. Thus, in 1639, hardly twelve years after Father de Rhodes had first entered Tong-King, "there were already 82,500 Christians." These figures seem almost incredible, and would really

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be so were it not that they are confirmed by reliable though sometimes reluctant non-Catholic authorities.

We have, until now, dwelt almost entirely on the work of the Jesuit missionaries in China and we have, by no means, exhausted the vast amount of matter in hand, but we are not writing a book. Our purpose is merely to give our readers a brief and cursory review of the work—the wonderful work—accomplished by different Catholic missionary organizations in China from the earliest advent of Christianity in that extensive field down to the present day.

We have already noticed the establishment of several Vicariates. Besides that, owing to the rapid growth of Christianity it became necessary in time to establish permanent episcopal sees. Some of these go back as far as 1696, and all of these recognizing the Archbishop of Goa as their Metropolitan. They, however, covered such a vast extent of territory as to make it impossible for their Bishops to give the faithful under their care the attention they required. Popes Innocent XI. and Innocent XII. divided these dioceses and formed Vicariates under titular Bishops selected from the various religious orders laboring in those regions. Thus we find, in 1696, Monsignor Maigret, of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, in Paris, named for the Vicariate of Fo-Kien; Father d'Alcala, O. P., for the Vicariate of Teche-Kiang; Monsignor Alvaro Benevento, O. S. A., for Kiang-Si; Father Juan Francisco de Lea, O. S. F., for Hou-Rouang; Father Antonio Pomote, S. J., for Cham-Si; Monsignor Antoine de Lyonne, Bishop of Rosalia, from the Seminary of Foreign Missions, for Su-tchuen; Father Basil de Glemane, O. S. F., for Shen-Si; Father Philibert Leblanc, Foreign Missions, for Yu-nan; Father Charles Turotti, S. J., for Kouen-Tchou, and Monsignor Raymond Lezole, Coadjutor to Monsignor Edmond Bolot, Bishop of Aura, from the Missions Étrangère, for the Vicariate of Tonkin.

Not satisfied with this provision for the salvation of souls, Pope Innocent XII., in 1697, anxious to provide these Vicariates with zealous workers, directed the Propaganda to organize an apostolic band for the Chinese missions. This band was composed of three Augustinians, three Franciscans and twelve Minor Observantines. To these were added two secular priests, one of whom was the Rev. Donato Mezzofalce di Bilonto, *convicteur* of the House of the Lazarist Fathers at Monte Citorio; also a student of the Propaganda, M. John Melliner, C. M., a German, and Father Louis Appiani, C. M., who, though only twenty-three years old, at this time, was appointed Vice Visitor Apostolic.

We know that the Franciscans had brought the glad tidings to China in the thirteenth century and that in the seventeenth and eighteenth the Dominicans and the Jesuits had labored in that country

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under the immediate supervision of the Propaganda. The Dominicans, as we learn from the "Apologia dei Padri Dominicani della China (Colonia 1699)," had already been represented in China by Father Gaspar de la Cruz in 1556. This distinguished missionary preached with great zeal. Like another St. Boniface, he overturned the idols in their temples to prove the impotence of their gods, until the mandarins who had sought his life drove him out of the city. He died in Lisbon. Then we hear of Father Martin de la Roda, O. S. A., who went to China in 1575, and of Fathers de Castro and Benavides, both Dominicans. The latter was a master of the Chinese languages of that day, which enabled him and his confrère to begin their work at once in spite of the persecutions. We shall refer to them later on. But let us return to Father Appiani and his Lazarist confrères.

The first Lazarists to engage in the work of evangelizing China were Father Louis Antoine Appiani, Theodore Pedrini and John Mellener. These good Fathers realized the spirit of their holy founder: "Evangelicare pauperibus misit me," and they entered upon their work with the whole-heartedness of St. Vincent de Paul. Father Appiani was a native of Italy; he was born at Dogliani, in Piedmont, on March 22, 1663, and was ordained at the age of twenty-five. He entered the Congregation of the Mission in Genoa on May 20, 1687, being already a doctor of theology. For a time he was professor of philosophy, and of moral and dogmatic theology, at Monte Citorio. After a serious illness he resolved to devote his life to the missions in India, but God had other designs, and his desire to labor in foreign parts was to be gratified, but not in India.

As we have seen, Pope Innocent XII. designed him for the Chinese mission, and we find him, as stated above, Vice Visitor Apostolic of the houses to be established by the priests of the mission. It was the idea of the Congregation of the Propaganda to establish in China a seminary for the training of native priests, and the qualities noticed in Father Appiani gave the Congregation of the Propaganda the hope of effecting, through him, the realization of this great work. Father Mellener was a secular priest, but he felt that he could do much more effective work as a member of a religious community, where he would have companions and counsellors. He applied to Father Appiani for admission to the Congregation of the Fathers of the Mission. This favor was granted to him with the approbation of the Very Rev. Father Pieron, Superior General of the Congregation. But Father Mellener was not the first missionary of the Propaganda to apply to be enrolled among the sons of St. Vincent de Paul. Father John Appiani, a younger brother of the Vice Visitor, was among the first. He had been in China for some time engaged at the

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Emperor's court, but he was only too glad to accept his brother's invitation to join him in a more congenial work.

Fathers L. A. Appiani and Mellener landed at Canton on October 14, 1699, and immediately applied themselves to the study of the language of the people they were going to evangelize. Their first care was to realize the hopes of the Propaganda and establish a seminary for the training of Chinese young men for the apostolate. They were not unmindful of the obstacles that lay in their way, but this they expected and they trusted in Providence for help to surmount them. The commercial relations between the Spanish and Portuguese residents in China kept things in such a destitute condition that Father Appiani did not deem it prudent to locate his seminary either at Canton or Pekin, and that a more retired place, one less frequented by Europeans, would be more desirable. He therefore sought an asylum in the interior of the country. They secured a house in Tchung-King-Fou, which they made their permanent residence and they had also a small chapel. The natives built the Fathers two additional chapels in the country; these were constructed of reeds, rushes and straw. An old pagan hermit whom the Fathers had converted offered them his "temple," in which he had kept his idols, that they might convert it into a temple to the Living God. About one hundred converts formed the nucleus of this mission, but it grew in time.

These early Lazarists were obliged to go slowly and to exercise the greatest prudence, but Father Appiani was a man full of life and activity. But he realized the necessity for patience. He and his companions gave conferences, retreats and missions with the most gratifying results. It is thus that they had to endure all manner of disappointments and even persecution, but their trust in God never failed them. We cannot deny that there were times when Father Appiani felt discouraged and even thought of soliciting a mission far away, but he soon realized that things were not so bad as they might be, and that his lack of courage was only a temptation for him to overcome. He was encouraged about this time by the receipt of some relief from France and a remittance from the Propaganda for the purchase of a house to be used as a seminary. While everything seemed to indicate that this seminary was to be placed under the care of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, the property, it seemed, was to be held in the name of the Propaganda. This was a source of anxiety to the Fathers, as it was liable to have to open its doors to undesirable persons who were unknown to the Fathers and who might pose as missionaries, and thus compromise the reputation of the legitimate workers. Father Appiani appealed to the Propaganda for a statement as to the status of the seminary, as well as for a course of studies subject to such modifications as circum-

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stances and experience might suggest. Father Appiani and his devoted confrères continued their apostolic work amid poverty, disappointments, calumniation and persecution, awaiting the day of deliverance with holy resignation, and this resignation was soon to be sorely needed.

On November 2, 1706, while the Bishop of Pekin was at Hougan with Father Appiani, they were notified that the Sub-Prefect of that town desired to call on the Bishop. He was received without delay. This officer's conversation was, at first, on general matters, then, suddenly turning to Father Appiani, asked him whether he was not *Pie-Tien-Gho* (the Chinese name of Father Appiani). On receiving an affirmative answer, the Prefect informed him that he had an order from the Emperor for his arrest. Two satellites of the Prefect approached the surprised missionary and proceeded to put chains around his neck. The Bishop, shocked at this outrage, told the officer that if Father Appiani was guilty of any offense, which he was far from believing, he (the Bishop) was himself equally guilty and subject to arrest and that he, too, should be enchained. He approached Father Appiani, and the soldiers, thinking that they were obliged to bind the Bishop, put the chain upon him. The Prefect interfered, stating that his orders did not include the Bishop, but referred to Father Appiani alone.

Father Appiani was taken to the temple of one of their idols, where he was kept over night under a strong guard. Early the next morning, his chains were doubled and he was carried in an open criminal's chair to the place of trial. As he passed the vessel on which the Bishop was awaiting transportation to his destination. Father Appiani turned to the missionaries and asked their prayers. He was carried by four chair-bearers as far as Pekin, where the trial was to take place. On his arrival he was asked by one of the Emperor's officials why he had been expelled from Su-tchuen. The prisoner replied that he had not been expelled.

In the meantime the Bishop had written to Father Gerbillon asking him to send Father Appiani money and everything he might need and to omit nothing that could contribute towards making his position as endurable as possible. On December 17, 1706, the Emperor issued an edict banishing Monsignor Maignot, Bishop of Conran, Father Appiani and several other missionaries. The article concerning Father Appiani charged him with causing a disturbance in the province of Su-tchuen. An officer of the Council was to take Father Appiani before the Viceroy of the Province, who after taking evidence was to forward his report to the Emperor.

The report proved nothing against the good missionary and he was sent back to Su-tchuen to be examined by the local authorities. The

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Viceroy, failing to find anything against the prisoner, sent a confidential messenger to the Imperial Court for further instructions. Father Appiani, meantime, was sent to prison with his manacles still about him. Although his jailer was ordered to treat him as a person of distinction, the order was not obeyed. He remained in this prison nine months and three days. Finally, this courageous confessor of the faith was condemned to receive forty blows with rods and to perpetual banishment to northern Tartary. As this sentence could not be carried out without the approbation of the Supreme Court, Father Appiani was taken back to Pekin, where it was found that the Court was not in session. The prisoner was now confined in the common jail, where he suffered the most excruciating torture, amid filth, common felons, diseased persons and even cadavers. He was advised to make his condition known to the Jesuit Fathers who were at the Court. He succeeded in doing so, and they immediately visited him and supplied him with the means to defray his daily expenses, until they found an opportunity of seeing the Emperor.

Father Appiani was dragged from one prison to another for a period of over nineteen years. Father Mellener, his confrère, the Father Guardian of the Franciscans and the Father Vicar of the Augustinians were likewise put to all manner of trouble and temporarily exiled through the machinations, we regret to say, of infidel Europeans. Then, too, the mandarins had been busy for a long time, in filling the Emperor's ears with false charges against the missionaries, until finally they were banished from Pekin to Macao. Father Appiani was taken from a sick bed upon a stretcher to a junk which was to carry him, his confrères and the other missionaries to their destination. On landing, it was found that Father Appiani's condition had become so serious that the last Sacraments were administered by the Dominican Fathers. He received them full of faith, devotion and resignation to the will of God, and on August 29, 1732, he went to his eternal reward. He was buried on the following day "at the foot of the altar of these Rev. Fathers" in the presence of all the missionaries, and with all the ceremonies prescribed by the Church he served so long and heroically.

We have not space in a magazine article to follow the trials and persecution endured by Father Appiani and his two companions, the pioneers of the Congregation of the Mission in China. Suffice it to say that Father Pedrini died at Pekin on December 11, 1746, in the seventy-seventh year of his age and the thirty-sixth of his missionary labors. Most of his life was spent at Pekin and vicinity, where he was noted for his zeal for the propagation of the Christian religion. He strongly opposed the practice of certain rites which were con-

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demned by the Church, and suffered, in consequence, the most cruel infliction of the bastinado, heavy chains and three years of painful imprisonment. He was calumniated and suffered all manner of persecution for Christ's sake.

Father Mellener, an indefatigable laborer in the vineyard of the Lord, was made Vicar Apostolic of Su-tchuen in 1716. As Bishop he devoted himself to the care of his extensive Vicariate. He instructed native catechists, who, in turn, were to instruct neophytes; he trained young Chinese for the priesthood and ordained them. Among these were Fathers Paul and Etienno Sou. He died at Tching-Tou-Fou on December 17, 1742, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-third of his profession as a Lazarist. All his missionary life was spent for the salvation of souls in China.

Father Paul Sou, like all Chinese convert-priests, was a zealous and devoted missionary. In 1754 he wrote to his confrère, Father Monet, in Canton: "God seems to mean to try us by still further difficulties, and our missionaries in China can now barely exercise their ministry in Canton. Five Jesuit Fathers have been arrested; one French priest from the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Paris, Father Urbain Lefèvre, has been sent back to Macao. The others are in prison. Father Urban, O. S. F., has been released after an imprisonment of eight years and he has gone to Europe, accompanied by four young Chinese students, who have been at Macao, where I have been stationed for the last eighteen months. They are on their way to the Chinese College at Naples."

Father Paul Sou, after having been driven from one province to another, full of years and worn out by hardships, imprisonment and persecution, finally sought and found refuge in a Dominican convent at Macao. But even here his devotion to the Church and to religion did not relax. He was anxious to work as long as he lived, and he devoted himself to the instruction of young Chinese Christians, training them to be competent catechists, and eventually to be candidates for the priesthood. He also taught the Chinese language to European missionaries. He died at the house of the Dominicans, the same in which his former superior, Father Appiani, had died.

The work of the Lazarist Fathers in China, which began as early as 1699, in the time when individual priests were sent out by the Propaganda until 1783, when the missions passed into their hands as a body, they labored under untold difficulties, but the spirit of their holy founder, St. Vincent de Paul, was an inspiration which led them on to do and to die, when necessary. We shall have occasion to refer to their work more than once as this narrative progresses.

The "Personel de la Congregation de la Mission" for 1916 (the last issue available) reports thirteen Vicariates Apostolic with over

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sixty native priests, many of whom are holding responsible positions. Besides this, the Fathers have quite a number of seminaries for the training of young Chinese for the priesthood, colleges, normal schools and parochial schools for both sexes; orphan asylums, hospitals, etc. All of these are under the supervision of the Lazarist Fathers, assisted by the Brothers of Mary, Brothers of St. Paul, Sisters of Charity, Sisters of St. Joseph, Franciscans of Mary, Sisters of the Holy Infancy, Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, and others, all enduring sacrifice and privation cheerfully in the cause of Christianity. Of their martyrs we shall speak later on.

Persecutions continued with unabated fury and we cannot refrain from referring to some of them as evidences of the fortitude of the Christian martyr, and of the force of their example on their converts. The year 1750 found the prisons again crowded with devoted confessors of the faith, many of whom died of starvation. We find that one of the Bishops of Tong-King was pressed to the earth by a heavy weight and that he bore this torture for eighteen days. Father Laureygo and other missionaries shared the same fate, and their pagan tormentors who witnessed their resignation, left them filled with amazement and sorely at a loss to account for "the heavenly joy which illumined their faces" in the midst of their torments. The faith of the Chinese converts was really wonderful. Father de Fontaney, in the "Lettres Edifiantes" (I. xvii., p. 210) tells of a Tartar colonel charged with an official embassy to a distant part of the empire. Before starting, he besought the good Father to admit him to Baptism. On examination he was found ignorant of some of the most important things necessary to be known before one can be received into the Church, and his request was deferred. "Oh, Father!" exclaimed the poor fellow, "do not insist on this condition. I believe all the mysteries of religion, one God in three Persons; that the second Person became Man for us and suffered death for our salvation; I believe that those who keep the law will be saved, and that those who do not keep it will be eternally lost. There is nothing to prevent my becoming a Christian. I have only one wife, and no desire for more than one; there are no idols in my house, nor do I adore any. I adore the Lord of heaven alone, and desire to love and to serve Him as long as I live." The missionary still advised delay. "But, Father, if I die on the way my soul will be lost, for who will baptize me if I should fall sick on the way. You see that I am prepared; that I believe all the articles of the law, and that I wish to keep it all my life. I have just left the palace, and come hither in great haste to beg you to grant me this favor. I have only two hours left to prepare for my departure, for I must begin my march to-night. Father, in God's name, do not refuse me this grace." Such a prayer

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as this was not to be refused. The missionary yielded, and eight days later the new Christian died on his journey.

Father François Noel tells us that many Christian Chinese "traveled twenty or thirty miles every Sunday to hear Mass, and that on Fridays they assembled in great numbers to practice devotions in honor of the Passion. These austerities and penances would be indiscreet if we were not careful to moderate their excess." Discipline of this kind, prayer, meditation and penance, prepared them for martyrdom. Even the hostile and Christian-hating Emperors have been forced to admit the powerful hold that Christianity has upon their subjects. Kia-King, in his bitter proclamation against the Catholic converts in his dominions, was forced to admit that all who became Christians, whether rich or poor, no sooner embraced the new religion than "they manifest such an affection for one another that they *seem to be of one bone and one flesh.*"

Mr. Tinkowski, a Russian envoy sent to Pekin in 1805, on official business, tells us that, "in consequence of a map of China executed by the Jesuits, on which the sites of all the Catholic missions were indicated, a fresh persecution was commenced against the Christians. Efforts were made to oblige them to trample upon the Cross and to abjure their new faith, and on their refusal were threatened with death. At Pekin many thousand persons were discovered who had embraced the Christian religion, even among the mandarins and members of the imperial family. New tortures," continues this Russian non-Catholic, "were invented expressly for this occasion. They made incisions in the soles of their feet, filled the wound with horsehair, finely cut, and then closed it with a plaster. It is affirmed that such torture has never before been permitted in China. Several of these miserable beings, chiefly Chinese soldiers, lost their courage during these tortures, but the great majority remained true to their religion."[12]

The persecution of 1805 died out in Pekin, Mr. Tinkowski goes on to tell us, for a reason worthy of notice. "The president of the criminal tribunal, having learned that in his own house, *nearly all of his relations and servants were Christians,* became less rigorous in his examinations and more indulgent towards the Christians." The courage and heroism of the Chinese converts was the same in all parts of the empire, and during the centuries of persecution.

One after another the missionaries fell; no menace could daunt them, no anguish could overcome them. Father Beuth, Tristan de Attermis and Joseph Henriquez were shining examples of Christian heroism. The two last named were strangled in prison after the most cruel tortures. Examples like these, and we shall have occasion to

[12] "Travels," Vol. I., ch. ix., p. 365.

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cite many more of them—were not without effect. The spiritual children of these martyrs, even when deprived of their pastors, had the grace given them to bear that supreme calamity. In many a province of China, they showed that the stake had no terrors for them even if no apostle stood by them to encourage them. They showed that they could live long years according to the strictest rule of the religion the missionaries had taught them, even when deprived of their beloved Fathers who were driven from them.

In the list of Chinese missionaries—French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese—I find an Irish name, the Rev. Robert Hanna, C. M. He was born at Dromore, Leinster, Ireland, in August, 1762, and in 1793 we find him at Saint-Lazare, in Paris. Destined for the Chinese mission, he was sent to Macao, but here he had great difficulty in obtaining permission from the government to go into the provinces. While at Macao he taught philosophy in St. Joseph's Seminary, and acted as procurator in the French houses of his community for some years. He labored with the saintly Father Clet for a time and while at Pekin was indefatigable in the confessional and in the pulpit, but was noted still more for his exemplary life. His knowledge of astronomy and mathematics gained for him the favor of the Emperor, who expressed greater admiration for his scientific attainments than he did for his theology. He was never very robust in health, and after a truly apostolic career he gave his soul to God on January 17, 1797. His lamented death was the result of long standing lung trouble and too close application to study. He was a great loss to his community, as Father Raux had intended to make him his successor as a scientist at the Court.

Among the Lazarist martyrs who gave their lives as a willing sacrifice for the faith that was in them, we can mention only two or three in this article, and that, much to our regret, in a very brief manner.

The Rev. Jean François Regis Clet, beatified May 27, 1900, was born at Grenoble, France, in 1748. His parents were not rich, but lived in modest comfort and brought up their children as good Christians. One of their daughters became a Carmelite nun, one of the sons found his vocation in the monastery of La Chartreuse and Jean François became a follower of St. Vincent de Paul. His learning and Christian virtues pointed him out in time as a fitting guide for the interns of the Seminary of St. Lazare, but Providence had already designed him for a broader field of action: one for which he had long yearned, and in 1791 he was able to write to his sister: "At last my longings are gratified, and I am overwhelmed with joy. I am to labor for the conversion of the heathen. This opportunity, while it holds out no temporal advantages, offers superabundant treasures

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in the supernatural order. It may be that I will never see you again, so it behooves me to set my house in order." He arrived at Macao in 1791. Owing to the hostility of the Chinese Government towards Christian missionaries, he was obliged to assume a disguise, so as to be able to reach Kiang-Si, where his labors were to begin. He found it necessary, from the very start, to revive the faith among former Christians who had been deprived of religious consolations for some years. After a brief sojourn at Kiang-Si, he was sent to Hou-Kouang, where his labors were interrupted for a while by a war waged against the "Rebels." Of his work in the Vicariate of Kiang-Si, his Bishop, Monsignor de Madella, says: "The admirable labors of Father Clet, his prudence, his zeal for the salvation of souls, need no words of praise from men, as these qualities are too well known, and although there have been some we have been obliged to restrain, yet this good priest commands my esteem. Would to God I had twenty more like him; then would all my sufferings and anxieties turn to delights."

After an apostolate full of zeal and self-sacrifice, together with the infirmities of age, he was afflicted in a manner that rendered him unable to perform his duties as was his wont. When relief came, and he was able to resume his work, a cruel persecution broke out. In December, 1818, two native priests fell into the hands of the mandarins and were condemned to exile. Father Clet became the victim of false accusations. The mandarins were unable to prove their charges when brought before the Emperor, but this did not avail to save their victim. A reward of $2,000, in our money, had been offered for his apprehension; he had been hunted through dense forests and remote caves, where his devoted followers had sought to conceal him, but the reward offered was such as to awaken the greatest activity on the part of his pursuers. He was taken from one prison to another until finally he found himself in a cell occupied by other Christian captives, among whom was Father Chen, a Chinese Lazarist. This prison was in Ho-Nan and Father Clet was subjected to all manner of tortures. Thirty blows with sole leather strips were showered upon his face, until his garments were soaked with his blood. His words to the judge who presided at this cruel ordeal were characteristic of the man: "My brother," he said to him, "you are passing judgment on me now, but in a short time, God will pass judgment on you." These words were prophetic, for before the executioner could repeat the blows he was ordered to inflict, the mandarin was stricken with a sudden death. The valiant confessor of the faith was conducted back to his cell to await the hour of his liberation from the troubles and trials of this world. He had not long to wait, for it was only a few days later when he was visited by the Emper-

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or's satellites. They hesitated for a few moments before making known the purpose of their visit, but the holy missionary was ready to hear it. He had looked forward to it from day to day. Father Chen told the officer they need have no fear, as death had no terrors for the Christian missionary. The leader of the band then announced that he was there to conduct Father Clet to the place of execution. Falling upon his knees at the feet of his Chinese confrère, he asked for absolution, which the latter gave with tears in his eyes. Then turning to his fellow-prisoners, Father Clet gave them his last blessing, and after a few words of consolation to those around him, with a face radiant with joy, followed his executioner to the place of his martyrdom. A rope was soon placed around his neck; it was drawn tightly until life appeared to be extinct, and was then relaxed so as to allow the victim time to regain consciousness, when it was again tightened. This operation was repeated three times before final strangulation relieved the holy martyr from his sufferings and opened the portals of heaven to this "good and faithful servant."

His devoted friend and companion, Father Francis Chen, was an exemplary priest. After his conversion he made his theological studies with the Lazarist Fathers at Pekin, and in 1807 he made his profession as a Father of the Congregation of the Mission. He labored among his people with great success and enjoyed the confidence and respect of his superiors. He did not escape persecution and was finally betrayed and sold for a large sum of money by a renegade Chinaman. He was led from one prison to another, and while at Coo-Tcheng, received sixty blows on the face with heavy leather "slappers," and was eventually sent into exile. The town in which he resided was attacked by the Turks, who put the inhabitants to the sword. Father Chen shared the fate of the others. His death is supposed to have occurred on the 5th or 6th of March, 1805. He was regarded by his confrères as "a very good missionary, wise and prudent in his dealings with his converts."[18]

The Venerable Jean Gabriel Perboyre was another distinguished Lazarist martyr, although he cannot be ranked among the early missionaries, as he only gained the crown of martyrdom in September, 1840. He was born at Le Puech, a village in the Diocese of Cahors, France, on January 6, 1802. Like Father Clet, his parents were not blessed with a superabundance of this world's goods, but they were rich in what is worth much more; they had the gifts of divine grace. At the age of fifteen, after listening to a mission sermon, he announced his wish to "become a missionary," and his longing to be

[18] "Mémoires de la Congregation de la Mission," Vol. II., p. 594. I may also add that I am indebted to this work for most of my information relating to Lazarist missionaries.

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a disciple of St. Vincent de Paul. He made his profession on December 28, 1820, and three years later, having finished his theological course he received the second order of sub-deacon. His first years in orders he spent in teaching the younger pupils in the College of Montdidier, and the next year we find him teaching philosophy. He was ordained priest on September 23, 1825, just two hundred and twenty-five years after his holy patron, St. Vincent de Paul. He was now appointed professor of dogmatic theology in the Grand Seminaire of Saint-Flour, of which he was soon to become the head. Here he labored for five years, gaining "golden opinions" from his superiors. He had great admiration for Father Clet and conceived a longing to walk in his footsteps.

After many difficulties, Father Perboyre realized the hopes of his life; he was to be sent to China, and on March 16, 1835, we find him at Havre, ready to embark for his far-off mission. He reached Macao in August of the same year, and set himself at once to learn the language and the manners and customs of the people among whom he was to end his days. After a few months his superiors sent him to Ho-Nan, where his charge consisted of some 1,500 Christians scattered over twenty settlements. Here he spent two fruitful years. He labored in various other places, winning souls to God by his preaching, but still more by his edifying example.

While at Hu-Peh a persecution broke out and while Father Perboyre was visiting some of his confrères in a neighboring village, he was set upon by the soldiers of the mandarins, seized by the hair, dragged to another village, stripped of his clothes, loaded with chains and cut with sabres. His tortures were beyond description. He was taken from one town to another, before one tribunal after another. On one occasion the mandarin threw a Crucifix on the ground and ordered his victim to trample it under foot, threatening him with death if he refused to do so. On his refusal he received forty blows upon the cheeks with a heavy sole-leather strap, after which he was conducted back to his prison, covered with blood. Father Perboyre was transferred from one dungeon to another, sometimes confined with the vilest of the vile. On one occasion he was suspended by his hands to a sort of cross and left in this position for a whole day. After undergoing the most agonizing tortures for months he was finally sentenced to be strangled. This sentence was carried out with all the most exquisite fiendishness the pagan brain could conceive and borne with the calmness and holy submission of the Christian martyr. His remains were finally buried beside those of his venerable

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confrère, Father Clet, whose tragic fate he had so ardently yearned to share.[14]

The history of the Chinese missions abounds in such instances as we have just cited. The annals of Christianity record no braver deeds and the story of its combats contain no nobler triumphs. St. Peter would have embraced such apostles as his brethren, and St. Paul would have said to such disciples: "You are our glory and our joy."

Thus far we have dealt principally with the Jesuit and Lazarist beginnings in China. In our next article we shall refer to the great work accomplished during the same period by the Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, the Société des Missions Étrangères and others as well as the valuable work now being done by the American missionaries of to-day.

In closing this article we cannot do better than quote a recent account made by the Rev. Martin O'Brannagan in the Liverpool *Catholic Times*. Among other items of interest he gives "the total of Catholics in round numbers, as *two million*, a gain of 39,419 during 1919, despite the decrease of European priests, due to the war in France, and the loss of the German missionaries." Then he goes on to show how, out of evil, Providence invariably extracts good. "Compensation for the decrease in European priests is made by the increase of Chinese priests and candidates for the sacred ministry." He adds the gratifying intelligence that "fifty-nine Chinese priests were ordained, the number of seminarians was increased to the astonishing addition of fifty, with the increase of ninety-three classical students. Altogether there are at present in China 2,347 priests, of whom 1,394 are Europeans and 959 native Chinese." In view of these figures we may readily understand the great work for God accomplished by Catholic missionaries in China.

Thus we find that the Catholic shepherd was ever ready "to give his life for his sheep," and even after martyrdom they are not unmindful of the people among whom they labored. Like the prophet Jeremiah, who was seen after death by the High Priest Onias, praying with unabated ardor for Jerusalem and the people of Israel, these holy martyrs will continue to pray for the souls of the erring ones which Providence had entrusted to their keeping.

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[14] "Life of the Venerable Servant of God, Jean Gabriel Perboyre." Translated from the French by the Lady Clare Fielding. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

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THE LIMITATIONS OF REALISM IN MODERN FICTION.

THE question of the relative merits of the realistic and the romantic methods in modern fiction forms the basis of much conflicting current criticism.

Realism is devoted to what is real in the sense of being material and sensible, rather than imaginary and ideal, and the novel is supposed to reflect, as the realists would have it, men and women as they are, not as they ought to be. This challenges the position held so long and so preëminently by the old romancing idealists whose art mirrors humanity preferably at its best, and who painted for our pleasure portraits that flattered rather than offended, and who over-idealized and grew sentimental, lest they point no moral to adorn their tales. If they sinned by exaggeration, at least they did not go to the opposite extreme of underestimating humanity as do they who regard the passing show with only limited vision.

Extreme realism takes cognizance of the sensible realities about us to the utter exclusion of the higher spiritual realities that influence men's conduct in life, and it makes of man a creature of convenience and mere propriety as determined by social custom which is not necessarily in conformity with the Christian code of morality. It is because of this that the critical moralist rises in his wrath to denounce that class of extreme realists who are perverters of the truth, who see the evil realities, but are blind to the real moral good, as if virtue had departed from the world, and who note the shadows, but fail to make us realize that the lights still tinge the land and sea.

The modern tendency to materialism in literature, the proneness of the human mind to cling to what is visible and tangible, is based upon positivism, that popular philosophy of the day which maintains that the only source of certain knowledge is to be derived from the senses.

Realism pervaded by naturalism is, indeed, a poor comfort for living. The realist, in this respect, contends that to be one's proper self "without assistance or reward from any god," is to endure the ordeal of reality, and this ordeal must be endured because we are helpless to do otherwise.

Ever since sound religious doctrine suffered a shock as the result of the revolution in scientific notions caused by the implications of Darwin, the literary world has produced writers who proved buffers for that shock, such as Browning and Tennyson in poetry, and Stevenson and Hawthorne in the realm of fiction. Men will still realize that faith and hope, in a religious sense, are not dead. In our day and generation, since H. G. Wells became the critic spokesman of

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the world of letters, some have found in him a sign of weakness in his getting closer to the "Lord of Hosts." In a word, there will always be those who will consider it a sign of strength to fling defiance in the face of Jove.

Novelists may be realists by choice, because they size up men and women in their social life about them as being materialistic and more or less degenerate, and because they intend their romancing to be so much satire upon every-day conduct in what is considered real life; or, they would have us believe that men and women are once and for all what they are—good, bad or indifferent, and that spiritually minded people and the moralists had better make the best of it, and admit that men are their true selves only when they are free to follow their natural inclinations. This is but an expression of libertinism and the losing sight of the fact that real freedom lies in not being slaves to pride and passion, but in being men and women who realize that human nature is a fallen nature, subject to moral law.

Like the transcendentalist, who considers the conventional in morality and pure sentiment and idealism as unsatisfactory and would go beyond these for something vaguely better, the extreme realist, too, abhors the mere conventional and finds the ready solution of everything in the realities he sees about him. Materialism and atheism are bound up in realism and the superman idea of the embittered Nietzsche suffices for all practical purposes. The Christian idea of morality is too exacting, too irksome to many moderns with their so-called broad and liberal ideas. And when it comes to the Catholic doctrines affecting morals, these are adjudged too dogmatic, too despotic. The falsity lies in the total negligence of any reality beyond the known facts of life and the denial of any spiritual or supernatural realities. Surely, reality consists of more than a mere fleshless skeleton, of more than a soulless body.

Some writers of fiction, too, make the novel the means of satirizing the foibles and follies of humanity, as if the world were only a paradise of fools. Satire and irony, if corrective of social evils, have their place in literature. Plain truths to correct false sex notions that indicate pervertedness also have their right to be stated, but decently so. Good taste should prompt writers to handle their subjects with decorum, without necessarily a loss of vigor. Thus treading the moral path, there need be no desertion of refined taste. Finally, men may differ philosophically as well as theologically and as far as the Catholic is concerned, he realizes that the matured reader, well instructed in his faith, knows what to take and what to leave. But when it comes to moralizing, certain inalienable ethical principles are so grounded in the race and so backed up by education and religion, or at least common decency, that a writer cannot hope to

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overthrow morality and substitute novelties, or distort the moral into the unmoral, which is generally the immoral.

We need writers in this sort of world of ours to satirize and point out our shortcomings. But to disregard truth because it is considered clever and a sign of super-intellectuality to hold the opposite of accepted truth as the real truth—for this sort of thing there is no excuse. The rampant realist, who condemns sham and hypocrisy, will never correct these vices, because as a rank materialist he has no Christian virtues to boast of. There is sham and hypocrisy enough in society without trying to correct it with false notions of right and wrong. To tell the truth about lies is one thing; to make the lies of life appear true is quite another.

Rev. John Danihy, S. J., dean of journalism at Marquette University, has well said: "Cleverness, satire, brilliancy, cynicism, may secure readers, but to hold the attention of the world a man must have not only the gift of expression, but something worth while, something solidly based on the eternal foundation of truth, to give to mankind."

The realistic note in the English novel dates back to Defoe, who is called the father of English journalism. And as the journalist is fundamentally the recorder of facts, Defoe as such, giving close attention to detailed happenings, may be regarded as the first realist among writers of English fiction. His method, however, being romantic, he is in the main a safe realist.

The history and development of the English novel is anything but inspiring from a moral point of view. Originally writers of prose fiction were a poor lot morally, using this means of literary expression to tell of follies and indecencies. Everywhere among the early great ones is traced the Anglo-Saxon propensity for coarseness and lack of decorum. About the beginning of the nineteenth century, indecency gave way to sentimentality. Instead of the libertine, we now have the sighing lover. Sir Walter Scott brought about a reaction and the novelist became the illustrator of history, the satirist of manners, and dealt with controversy in philosophy, politics and religion. Needless to say, false philosophy and attacks upon the Catholic religion were frequent, thus subverting the true purpose of the novel. Through Bulwer-Lytton was introduced the novel of fashionable life and its insipidness.

The influence of French impudence made itself felt in Bulwer's imitators. The realist school of Zola is composed of that class of writers who are "artists before everything." The pleasure they derive from artistic creation is for them sufficient. To them nothing else matters much; and so religion and morality are regarded as so much cant and, having nothing in common with art, have no right

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to preach to the artist. When they tell us that Christianity has made creatures of pretense, it is time to call a halt, for herein lies the banal "ism"; herein they mistake the true cause of social decadence.

Francis Thompson, in his essay on "The Error of the Extreme Realists," says: "Whether or not for ultimate good, certainly for much immediate evil, the gospel preached by M. Zola has become an influence among many novelists. As we understand his gospel in its relation to novels, it is this—that the novelistic art, in order to be a complete art, must pitilessly delineate the evil, no less than the good, in man's nature."

Other of the French school of realists who influenced English novelists, were Balzac and George Sand. Of the two George Sand is less harmful. She was an idealist-realist; for, while Balzac, who was a sensualist, portrayed the ugly and the evil, George Sand realized they have no more reality than the beautiful and the good. Speaking of such writers as Balzac, George Sand herself said: "They seize upon the real from its base and dreary side; the other side of life, which is much more agreeable, much more charming, to me, is by no means less real." And so, "she represents," says Pelissier, writing some years ago in *La Revue,* "characters more true, more real, than any of those which have been portrayed by Balzac."

Realism was reflected in the English novel during the eighteenth century when the English Deists were making open war on Christianity, and Christian sects and parties made open war on one another. Religious bias was productive of skepticism, openly championed by the philosophers Hume and Gibbon. As in the period of Restoration preceding, the corrupt infidel literature of France circulated widely in England and literary art bore the taint as is reflected and has since been reflected in so many of our English and latterly American writers of fiction.

A healthy reaction set in when Dickens appeared and won his place by reviving the novel of genuine practical life. His was sweetness and purity of feeling. He deals with charity and love and not with sophistries to make evil appear good. In Dickens, however, the realistic tendency is kept up in all his stories. Attention has been called to the fact that "the good characters of his novels do not seem to have a wholesome moral tendency. The reason is, that many of them—all the author's favorites—exhibit an excellence flowing from constitution and temperament, and not from the influence of moral or religious motive. They act from impulse, not from principle."

In attempting to correct the vices of society, Dickens is no better than the realistic writers of our day. He preached the natural virtues as correctives of sin, sorrow and the weariness of life. He

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led his readers from "every source of supernatural enlightenment." And so the age of romanticism was not devoid of the realistic taint.

Speaking of Thackeray, Father O. L. Jenkins says: "In a moral point of view, Thackeray's writings are open to serious objection. The fundamental principle which underlies them is the total depravity of human nature, rendering virtue an impossibility, and religious practice a sham. As Catholics, we know that the human power for good was weakened, not destroyed, by the fall of Adam, and that the grace of Christ may yet raise men to the sublimest virtue."

George Eliot, whose centenary has just been celebrated, was imbued with the doctrine of positivism, the principles of which are reflected in her "Romola," "Middlemarch" and "Daniel Deronda." "Adam Bede," her greatest novel, is fortunately a Christian novel imbued with a deep sense of Christianity. This is because she had an open mind. She regarded positivism as "one-sided" and did not give it her complete adherence. In fact, she was deeply religious and was a devoted reader of the Bible and she loved and read Dante's "Divina Comedia." She believed in—and it was the message of her romancing—duty, immortality and God. If the seeds of unbelief were sown in her at Coventry, they did not ultimately bear fruit.

In reviewing current fiction, too, it is patent that in many instances naturalism is bound up with realism, and in many of the most popular novels of the day, the theme deals only too often with free love and adultery and social corruption, disgustingly dwelt upon. The Christian principles of moral right and moral wrong, of responsibility, retribution and reward are abjured and mere sense worship is substituted for pure sentiment, presenting an obnoxious world of dissimulation and sensuality, as if these were the leading motives of man's manner of living.

Coupled with all this is the claim that, in thus writing, a note of sincerity has been struck, because men are so in reality constituted, and it is useless any longer to hide the unpleasant truth of it all by painting men as they ought to be, instead of showing them up as they really are. Yet, the truth of the matter really is that the modernists among writers are but a self-sufficient lot, who fall about each other's necks in praise of one another's talents, and if not thus engaged, they are by no means nonplussed, but take quite easily to praising themselves. Upon this depends their transient literary fame. They form a coterie of exclusive ones, and they care nothing for posterity or permanent fame. To be flattered by the critics by being noticed in public print and buzzed about, adds to their conceit. It matters not if they are condemned, for like the stage villain, they prefer hisses to applause.

The commercialized art of this class of novelists consists in ten-

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dering us filth on gold plates and they leave a bad taste in the mouth of the consumer. They lack decorum and good breeding in their literary methods. They libel everything that is true and tried, branding it as conventional and worn-out. They scoff at things sacred, and affect, as Maurice Francis Egan recently said, "a knowledge of evil." Nor is the reason hard to find, for, as a Catholic churchman has pronounced, they have forsaken ancient truths, and the word that comforts and raises up is not theirs to impart. In a word, they are the absolute realists, who stop at realism. To point at the slime of the serpent seems their mission; not to show how to scotch the reptile, but to leave us to our fate, nor try to prevent us having our veins filled with the venom that means death to the immortal soul.

In a novel of the sort referred to, we have given a man, most attentive and devoted to a wife who has not sense enough to love anybody properly, and it becomes the writer's purpose to set these two characters one against the other to see just how far they can exercise restraint before the breaking point in their relations. Yet there will always be decent people who can exercise moral restraint, who can allow for each other's trivial differences, and not fly to the divorce courts, because they have a religious education which gives them more backbone and character enough to change evil into good and adopt a course of conduct which is correct.

One of the most illustrative novels of recent times is "Pink Roses," by Gilbert Cannan, because of the insight it gives us into the existence in pre-war London of a coterie of decadents, whose existence was a blot on English society, and who made possible their portrayal in many modernist novels of the period, either satirizing their existence or flattering them. In the latter case, the novels are deserving of every anathema. Effeminacy and sensuality are the predominant characteristics of the young men and young women who figure in these realistic romancings. The sex problems come to the fore in their themes, and one is given the impression that the old order has changed to such a degree that one may now do as one pleases and it is no one's business, particularly not the business of old fogyism. Fortunately the war gave fresh vigor to English manhood, even to the extent of causing red-blooded men to despise the limpid leisure class that make up such a social clique as Gilbert Cannan has shown up so well, but not wisely.

Jerome K. Jerome's novel, "All Roads Lead to Calvary," is critically considered to be a fine bit of "analytical realism." At first glance at the title, visions might arise of a story teaching love and sacrifice and suffering, idealizing some life or lives, and ending with the lesson that through the cross we gain the crown. Instead, we

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are introduced to Robert Phillips, a brilliant politician, who has the interest of the people at heart, as has a woman journalist, Joan, and the two are thrown together through their work in a common cause, and fall in love with one another. So far, so good, if that were all; but, in the background, is the figure of an uneducated, unselfish, devoted little wife, who is sacrificed because she stands in the way of her husband's ambitious career. Foolishly she encourages the other woman to help her husband, because of her love for that husband and her desire to see him accomplish his lifework.

Here, then, for the sake of interest, a situation is created which seems to take no account of the wronged wife. Phillips, unmarried, falling in love with his co-worker, Joan, would have made its appeal to as many readers. Why spoil the honest efforts of the hero for doing good, by his marital infidelity? Is it not plain that the writer means to justify exactly what Robert Phillips does—to sacrifice his faithful partner in life for an illicit love with the excuse that the circumstances justify it? The novel, too, offends those who cannot give their assent to such broad, unqualified declarations that the mediæval pulpit preached war for its own sake, taught superstition and punished thought as crime.

The most innocent form of realism, and the kind least liable to abuse, is that which busies itself with describing in detail the furnishings and garnishings of surroundings or minute characterizations. This sort of painstaking minuteness in effecting realness of atmosphere may be objected to on the grounds that it is abnormal. For it is not natural to regard objects about us with such close scrutiny.

Keith Preston in one of his poems, "Heroes of Fiction," makes wholesome fun of it in this wise:

"Our 'Jack and Jill,' that simple tale,
How Mother Goose did slight it!
Ah, how her careless lines would pale
If H. G. Wells should write it!"

He rambles on, giving—ludicrously enough—the minutiæ of description that such a writer would deal in—"all the croakings ere the spill—the aspect of that hill with every coign and cranny." And thus winds up with these two stanzas:

"Tell how they clambered up the slope,
Observing all the strata,
And canvassed England's future hope,
With economic data.

"Say how the first misstep was Jill's
Poor Jack fell down like Adam;
They hit the road beneath the hill—
(The pavement was macadam)."

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E. C. Stedman in his "Victorian Poets," brands this sort of realism as being used "to cloak the mediocrity of artists, whose designs are stiff, barren and grotesque."

More seriously considered, realistic description has its value, but it needs to be skilfully handled to become real artistry. Unfortunately, realism in fiction, in many instances, does not stop there. Its dissecting scalpel goes further and deeper into its subject and finding no soul but only matter in its probings, like a surgeon decrying theology, takes no account of the supernatural and fails to appreciate the moral forces which govern men as individuals and as members of society.

The position of the extreme realist, in this respect, is unfair in that he represents the world as it appears, when he confines himself to an appearance of only the baser realities and forgets, or closes his mind to, the fact that there are men who are, in the main, as they ought to be, or pretty nearly so as they humanly can be, according to correct ethical standards. It is not his right to undervalue human nature. That is why, for instance, the realism of Henry James is so irritating. He is too much out of sympathy with human nature.

Says C. F. Johnson: "Realism is too simple a method to do full justice to such complicated subjects as human character and human society. It cannot render even the surface truthfully. To report an isolated fact truthfully may be possible, but to report a series of facts which reflect character is an entirely different matter." And again he remarks: "Realism is apt to make too much of the power of environment in shaping the character to a senseless determinism."

This determinism is exemplified in the works of such notables among the present-day novelists as H. G. Wells and Arnold Bennett. The former in his novel, "When the Sleeper Wakes," has his main character awaken from a Rip Van Winkle-like dormancy to realize how the world of reality has changed and been emphasized. It is the same old world, only more refinedly pagan, with the suspicion that Christianity is fast becoming a mere episode. The sleeper's awakening precipitates a national crisis, and his life is to pay the penalty. The finale comes—tragically enough—when he lies crushed under the pitiless planes of his pylor, and his last thought is of the woman who understands and cares. She will remember and that is the one thing which counts.

In Arnold Bennett's "The Roll Call," we have portrayed—or shall we say recited—the working out of the career of a young and ambitious architect. His first love affair proves unsuccessful. We get to like Haim's daughter, Marguerite, and find her quite lovable—too good a girl, in fact, for the somewhat snobbish and conceited George Canon. In determining his life, the fates have decreed otherwise, and

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he marries another who becomes the joyful mother of children. If young Canon has any decent reason at all for jilting his first love, it should be for her shocking realism, which is Arnold Bennett's realism, and which permits her nonchalantly to refer to matters that ordinarily would be considered vulgar to refer to and immodest. Marguerite is made to say them innocently enough, it is true; but this does not excuse an author like Bennett for making her say such things. But then he is the realist, and his reputation must be upheld. He would so dread to be called prudish; yet he does not mind one bit offending the canons of good taste. The redeeming note lies in this, that Marguerite is represented as a slave to filial duty and because she will not run off and marry Canon and desert her father's side, she offends her lover, who is selfish enough to want her to do his bidding.

Bennett's novel, like all novels of its kind, gives us a panorama of successive pictures of everyday life, both in and out of society, and it is true to the bitter extreme. Lovemaking, marriage, birth, work and pleasure, sensuality and superficiality, hypocrisy and sham, godlessness and suicide—they all pass before us in review, painted charmingly and artistically well by a master-hand; but as we read, we ask in vain—what is the purpose of it all? What does the man want to prove by his thesis? And the answer comes when we close the book: Behold these men and women, puppets in the great world's show, each going his or her little way, some accomplishing much, others nothing in the way of worldly success, and in the end—material in their interests, material in their purposes, they live for the material present. Canon always asserts himself with the instinct of a superman. He becomes the successful, celebrated architect. He joins the army, the English army, the military machine with the material to win. He could not do otherwise. As a true Englishman, his place, he felt, was in the army. It was his duty. In it there was for him a certain unreality. Men have their ideals, too. But we can conclude what we like. The realist only records the facts. One impression is left us—"The supernatural had to be achieved. And it had been!" And then—"There is something in the army business!" Yes, it has its place in literature—this realism. But is it all? And shall it stop there?

Thus are the characters in the realistic novel determined in their matter-of-fact careers. The point in each instance has been made, the curtain is rung down and the audience goes home—unsatisfied!

But this is as it should be, says the realist; the novelist must not preach so much. True—neither must he inconsistently be the propagandist for positivism and liberalism. To exemplify, one need but to take up Swinnerton's "Nocturne," and read such passages as the

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following, to realize what covertly such of his kind are driving at. Thus reasons one of the principal characters: "You can't do anything you like in this world. You've always got to do what you don't like. They say it's good for you. It's your 'duty.' Who to? And who are 'they,' to say such a thing? What are they after? Just to keep people like me in their place—do as you're told. Well, I'm not going to do as I'm told." And then the author's comment: "With a whole priesthood against her, Jenny was a rebel against the world as it appeared to her—a crushing, numerically overwhelming pressure that would rob her of one spiritual reality—the sense of personal freedom."

Here, then, we have in a nutshell the doctrine of the modernist who prates about spiritual reality which means nothing, and which would mean so much if he were conscious of the value and importance of having a real, immortal soul, whose freedom and peace consists in doing the will of God, that is—following the call of duty and listening to, and heeding, the voice of conscience. Instead, he imagines that to do all these things means to be fettered in will by the checks placed on conduct by the moral law.

To think and do what one pleases, then, is the gospel of those who would be free to bring about their own destruction, whether of soul or body. Against these free-thinkers, whose wills are too weak to make men of them, it is well that God and man legislated.

And so we listen to the foolish Jenny, who because she would rather obey a whim of the moment, the material outcome of which she does not even know, in the moment of temptation, asks: "Was she never to know any happiness? Where, then, was her reward? A heavenly crown of martyrdom? What was the good of that? Who was the better for it? 'They' didn't know what it was to have your whole nature craving for the thing denied. 'They' were cowards, enemies to freedom because they liked the music of their manacles! Wickedness might be her nature: what then? It was a sweet wickedness. It was her choice!"

This bit of literary pervertedness is enough to make the Christian martyrs and the warriors who lie buried on the fields of France and Flanders wish to live and die again, to prove once and for all that the viewpoint is all wrong. Surely some heads need twisting about; they sit so poorly on the necks constructed for them.

To give the realist his due, he is capable of some splendid flights of fancy, as when Swinnerton gives us a passage like this: "The moon was in its last quarter, and would not rise for several hours; and while the glitter of the city lay behind, and the sky was greyed with light from below, the surrounding blackness spread creeping fingers of night in every shadow."

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But there are none too many such passages in the best of the realistic novels. The story in the telling is too tenuous, a narrative of events as they successively occur in real life. There is no involved plot, there are no thrills, and the appeal is to a few who have a taste for eccentric bits of fine writing, irrespective of what a more extensive demand may be for fictional writing. In a word, the realistic novel makes its appeal as a novelty, attracts by its originality, but at the same time repels those whose taste prompts them to seek the more solid kind of fiction, in which are combined literary excellence of style with the unfolding of a tale that leaves the spirit not only chastened, but the mind and will refreshed and strengthened.

"We demand of the artist who draws character," says C. F. Johnson, "something more than we can do for ourselves. We ask the artist to reveal the hidden springs of action. How will a certain character act in an emergency? What is his besetting sin? What circumstances can he master and what can master him? In other words, we want a solution of the riddle which some man is, *not merely a statement of the riddle* which is presented to us by every acquaintance."

The worthier novelist, then, is he who can skilfully combine a use of both methods of drawing character. And the only realism in fiction we can approve of is that which depicts the real men and women about us who, being creatures of free will, have a sense of moral responsibility and act accordingly. But in so doing, the novelist cannot help encroach upon the realm of the romantic, which is proof sufficient that to be true to his calling, he cannot afford to give a one-sided interpretation of what people around about us really are like.

The romanticist has this advantage over the realist—that he appreciates the freedom and the workings of the human will. The motives which impel the characters of Hawthorne, for instance, take into primary consideration the moral law. He shows that punishment follows the violator of that law. Being endowed with free will, his people are responsible creatures and in this respect are more life-like than the people of the realist who act from everyday motives "of social ambition, petty jealousy, family affection, desire for wealth or worldly consideration, some fashionable fad of the day, or at most from love of an individual of the opposite sex."

To confine himself to either method, the realistic or the romantic, is a sign of mediocrity in any writer of novels who would correctly interpret character. He cannot afford in his delineation of character to fail to take into account the life of the senses. But he should know that man is true to his highest instinct, to say the least, when he subordinates sense to spirit. If the realist finds fault with the

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moralist's mandate that he must not lay bare man's passions, he must not lose sight of the fact that the moralist does not denounce passion in the sense of suffering. Only, the flesh suffering to subject itself to the spirit is commendable. Our passions rightly directed is what the moralist stands for. The moralist sees beyond sensual gratification, too; he knows that love refines because of the spirit. Good taste demands clean literature. Not all men are sottish beasts. We can only concede to the realist that he has half an argument against the moralist. His insistence that morality has nothing to do with literature is inconsistent, since, by propagating a new norm of morality which is no moral code at all, he compels a moral viewpoint to be taken of his writings.

Realism is urged to be the purest form of literary art, because it admits of nothing outside of the object of that art. But literature is comprehensive and not confined to mere sensible realities. Man's vision of life and the meaning of life takes in the unseen as well as the seen, the spiritual and supernatural as well as the physical, as long as he has imagination and fancy as well as intellect and reason; as long as he has ideals as well as material objects to work upon; as long, in fine, as he has a heart as well as a mind, a soul as well as a body.

To depict the realities of life is all right as far as it goes; but as D. A. Wasson has well said, "The artist, to be true, must represent the real with the ideal shining through it." We have no patience with such intolerance as predicates as necessary to proper literature a depicting of "the profound dread agony of life—the tragedy that runs eternally under the surface." This is a Nietzschean obsession and considers ignoble feelings of pity, compassion and tenderness and sacrifice. Christian morality, or the moral standards accepted by the Christian world, is considered slave morality. So, to condemn sham is well and good, but to consider Christian morality as immorality is not to condemn sham and hypocrisy, as if it were responsible for these evils. Its purpose is to combat these and kindred sins of society.

Just as the poet holds the mirror up to nature, so the realist holds the mirror up to humanity. If humanity does not like its reflected visage, the fault does not necessarily lie with the mirror, that is if the mirror be true. But the moralist insists that the mirror be true; that it reflect with all charity; that the subject may correct the faults it sees reflected. The moralist objects to humanity being shown up in a distorting mirror, only to be told that the reflection is a true one.

Changes in artistic standards are always welcomed and likewise regarded with suspicion. Man delights in changes and in progress,

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nor can the intelligent critic lose sight of the fact that he needs must keep abreast of the times, and the form of literary expression of the hour must determine his critical pronouncements. Certain fundamental laws of good sound criticism, of course, are no more subject to change than the Decalogue; and what was right to Horace, is right for us. But the interpretation of these laws must conform to the matter in hand, and certain rules may not apply any more than the carpenter's square may serve the purpose of the foot-rule.

And so to take the proper measure of the realistic art, one must not lose sight of the fact that though the method pursued is a novel one, yet its very novelty makes it attractive, interesting and in some measure intellectually entertaining. But this applies to the very method and not to the matter. If the novelist adopts the realistic manner, let him do so openly, avowedly, and give us a story for the story's sake. But if it is a veiled vehicle of expression for preachments based on false philosophy, it cannot hope to escape adverse criticism, since it invites it and brings the very method into ill repute among readers who will continue to insist upon decency and decorum.

It is easy to read too much into a novel; it is likewise easy to read too little between the lines. In nowise is language used to conceal thoughts more aptly than in realistic romancing. The true novelist aims, however, to be sincere and honest with himself and with his recording of what he sees going on about him. The fault lies in this —when one of the school undertakes to convey impressions that are peculiarly his own and tries to make every one see as he does, losing sight of the fact that some of us see a great deal farther; that if we delve to the depths, we may mount to the stars; and that the unseen of the physical and even mental visionary belongs to the realm of the ideal, to attain which the real is a test and a preparation—a help, if made so; a hindrance, if allowed to become such.

The only method that can hope, judging by the present outlook, to make a permanent appeal and regain lost laurels for its adepts among writers of novels, is that which will judiciously and artistically combine both methods—the realistic and the idealistic. In a word, what is needed to give to fictional art a new inspiration and its proper balance, is a use of realism for the purpose of description and giving atmosphere to a story—an expression of the real "with the ideal shining through it" and vivifying it, the whole making for the kind of novel that will neither consign to oblivion the old masters, nor leave no room for improvement along original, creative lines.

The realists just now are in the hey-day of their power and influence. The perfect artistry of such writers as Bennett, Wells and Swinnerton, to name but three of a galaxy, is undisputed. As critics, too, they belong to a caustic coterie of intellectuals, but with private

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interpretation as their rule, the moral critic may still differ from their dicta, and point out their limitations; for, as the moral lawgivers on Sion they would cut rather ridiculous figures.

At least, these men wield no uncertain pen as masters of their art. To borrow an expression of Arnold Bennett's, it may be said that what they write is "like life, and bathed in poetry." They relate what they have seen and have taken part in. The question is how far have they seen aright, and does their kind of experience really teach? At any rate, we want no bungling mediocrity aping his betters. It is just these imitators who fail to see, at times, that the big fellows have purposes other than sardonic, when they drive the iron into the soul. And losing sight of that fact, the result is incalculable harm. Nor can the literary great ones among the realists be on that account given a clean bill of health. The conviction must rest with the reader that he who tells the story is more than a mimic; that his irony is corrective, not negatively derisive. He must appear other than a Mephisto gloating over the pit of hell.

The trouble with a lot of realists is that they take delight in depicting in ruthless manner the follies and foibles, the sordidness and vulgarity and pettiness of a certain class of human beings. And certainly it is a perverted preference that leads a novelist to forever dwell on the seamy side of life, as if he said: "See what you are like!" and then leave us there. We prefer to be told what we should be like, at the same writing, and be told unmistakably so, without any suspicion left lurking about that the writer has decided we cannot be otherwise.

So long as virtue has not departed forever from the world, so long will there be in our midst men and women who will to, and do, lead lives that are clean and strong, sincere and honest, and who may still fling back the challenge that the age of heroes and heroines has not altogether departed. This being so, the romanticist may yet have his revival; but not, it is to be hoped, with all the sentimental drivelings of the past, but with all its consummate art added to the new art of the safe and sane realist. Tolerance and a just understanding must pervade this new mood and manner of writing. Of such a sort of realistic novelists, there are already some of distinction, whose trend of mind shows a deeper and more positive faith in the spiritual verities.

Nor is the reason hard to find. One cannot forever go about with mind alert, like a camera with highly oversensitized films, seeking faithfully to portray what one visualizes, but forgetting that the lens may be turbid, one's focusing powers limited, and losing sight of the true light that shines from heaven. Only when, consciously or unconsciously, it filters through—for somehow the ancient faith is

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still a heritage—one readily recognizes in the result an expression of the finest thoughts, motives, hopes and ideals of the race fashioned in the image and likeness of its Maker, and a representation of human character at its best, not passing by the pitfalls without a warning cry, but simultaneously pointing to the pinnacles with equal sympathy and understanding, with faith in man, with less carping and more charity, as becomes a Christian writer in a Christian land.

J. B. JACOBI.

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ICELAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION.

ICELAND is one of the most volcanic countries in the world. It contains no less than two thousand craters, and the largest of these, named Astja, which is one Danish mile in diameter, is so large that the Rev. Father Sveinsson, S. J., says three cities such as Stockholm, Christiania and Copenhagen could find room at the bottom of it. Hecla and Katia are also enormous. It is therefore not surprising that although other countries such as Peru, Chile and Bolivia, being more populous and containing more cities, have suffered more material damage, yet the most terrible eruptions of lava known in the history of the world have taken place here. Some of the streams of lava during an eruption have been four miles (Danish) wide. Besides these volcanoes there are innumerable hot springs or geysers of boiling water, rising from the earth and pouring forth clouds of steam and sulphuric acid.

Extremes may well be said to meet in Iceland, for besides all this heat and volcanic energy on the one hand, on the other hand the cold in the long winter is so intense that no less than 5,000 square miles of the island are covered with glacier fields; these ice-covered plateaus never thaw. Terrific storms of wind and snow and hail sweep over the country, especially in winter, so that it was originally called Snowland by a Norwegian pirate who was thrown ashore there over a thousand years ago, one winter.[1] The interior is a dreary desert, in which snow-clad mountains alternate with these vast lava fields, which are often separated by yawning chasms.

On the other hand, round the coasts the fields are fairly fertile and they are beautifully green, the wonderful clearness of the atmosphere which strikes every visitor, adding greatly to this effect, and owing to it the distances are very deceptive, places and objects which are really fifteen or twenty miles away, appearing to the spectator to be only three or four miles distant.

The coast, which is very mountainous, is cut up into fiords like the Norwegian coast, and it is round the island, a few miles only from the sea, that most of the towns and villages have been built, for it is only here that the land is able to be cultivated. The scenery nevertheless is beautiful, very mountainous and wild. There is an utter absence of grain and fruit of any size; no wheat can be grown, but it is by no means destitute of flowers: roses, fuchsias and geraniums are all cultivated. There are trees of birch and willow, but they never grow above twenty-six feet high: it is said that there were forests in Iceland in remote times, but they were all cut down

[1] "Travels in Iceland," by Pliny Miles.

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and thereby the severity of the climate increased.[2] Presumably they were used for firewood, as there is very little coal in the island and no metals are found there. Quarry stone is found and sulphur is abundant.[3]

The sea is fortunately very full of fish round the coast, mostly cod and haddock, which the islanders catch and dry for winter food. The domestic animals, sheep, goats, cattle and ponies, are all of small size, though the Iceland pony is larger than the Shetland; the reindeer are very plentiful and so are foxes.

The old name for Iceland was Ultima Thule; the Venerable Bede tells us that some Irish monks went to establish themselves in the Ultima Thule in 795, but they only remained there a few months.

These monks appear to have come from the monastery of Clonenagh, in Queen's County, Ireland, founded originally by St. Fintan, who gave them a very strict rule; he would not allow them to use cattle in the cultivation of the land, and notwithstanding the very hard labor he imposed upon them, he also made them fast very severely. But in spite of being thus inured to a very hard life, they apparently found the conditions of life in the Ultima Thule too severe, as they only remained a few months. These Clonenagh monks also went as missionaries to the north coast of England and to Scotland.[4]

But the name of Ultima Thule for Iceland is much older than Bede: Pliny said Ultima Thule was an island in the Northern Ocean discovered by Pytheas, after he had sailed six days from the Orcades, or Orkneys. The name meant the end of the world or the furthest extremity of it. Virgil speaks of it in the Georgics thus: "Tibi serviat Ultima Thule."[5]

The Icelandic historian, Ari, says that when the Norwegians came to establish themselves in Iceland, they found some Irish MSS. and some little bells and other things which the Irish monks had left behind them after their short stay.

There is no doubt about this visit of these Irish monks, for another writer, an Irish monk named Dicuil, says in a Latin treatise he wrote called, "De mensura orbis terræ," that in 795, some Irish monks went to Iceland but only stayed a few months.

Venerable Bede died in 735. He described Iceland as a country where there was no day in the middle of summer and no night in the middle of winter, which is true. The name of the Norwegian pirate mentioned above was Nattud or Nattodur, "ur" being a very usual Icelandic affix to most names, and with him was another Nor-

[2] "Travels in Iceland," by Pliny Miles.
[3] Catholic Encyclopedia.
[4] Helmbucher. Die Orden und Kongregationen. Baud 1.
[5] Brewer, "Familiar Phrases."

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wegian named Garder. These two were driven ashore on the island in the ninth century but like the Irish monks they did not remain long there. After them another Norwegian named Flöki was, according to an old Icelandic historical document,[6] the next to undertake the dangerous voyage. The account of his visit reminds one of Noah and the raven and the dove.

The story is that before Flöki started for Iceland, he wished to propitiate his gods, for he was a pagan, so he took three ravens, which he had consecrated to his gods, to act as a compass on his voyage. After doubling the Faröe Islands to the south of Iceland, he let loose one of his ravens, which returned immediately to the ship. A little later he let fly the second raven, which flew into the air, turned round, and returned to the ship. Then he sent out the third raven, and that flew boldly to the north; the ship followed the bird and they arrived at the island and finding it covered with ice, Flöki named it Iceland, which name it has retained ever since. He stayed longer than the Irish monks and the other Norwegians we have mentioned, for he remained for two years and then returned to Norway.

After Flöki's return two Norwegian chiefs of noble birth, named Ingolf and Hjerleif, with a great number of servants and slaves went to Iceland. Ingolf being apparently a devout pagan, wished before starting to offer sacrifice to his gods, and to consult the Scandinavian oracles as to the route. Hjerleif refused to sacrifice and accepted as his oracle the word of his friend. They then made the voyage and arrived in Iceland in 874. At some distance from the coast they separated. Hjerleif established himself in the south of the island near the Vestmann Islands, the place where he settled is still called Hjerleifshefdi.

Ingolf, who had great confidence in his gods, threw his idols into the water, vowing to establish himself wherever the images should be deposited by the sea, and while waiting for this consummation he landed at a place now called Ingolfshefdi, some miles to the east of Hjerleifshefdi. Some time after Hjerleif, who by this time had built himself a house, was assassinated by some of his own slaves. Ingolf learned this news from his slaves, who had gone to look for his idols, and he was so enraged that he went in pursuit of the murderers, and caught them on these Westmann Isles, and massacred them all, an early example of the policy of reprisals.

After thus revenging the death of his friend, Ingolf and his slaves renewed their search for his idols, which were finally found in the place where the town of Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, now stands, and there he established himself definitely. Ingolf is there-

[6] "Landnamabok," quoted by Father Sveinsson, S. J.

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fore said by this old Icelandic chronicler, from whom we have been quoting, to be the true founder of the Icelandic colony.

About this time, Harold, the King of Norway, began to oppress his subjects by depriving them of the liberties and privileges they had formerly enjoyed, thus causing discontent among the nobles, who preferring voluntary exile to submission to Harold's tyranny, emigrated to Iceland, and settled there in spite of the severity of the climate and the natural disadvantages of the country. Thus it came to pass that the first colonists of Iceland were some of the richest and most distinguished Norwegian nobles, and considering the time in which they lived, well-educated men; this probably accounts for the fact that up to the present day the Icelanders are a remarkably intelligent race, remarkably well-informed and even the lower orders of the population often show a high degree of intellectuality and culture.

These Norwegian colonists were mostly pagans, and the very few Christians who settled on the island soon lost their faith, with the exception of the inhabitants of a place called Kirkjubar, who were all Christians and refused to allow any pagans to settle there, and thus the faith was preserved, according to old Icelandic chroniclers.

The first Christian missionaries to Iceland were Bishop Frederick of Saxony and an Icelander named Thorvaldur Kodranson, who had been baptized and instructed in the Christian religion in Saxony, and by his account of the state of his country induced the good Bishop to accompany him to Iceland, to preach the Gospel there in 981. They succeeded in converting a certain number of pagans, but five years later they were driven out of the island.

In 996 the King of Norway, Olaf Trigvasson, who had introduced Christianity into his own country, sent an Icelandic missionary named Thorgil to convert his countrymen, but he was so indiscreet in his zeal that he too was expelled. King Olaf, nothing discouraged, then sent the following year a priest named Thangbrandur, who succeeded in converting some distinguished families, but he too was overzealous in his warlike methods, and with several Icelandic chiefs he was exiled in 999.

When King Olaf heard that this effort had also failed, he was very angry and threatened to punish the people for their obstinacy, but two Icelandic chiefs who had been exiled with Thangbrandur, begged the king to make one more effort to clear the way for the preaching of the Gospel, and offered to return themselves to try to lead their countrymen into the pale of Holy Church.

Accordingly the two chiefs with a priest, named Thormodur, returned to Iceland in the year 1000, where they arrived just before

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the opening of the National Assembly, called the Althing, which took place in a spot named Thingvallir, where for over a thousand years this Althing was held. Thingvallir is a kind of natural amphitheatre formed by volcanic action of a raised ring of earth, with one mound higher than the rest, on which the president sat. The country surrounding this place was and is highly volcanic, and frequent earthquakes and eruptions took place.

Here the laws were made and the affairs of the State settled. The day after King Olaf's envoys arrived, the chiefs went in solemn procession with the cross carried at the head of it to Thingvallir, and there the three missionaries preached the Gospel, but while they were so doing a pagan ran in to say that an eruption was about to take place. The other pagans said it was not surprising, for of course the gods were angry at hearing such teaching, and civil war seemed imminent, but the Christians begged the chief magistrate or governor, Thorgeir, to bring in a law in their favor. Thorgeir retired to his tent, lay down and covered his head with a furskin and remained there for a day and a night to "meditate" upon the matter. At the end of this time, having probably slept upon it, he emerged from his tent, and convened the National Assembly once more, and then declared that the Christian religion preached by the three missionaries should be the religion of the State. This momentous decision was taken on the 24th of June, in the year 1000 A. D., and at the same time a law was passed obliging all Icelanders to be baptized, and to destroy their idols and pagan temples.

Fifty-six years after this historic assembly, Pope Victor II. chose the first Icelandic Bishop, with his see at Skalholt. Half a century later the Bishopric of Holar was erected. In 1056 a regular succession of Bishops of Skalholt began with Islefur, an Icelander who was consecrated in Rome in that year. He had inherited from his father an estate at Skalholt, in the south of the island, and here he, on his return from Rome, established his episcopal residence. He was succeeded by Gissur, during whose episcopate the whole island was first divided into two sees, Skalholt for the south and Holar for the north.

The first Bishop of Holar was John Egmundson, surnamed the Saint, and honored by his countrymen as such. He found the first monastery in Iceland. The erection of Holar was a most important event in the religious history of Iceland, for the people in the north were still under strong pagan influence, and as soon as the Bishop arrived at Holar, he saw how important it was to open a school there, as had already been done at Skalholt, and he soon succeeded in establishing one. Two other schools were also opened at Haukadalur and Oddi. This last was the most celebrated of all

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and was founded in 1107 by a priest named Semunder the Wise, who had been educated in France and Germany, like most of the masters of all these schools. Thus for several centuries the monks and priests of the Catholic Church were here, as in every Christian country, the educators of the people, and the principal guardians of knowledge.

The literary treasures of the Edda and the Saga would have been lost to posterity, but for their care in preserving them. About the time we are now speaking of, there lived a priest named Ari (1057-1148) surnamed the Wise, the father of the Icelandic historians, who wrote many books which have been handed down to us, and among them one modern research attributes to him called "Landnamabok,"[7] or the Book of Colonization, which is considered one of the most remarkable documents antiquity has handed down to us. Ari's name has been engraved on the National Library at Reykjavik, built about six or seven years ago.

Icelandic historians call the eleventh century the century of peace, but the twelfth century is said to be the century of literature. Both the Benedictine and Augustinian Orders contributed very largely to the spiritual and intellectual development of the Icelanders, their monasteries here as elsewhere were not only homes of prayer and learning, but they were also refuges for the temporal needs of the sick and poor.

All students of the history and literature of the Icelanders are struck by the great devotion they had, after their conversion to Christianity, to the Blessed Mother of God, which far surpassed their devotion to all other saints, according to their great scholar, Jon Thorkelsson, who has published a study of the poems of Mary. No less than 150 churches in the island were consecrated to her. The most celebrated place of pilgrimage after Kaldadarness, which later was that of Hofstadur, in the west of the island: there is or was a magnificent statue of the Blessed Virgin, life-size, decorated with gold and silver and called the Hofstada-Maria. Innumerable poems in her honor remain from the most remote times. At the present day the numerous statues and pictures of Our Lady which are preserved in the Museum at Reykjavik are witness to the devotion formerly shown to her, in a country which might then have truly been called a land of Mary.

There are two native saints to whom the people had formerly a great devotion, one was Thorlakur, the sixth Bishop of Skalholt, who was venerated as the national saint. He was born in 1133 of a very distinguished family, and having been ordained deacon, went to Paris, where he studied for six years, after which he came to

[7] Part only of Ari's work is in "Landnamabok"—Catholic Encyclopedia.

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England to continue his studies at a monastery of his order at Lincoln. On his return to Iceland he worked for six years as a secular priest, until he was chosen as prior of the monastery at Thikkevibar, in 1168, and in 1173 he was elected abbot of the same monastery. A few years later he was elected Bishop and went to Norway to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Tronjheim in 1177. Both as monk and Bishop he lived the life of a saint, and even during his lifetime many miracles were attributed to him. He died in 1193, and five years later he was declared saint by the Althing. Although he has never been regularly canonized by Rome, yet the Holy See has never put any obstacle to the veneration in which he is held. Two feasts are celebrated in his honor, one on July 20 and the other on December 23. He was formerly venerated in the Scandinavian countries and in the British Islands. In one of the churches in Lincoln, there is a statue of him to this day. It is even said that in Constantinople a church was dedicated to him.

The other Icelandic saint was Jon Egmundson, already mentioned as the Bishop of Holar, but he was much less popular than Thorlakur, although he was declared saint by the Althing.

Before the Reformation broke out in the island in the sixteenth century, with such drastic consequences, there had been fifty-two Bishops of Skalholt and Holar: in the thirteenth century, when Lorenz Kalfsson occupied the See of Holar, there were seven monasteries there:[8] other writers tell us there were nine Benedictine monasteries in different parts of the island, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were celebrated schools, during which period the chief literary works were incomparably above those which the other Scandinavian countries put forth, and the monasteries were of course the centres of literary culture.

Like other countries, Iceland had its passing periods of decadence, but on the whole its literary history is a striking testimony in favor of the work of the Catholic Church in the island, while, as we shall presently show, the attachment and devotion of the people to the Church was very great, and, in spite of terrible persecution, has never entirely perished. The history of the Icelandic Church is found in the Bishop's Sagas, written by the clergy and mostly embodied in the Lives of the Bishops; the first of these Christian Sagas tells the story of the conversion of the country to Christianity, and is called the Christian-Saga. The Latin language and script was introduced after the conversion to the Christian religion, and the early Sagas were written in it.[9] The first two historians who wrote in Latin were Saemund Sigfusson and Ari Thorgilsson, whom we have already mentioned: the latter died in 1148. His

[8] Orden und Kongregationen der Catholische Kirche.
[9] Catholic Encyclopedia.

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Sagas were scholarly while the old profane Sagas were literary and poetic. The two Bishoprics of Skalholt and Holar were at first under the Archbishopric of Lund, but later, in 1152, they were placed under the Archbishop of Tronjheim, and they were in close communion with the Holy See until the middle of the sixteenth century.

At this time there were at least nine Benedictine monasteries in the island, the principal of whose houses were at Thingevar, Kirkjubar and Munkathvera, while the Augustinian houses were at Flatey, Thikkevibar, Videy, Modruvellir and Skreda. One of the friars at Thikkevibar is said to have written what is described as "the most soulful and artistic poem of the Middle Ages," he was named Eystein Asgrimsson. The Benedictines at Munkathverain in the thirteenth century began the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. The Abbot at the time was one Brandr Jonsson. When the Reformation came there were 280 Catholic churches in the country, and about three hundred priests to serve them; many of these churches were built of the stone which is found in the island, and the clergy, seculars as well as regulars, were many of them learned men who contributed to the literature of the country. Among these was Thorstein Illugasson, who was an excellent calligraphist, wood-carver and painter.

The churches were adorned with metal work, sculpture and mural decorations, while the vestments were beautifully embroidered, and made of costly materials: remains of all these things may still be seen in the Museum at Reykjavik.

The story of the Reformation is a very sad one, full of tragedy, for it was carried out in the most drastic fashion, strongly against the will of the inhabitants, who were devoted to the Catholic Church, to their priests and their ritual and ceremonies, and above all, to the Mass and the sacraments and Our Blessed Lady. At the same time it must be remembered that here as elsewhere at this period, abuses had crept in among the clergy and that in high places: even the brave confessor and Bishop, Jon Arasson had broken his vow of celibacy and taken a wife,[10] he was Bishop of Holar and Sigmunder; Pahlsson occupied the See of Skalholt. When Christian III. of Denmark introduced Protestantism into Iceland, and forced the inhabitants to abjure their faith, Pahlsson, who was then an old man, resigned his see in favor of a pupil whom he had brought up, named Gissur Einarsson, whom he had sent to the continent to study.

There Gissur had, unknown to his benefactor, imbibed heretical doctrines, and was a Lutheran at heart when he returned, but he

[10] Catholic Encyclopedia.

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deceived his patron, and although before taking possession of the See of Skalholt, after his consecration in 1539, he had solemnly promised before the Althing to govern his diocese according to the laws and doctrines of the Catholic Church, no sooner had he taken possession of the diocese, than he threw off the mask, and showed himself a Lutheran-propagandist, although his flock were staunch Catholics and hated heresy. The form of heresy introduced into Iceland was that of the Augsburg Confession, a curious mixture of the Catholic religion, and the doctrines of Luther, and the services and the ritual were as mixed as the doctrine, but the Icelanders were so attached to their Church that the reformers had to exercise diplomacy in introducing their so-called reforms, or they would have met with open rebellion, so they preserved a certain number of Catholic ceremonies and customs, and continued to use some of the vestments, for instance the chasuble, which they do to the present day, and other objects of devotion. The Communion service begins with the Kyrie and the Gloria, and lighted candles are allowed on the Communion table at least in the primary churches, for they have an odd custom of dividing their churches into two classes, primary and secondary. The primary churches are the larger and are in the cities, the secondary are mostly in the villages or near a farmstead.

When Gissur saw that the Icelanders showed a strong repugnance to the new religion, and would not willingly adopt it, the King Christian sent two warships with troops to support the new Bishop: this expedition was headed by a commander-in-chief, who by the irony of fate was called Christopher. When Sigmunder saw the danger the Church was in, old and infirm as he was, he took up again the government of the Church whereupon Christopher and the apostate Gissur resolved to take the aged Bishop prisoner, so as to get rid of him and his influence. Accordingly they went to his house one night, and forcing an entrance they dragged the old man out of bed and took him to a barn, where in the bitter cold of Iceland, they permitted him to dress himself: he was then taken prisoner and put on board a man-of-war, and the wretched Gissur warned Christopher "not to let the fox escape," and the poor old, blind Bishop died a prisoner at Sore, in Denmark. Thus did the first Lutheran so-called Bishop behave to his benefactor, but he was not permitted to go unpunished. In his iconoclastic zeal he determined to destroy a certain miraculous crucifix in the most celebrated place of pilgrimage in the country, namely Kaldadarnes, in the northwestern peninsula of Iceland, whither crowds of pilgrims had been wont to resort. But this project cost him his life, for he contracted a mortal ill-

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ness, of which he died and his death was considered a punishment from God for his wickedness.

While the teaching of Luther had, thanks to Gissur's apostasy and usurpation of the See of Skalholt, been gaining ground in the south of the country, the north had remained faithful to the Catholic Church, and to the celebrated Bishop Jon Arasson, who in spite of his lapse from the discipline of the Church was not only a great patriot, but also a brave and bold defender of the rights of the Catholic Church, and incidentally the most remarkable poet of his time. He had occupied the See of Holar from 1524, and shortly before his tragic death he wrote to Pope Paul III. to assure him of his attachment to the See of St. Peter. The Pope replied by a brief dated March 8, 1548, and this was the last salutation from the Holy See to Catholic Iceland.

As soon as the Bishop received the brief, he summoned all his clergy to the Cathedral, and there, clad in his pontificals with his mitre on his head, and his pastoral-staff in his hand, he stood before the high altar and read the Pope's letter to the clergy and people. He then intoned the "Te Deum," and after giving thanks to the Sovereign Pontiff, he exclaimed with ardor aloud, "I would rather die than be unfaithful to the Holy See"; thus unconsciously foretelling his own martyrdom, by which he expiated his faults.

Then, seeing the great danger which threatened his diocese, he determined to reconquer by force what had been taken from the Church by force of arms, so he placed himself at he head of a brave army and started southwards, fighting bravely as he went, nothing discouraged by the opposition he met with. He succeeded in taking prisoner the second so-called Bishop of Skalholt, Martin, who had succeeded Gissur, and led him a prisoner to Holar. In 1550 he entered Skalholt, having reëstablished the Catholic religion in all the places through which he had passed: he remained there a week reconciling to the Church those who had been led astray.

From Skalholt he went to a place called Snoksdal, to conquer one Dadi, a most bitter enemy of the Church; on his way thither he paused at Videy, an island near the port of Reykjavik, to expel the Danes, who had taken possession of an Augustinian monastery there, and there Arasson reëstablished the monastic life, and he did the same thing at another place called Helgafell, which is west of Snoksdal and on the coast.

Meanwhile a fearful struggle was taking place between the Catholics and the heretics at Snoksdal, and just at the moment when the whole country was on the brink of returning to the Catholic Church, Arasson was treacherously betrayed into the hands of the Lutherans. He was taken to Skalholt and condemned

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to death, and was barbarously executed on November 7, 1550. He said Mass for the last time on the morning of his execution, and before he left the church he was given into the hands of the executioner, after he had knelt at the feet of the statue of Our Lady to implore her help for his last moments. The executioner had already struck him three times with his axe, when he was heard to say, "In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum," but his head was not finally severed till seven strokes had been struck. If the Bishop was long in dying, so was the faith, for it was two hundred years before the tyranny of the Lutherans had effaced the last traces of Catholicism, and even now, after all these centuries, the Catholic instincts of the inhabitants are not wholly annihilated, particularly in the country places, for in the towns here as elsewhere infidelity is spreading fast.

Even now in some of the Protestant churches, the ministers wear the chasubles, which were in use in Catholic times, and the very cope which Paul III. sent to Jon Arasson was used a few years after to "consecrate" the Lutheran successor to his see. This cope is kept ordinarily in the Museum at Reykjavik and is brought out and worn whenever a new Lutheran Bishop is consecrated.

For more than a century and a half after the Reformation, the greater part of the ceremonies of the Mass were preserved, the Latin language was used and the Gregorian chant. The Mass for Christmas, which was used up to the eighteenth century, was almost identical with that of the Catholic Church, except that the words of consecration are said after, instead of before the Pater noster. The Gradual of 1644, which contains this Mass in use by the Lutherans, also contains this rubric; "The elevation of the Papists shall be completely suppressed, being a veritable idolatry," but seeing that since 1644 there were no real priests in Iceland, it would really have been idolatry to have elevated mere bread and wine for the people to worship.

With singular inconsistency the reformers permitted the retention in this Gradual of the glorious hymn, "Pange lingua—Tantum ergo—" and it was lustily sung by the congregation, who presumably no longer knew the meaning and significance of it.

This unique Protestant Gradual of 1664 also contained a quantity of hymns and canticles, in honor of Our Blessed Lady, and these were sung from generation to generation in all parts of the island. They succeeded, did these Reformers, in destroying the cult of Our Lady and the saints publicly in the churches, but in the homes of the people the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and certain Catholic devotions were preserved up to the nineteenth century and almost up to our own day.

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Nor was it only among the people that this devotion to Our Lady and to certain Catholic devotions persisted; there was a certain Lutheran Bishop named Brynjovur Sweinsson, who died in 1675, who was so sympathetic to Catholicism that he seems to have been almost a Catholic. For instance he had a new crucifix made, to replace the one the apostate Gissur had destroyed at Kaldadarnes in 1548, and he composed a beautiful Latin hymn in honor of the Cross, entitled "Carmen vottifum de Cruce." He had also a great devotion to Our Lady, and he left behind him several canticles in which he sang her praises. Another proof of his Catholic tendencies is the "Psalterium Marianum," which he wrote with his own hand. It was also under this Bishop that the beautiful hymn, "Stabat Mater," of Jacopone da Todé was translated into Icelandic by Stephan Olafson, who died in 1688. The learned writer, Dr. Jon Thorkelson, an Icelander, is also of opinion that Bishop Sweinsson had very strong leanings towards Catholicism.

In fact, there seem numerous indications that the Icelandic people never apostatized as a nation; the Protestant religion was forced upon them by persecution, but in general they remained faithful, or at least attached to the faith of their ancestors: they became Protestant in spite of themselves, by force of circumstances and by the tyranny of the Danish Kings. An edict was published on March 20, 1563, enacting that all those who were guilty of public heresy, meaning all those who publicly professed the Catholic religion, were to be condemned to death and all their estates confiscated to the King and the Crown.

The history of the Reformation in Iceland has been written by a Protestant minister, an Icelander named Thorkel Björnson: in the course of this book he says that "when it was forbidden to the Icelanders to profess publicly the Catholic religion which they loved, they followed the ancient traditions as much as it was possible for them to do so. The first laws of the Lutheran Church in Iceland were ecclesiastical ordinances of Christian III., promulgated in Denmark in 1537. These laws had been made without the Icelanders, who would not then have accepted them. The King suddenly ordered the people to take a new religion and a new (form of) worship, which the greater part of the nation only knew by name, and which had been described to them as an impious heresy. No country has been treated with more injustice and barbarism by the reformers than Iceland: the convents were sacked, the churches pillaged and private property was stolen to enrich the propagators of the new doctrine, and by the King, who became the spiritual chief, the new Pope of the Island."[11]

[11] Thorkel Björnsson.

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Thorkel Björnsson gives the following account of the behavior of a party of reformers, led by one Didrik on the Augustinian monastery of Videy, a small island opposite Reykjavik. The Abbot Alexius was absent, when the King's envoy, Didrik, with fourteen other men, suddenly arrived one day at the monastery. "Didrik and his men dragged the monks out of bed and treated them in a shameful way: some they bound, others they struck and wounded. Some of the monks succeeded in taking a boat and fleeing to the mainland. Didrik took possession of the monastery, seized twenty cows and oxen, 100 sheep and 7,000 fish, after which he left some of his men on the island, but returned himself to his home." He had arrived at Videy on Whitsunday, 1539, at daybreak, and in the month of August in the same year he set out on another of these marauding expeditions, to sack and pillage the monasteries of Kirkjbaer and Thikkevibar, the former belonging to the Benedictines, the latter to the Augustinians. On his way he paused at Skalholt to insult the venerable Bishop Sgmunder. The Bishop begged him not to remain in the neighborhood to expose himself to death, for the people were exasperated against him, but Didrik said: "I shall remain whatever this blind devil of a Bishop may say, with seven men I shall subdue the whole island." But the next morning Didrik and his men fell by the sword of the Icelanders.

When later the Bishop Sgmunder was taken prisoner, the reformers took away all his possessions and unjustly seized fifty fields, and presently all the monasteries with 450 estates, and a quantity of ornaments and gold and silver vessels, and other objects became the property of King Christian III. When there was nothing left to seize in the monasteries, they attacked the churches and the private property of those who would not abjure their faith.

The reformers then went north to Holar, and committed similar robberies and cruelties there, seizing all the valuable things in the churches and monasteries that they could lay their hands on, including a very handsome gold chalice, which Bishop Jon Aronsson had had made, saying that the Icelanders were not worthy to possess such a treasure.

Not content with despoiling the Church of her riches, the reforming Danes next proceeded to sell the monopoly of trade in Iceland to rich capitalists, who seemed to want to starve the poor islanders, for they only gave a paltry sum of eight "rigsdalers" for the same quantity of fish which used formerly to fetch forty "rigsdalers." Butter, wool, furs, eiderdown, in fact all the salable goods of the country were taken away, and sold under the same conditions. At the same time the Icelanders were made to pay exorbitant sums for merchandise of inferior quality, often spoiled, which

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their oppressors forced upon them, so that corn, wood and iron, all necessaries of life became luxuries, beyond the reach of many of the poor inhabitants. In fact it was only the richer people, who could procure necessaries, while the poor were condemned to misery, and sometimes starvation under this reforming monarch, Christian III.

The Dutch in spite of the dangers which menaced them from the Danes, had the courage to brave the risks by land and by sea, and came to the island with boats laden with goods, which they sold at a fair price.

For three centuries the country was completely separated from the Catholic Church; no priest was allowed to land on the island, and the most severe laws forbade all Catholic ministrations. In 1855 Pope Pius IX. erected the Prefecture Apostolic of the Arctic Pole, which comprised Lapland, Iceland, and the Faröe Islands, and the first Prefect Apostolic was Monsignor Etienne de Djunkovski. The first Catholic missionary in Iceland after the Reformation was Monsignor Bernard, who succeeded Monsignor Djunkovski in 1863. This Prefecture was suppressed in 1868, and in its place the Apostolic Prefecture of Denmark and Iceland was erected, and in May, 1869, M. l'Abbé Grüder the curé of St. Anchaire, in Copenhagen, was appointed Prefect. He was succeeded by the present Bishop, l'Abbé von Euch, who was formerly curé of Fredericia, in Jutland.

In February, 1892, Pope Leo XIII., of pious memory, erected the Apostolic Prefecture of Denmark and Iceland into a Vicariate Apostolic, and Monsignor von Euch was named Vicar Apostolic and Bishop of Anastasiopolis. Nearly fifty years previously, that is in 1857, an attempt was made to establish the Catholic religion in the Faröe Isles, but in spite of the zealous efforts, first of two priests, one a Bavarian and the other an Italian, and afterwards of two Jesuit Fathers, the attempt failed completely, only seven conversions being made during the thirteen years that the mission lasted, and the Provincial Grüder, seeing the persecution to which the converts as well as the missionaries were subject, recalled the priests with the consent of the Holy See. The ignorance of the people and the bitter hostility they showed to the Catholic religion, against which they were violently prejudiced, made all attempts to convert them hopeless: they chose to reject the grace which was offered them, so there was nothing else to be done but leave them to their fate.

Meanwhile, in 1857, two zealous French Catholic priests from the Diocese of Rheims. Père Bernard and Père Baudouin, went to Iceland as missionaries. Père Bernard went in 1857 and was fol-

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lowed by Père Baudouin in May of the following year, and they found the people as prejudiced and as bitter against the Catholic religion as the Faröese. Such calumnies against the Pope and the Church, and such ridiculous perversions of Catholic doctrine had been spread among the Icelanders by the Lutherans, that it was impossible to disabuse them of their erroneous opinions.

Moreover, when the missionaries arrived, the most severe laws against the teaching and practice of the Catholic religion were in force, although a slight mitigation had taken place, for instance, since November, 1786, a law had been passed which enacted that a Catholic need no longer renounce his faith, before establishing himself in the towns of Reykjavik the capital, Akureyri, the principal town in the north of the island, in Skutulsfiord and Grundarfiord, as formerly they had been obliged to do in all these towns, and in the Westmann Isles, but in every other part of the island, the inhabitants were still obliged to belong to the Protestant Church. If a Lutheran became a Catholic, he lost the right of inheritance and was immediately banished from the country. Any one who helped to convert a Lutheran to Catholicism was thrown into prison for several years, and any Catholic guilty of the same "crime" was at once sent out of the island.

The intention of these two brave French priests, who were facing not only the rigors of the climate, the danger of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, but also persecution, had been to go first to a seaport, in the east of the island, called Seydisfjord, to minister to the spiritual needs of the numbers of French fishermen who yearly visit this place in pursuit of their calling, and to comfort them in their sicknesses and console them in their last moments with the last sacraments.

Accordingly the Abbé Bernard wrote to the chief man of the district, for permission to build himself a house there to live in during the fishing season. This was at first refused, but the Abbé, knowing he was in the right, appealed to a higher authority, and this time succeeded in getting permission to build a roof to cover him, but on condition that he made no effort of any sort to convert any of the Icelanders from Lutheranism to Catholicity.

Another obstacle now arose, it turned out that Seydisfjord was not a free port, which meant that foreign fishermen were not allowed to cast their anchors there, so the missionaries had to abandon their project. They then resolved to establish themselves at Reykjavik, where a number of French fishermen stayed every year for a while, after their fishing was over. In May, 1860, they bought some property through a Danish chemist living at Reykjavik at Landakot, on which was a house which the Lutheran

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Bishop had built for himself twenty-six years previously, when he was the rector of the Cathedral at Reykjavik, but when the news of this purchase was bruited abroad the indignation of the Protestants knew no bounds; the missionaries were denounced as disturbers of the public peace, who must be banished from the island. A tract was published and circulated among the people, to excite them against the missionaries, and the local newspaper printed a series of articles abusing the Catholic Church and the priests, and making the most absurd accusations against both.

Nor was this all. Not content with spreading calumnies, they summoned the missionaries to appear before a judge, who demanded whether they were Jesuits and for what purposes they had come to the island. After they had built a small chapel in which to say Mass, they were obliged to appear a second time before the judge, who fined them and forbade them to have any public services. Their only consolation was that for three months in the year they could minister to the spiritual wants of their countrymen, the poor fishermen who visited Reykjavik. They appealed three different times to the Althing, to allow them to have public service, but they were refused. After the fishermen left the missionaries devoted themselves to the study of the Icelandic language, literature and history.

After the third refusal the Abbé Bernard, who had just been appointed Prefect Apostolic, announced that as the ancient laws of religious intolerance published in Denmark had never been put in force in Iceland, from henceforth the Catholic chapel would be open to the public, Mass would be said publicly, and instructions given to all those who desired to receive them, sermons would be preached in which all bitterness and reproaches against Lutherans were to be avoided. This was announced on the feast of the Assumption, 1863, and shortly after Father Bernard left for the Faröe Islands to confirm a lady who had recently been converted to the Catholic religion there. He left Father Baudouin in charge of the mission, and gave him as assistant priest a young abbé named Jean Convers, who had recently been ordained by the Archbishop of Lyons. But he only remained a short time in Iceland. The following year two priests came to Reykjavik, and on the 21st of April, 1864, said Mass publicly in their chapel at Landakot, for which offense they were, in the following July, forbidden by the Mayor of Rekyjavik at the instance of the Minister of Justice, to hold any public services, since it was a transgression of the law, and shortly after they, too, left Iceland, and Père Baudouin remained alone in this inhospitable island till shortly before his death.

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It is consoling to know that this brave old man and zealous priest had at least one friend in this ultra-Protestant country. This was a landowner named Einar Asmudsson, who lived in the north of Iceland at a place called Nesi, and in 1868 he invited the good Abbé to stay with him at his home, for which "crime" he was cited to appear before the judge.

The letter which the Lutheran Prefect wrote to the head of the Department on accusing Einar is worth quoting, it is so ridiculous in its bigotry: "With this courier I am sending you a process on the subject of the presence of a Catholic priest in the house of Einar de Nesi. I hope that you will be entirely of my opinion in the affair. It would be the greatest misfortune for our poor Iceland, and a subject of trouble and religious dispute if some simple people should embrace the 'good' Papist religion, which confounds the greatest errors with the most sublime dogmas, moreover it would be a shame if such a thing should happen in our days. The Abbé Baudouin himself is esteemed here in the department, and he has done nothing which can be made a subject of complaint, but this does not excuse Einar de Nesi from having given him hospitality, therefore it seems to me of the greatest importance, to clip his wings a little to serve as an example to others. I believe it would be prudent to seize all his property, so that he cannot escape from a fine by a fictitious sale."

Accordingly Einar was summoned before the tribunal, but happily the judge had the good sense to acquit him. This lawsuit marks a new era in the history of the mission, for the judge in this case when acquitting Einar, declared that certain penal laws against Catholics had fallen into desuetude. Moreover a letter from the Minister of Justice to the over zealous Lutheran Prefect, reprimanded him for sending up such a case and forbade him to appeal to a higher tribunal. Nevertheless the liberty of public worship was still forbidden. The Catholics had the right now to hold their own services, but no Protestant was permitted to assist at them.

It was not until the year 1874 that religious liberty was granted and it was lawful to preach the true religion in Iceland, but by this time the Abbé Baudouin was too feeble to avail himself of the permission, and he died in 1876. By his death Iceland was deprived of a Catholic priest until the year 1895. The good old Abbé had not the happiness of making one convert all the years he spent in the country, but his time there was not wasted, for he wrote in Icelandic a book, and some short tracts to defend the Catholic religion. Moreover, through him, his friend Einar de Nesi sent his son Gunnar, then fourteen, to Denmark, and eventually to Avignon to study. Gunnar became a Catholic at Copenhagen, but

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returned to Iceland after some years, in 1895, and for nearly twenty years he was the only Catholic on the island, but during those long years he preserved his faith among his Lutheran family and countrymen. He is now the father of a large family, all Catholics.

The year after he first went to Denmark, two other boys followed him thither to study eventually in France. These were the brothers Sweinsson, who after becoming Catholics in Denmark went to Amiens, to finish their education. Both entered the Society of Jesus; one is dead, but the Very Rev. Père Jon Sweinsson is still alive in Holland at the present time (1921).

The house belonging to the Mission at Landakot was let for twenty years, during which time the chapel was empty, and by degrees fell into ruins, and many of the valuable books Père Baudouin had left in his splendid library disappeared. One of these, entitled "North Pole," was accidentally discovered by a learned Danish priest, from whose MS. the greater part of this article except where otherwise stated, has been translated; it contained the "Chants of the Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary."

At last at the instance of Pope Leo XIII., of pious memory, Monsignor von Euch, Vicar Apostolic of Denmark, resuscitated the Mission in Iceland. His first care was to provide for the spiritual needs of the French fishermen, and the Catholic merchants and tourists of all nations who visit the island in the summer months. This good work, when once started, gave the Icelanders an opportunity to see the power of the Catholic Church in organizing works of charity, and tended to disabuse them of some of their prejudices against the Catholic religion.

Monsignor von Euch responded heartily and generously to the appeal of the Pope. He first of all confided the Icelandic Mission to two secular priests, both Danes; the Rev. Jean Frederiksson he made rector of the future parish, and sent the Abbé Gethmann as his curate. They received a much better reception than that accorded to the French missionary sent in 1850. Not only the Government, but the people also received them kindly, without showing any of the former prejudice and bigotry; this was due partly to the memory of Père Baudouin, partly to the religious liberty now granted by the law, and partly from more frequent intercourse of the Icelanders with the continent. Only one Lutheran pastor in 1895 protested against the Catholic Mission, in a periodical review which he published about this time, but he was soon obliged to cease his attacks, as his countrymen showed no inclination to follow his example.

In 1896, four nuns of the Congregation of St. Joseph of

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Chambèry, who have a house at Copenhagen, arrived on the island and were accommodated in some small rooms belonging to the mission: they then opened a hospital for lepers at some little distance from the capital. In the summer months they went to Faskrudsfiord, three hundred miles off on the eastern coast of the islands, where the French fishermen come in the fishing season. Here they organized a little hospital with funds from France.

But when the separation of the Church from the State took place in France, the French Government built another hospital at Faskrudsfiord and the Sisters left it for good or rather forever, and lay-nurses took their place. But the Danish missionaries at Reykjavik at first took charge of the spiritual needs of the fishermen, till some French priests were sent in their place.

In 1896, the year the Sisters of St. Joseph arrived in Iceland, a little wooden church was built at Reykjavik to serve temporarily for Divine worship, but owing to its being built on a hill it is terribly exposed to the bitter winds and dreadful storms which sweep over Iceland, and during the long winter months the cold, the storms and the draughts, to say nothing of the rain and snow, for it is not weatherproof, make it impossible for the parishioners to attend it. The Sisters have a small chapel in their hospital, but it is not large enough to give place to the Sisters of the Congregation.

Funds are urgently needed to build a larger and more convenient church to accommodate not only the Catholics, but a large number of Protestants who wish to be present at the great feasts. It would indeed be lamentable if for want of means it became impossible to carry on this great work, of Catholicizing once more a country which was once so deeply attached to the Catholic religion, and which as we have seen suffered so terribly at the Reformation.

In 1903, a Catholic school was opened at Reykjavik, under the care of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and every year the numbers of children attending increase, for there are very few schools, and Protestants are glad to send their children to the Sisters, when they see the good influence they exercise over them.

From May to October the Sisters have classes, which are attended by about thirty Icelandic ladies, who are taught all kinds of embroidery, wood carving, illuminating and other artistic work. This, of course, brings them into contact with the Sisters, and gives them opportunities of being instructed in the Catholic religion if they show any sympathy with it.

The Catholic hospital is now not large enough to accommodate all who desire to avail themselves of the privileges it offers, for

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patients come from distant parts of the country, and even Lutheran pastors when ill are anxious to be nursed by Catholic nuns.

The Icelandic press now never attacks the Catholic Church or Catholics, complete harmony exists between Catholics and Lutherans, largely due to the benefits, spiritual and temporal, which the priests and nuns have brought with them.

Recently the priest at the head of the Mission, Père Meulenberg, was asked by several Lutheran Icelanders of high rank to give conferences to combat Modernism, which was spreading among the Protestants. He consented and gave several conferences at Reykjavik which were well attended by a large audience. Not long ago Bishop von Euch was visited at Copenhagen by a rich Icelander from Akureyi, in the north of Iceland, to ask him to send some Catholic priests and nuns to that part of the country. These are all signs of the healthy state of the Mission, and of the good work which is being done by the missionaries and Sisters, hampered though they are for want of a larger church.

This town of Akureyri stands at the head of a fiord, and possesses a large agricultural college. It is the second town in the country and actually boasts a suburb. In 1874, when liberty of worship was granted, a large number of Icelanders assembled here, and a grand procession took place, during which the Icelandic Hymn of Praise was sung, which is the national hymn.

The scenery round Reykjavik is most beautiful, but the town itself is ugly, consisting mostly of one long street, except near the harbor, which is the busiest part, where there are several streets intersecting each other. The houses are mostly wooden with galvanized iron roofs, there are a few stone houses, and a good many mere shanties thatched with turf. The handsomest building is of stone, a large square house; the bank occupies the ground floor, and above it is the museum, in which the Catholic vestments and ornaments and pictures which were removed from the churches at the time of the Reformation have, at least some of them, been preserved.[12]

The longest road in the Island is from Thingvallir, where the old Althing or parliament was held, to Reykjavik, is thirty-six miles long; near Thingvallir it passes by the Lake Langavartu, where the Icelanders were baptized on their conversion to Christianity; there is a hot spring in the middle of the lake and this was the water used, as they objected to cold water. There are a great many cascades and waterfalls and a large rift called Allmannaggia, near which is a small pool, named the Murderess's pool, because

[12] "Across Iceland," by W. Bisiker, F. R. G. S., 1902.

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in olden times women who had committed infanticide were drowned in it.[18]

One of the earliest Christian churches is at Helgafell, a hill of basalt columns, on the coast of the northwest promontory which lies south of the Northwest peninsula, but it would seem that very few if any remains of all the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries are now to be found, as we have come across no mention of them in modern travels of Iceland, of which by the way there are very few English works. Probably the monasteries were destroyed by the Lutherans at the Reformation, or they may have been built of wood only in some instances, in which case they would have perished in the course of time.

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, England.

[18] Ibid.

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CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: A MODERN REPUBLIC.

EVER since the days of Abraham Lincoln Americans have believed, and have given frequent utterance to the belief, that "government of the people, by the people and for the people," if not practiced exclusively by our Republic, at least was cherished by it in an especial manner beyond all other nations of the world. Such is our boast; but if we would maintain or justify so pretentious a claim, we must look to our laurels before we are surpassed by the newly erected States of the Old World. At least, this is true, if one may judge accurately from their written constitutions. An excellent example is the new Constitution, adopted February 29, 1920, and promulgated March 5, 1920, by President Masaryk of Czecho-Slovakia, one of the States which arose out of the ruins of the decadent dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, nobly avenging the memory of the great defeat at the White Mountain nearly 300 years ago.

This document, which is one of the most democratic constitutions in the world, is the result of endeavors* to embody the best features of all the republics from Plato's time to our own, excluding features which experience has proved to be undesirable and including special provisions to meet peculiar needs. Not only is provision made for the right to assemble peacefully, to form associations and to petition, along with the inviolability of domicile, the secrecy of correspondence and the freedom of the press and conscience, but woman suffrage, the right to form labor and economic unions, the principle of proportional representation and similar features tend to the establishment of real government by the people in the truest sense of the word and make the document a veritable landmark in the history of free government.

So little is generally known, especially in this country, of this new-old State, due to its Magyarization and Germanization at the hands of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government, that a word or two about it may not be out of place. The Czecho-Slovak Republic owes its name to the two constituent elements of the nation: Czech and Slovak. The Czechs and Slovaks, by their resistance without the imperial frontiers and by their bloodless revolution within, brought about, with the collaboration of the Allies, the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and formed of the Czech countries (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) and a part of Old

*An account of the various steps leading up to the adoption of this constitution is given by Professor Robert J. Kerner in the "American Political Science Review," Vol. XIII., No. 4 (November, 1919), pp. 652, 656.

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Hungary (Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Russia) a democratic and independent republic, headed by an elected President. The Czecho-Slovaks form more than three-quarters of the whole population of the new republic. The national minorities, composed of Germans and Magyars and numbering about three million, will be granted full linguistic and civil rights. The Ruthenians living in the eastern part of Slovakia, who at their own wish were assigned by the Paris Peace Conference to the Czecho-Slovak State, will be granted local autonomy.

The Czecho-Slovak State has approximately the same area as England and Wales combined or New York and New Jersey combined, covering more than 55,000 square miles. According to the last census (Austro-Hungarian census of 1910), its population totals 13,811,655 inhabitants, or nearly as many as the combined populations of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and New York. The lot of the 545,409 inhabitants of part of Silesia and the Teschen district will be decided by plebiscite. According to the number of its population, the republic is tenth among the nations of Europe; according to the density of its population (97 per square kilometer), it is seventh. As regards area and population, the Czecho-Slovak Republic is a medium-sized State, if we count, for example, France and England as great powers and Greece and Bulgaria as small States. It has a larger area than Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, Greece, Bulgaria or German Austria; and a larger population than Norway, Finland, Sweden, Jugoslavia, Magyar-Hungary or any of the above-mentioned States.

The Czecho-Slovaks form the western advance-guard of Slavs, enclosed as it were in a Germanic mass. The Germans, who dwell on three sides of the Czecho-Slovak territory, and the Magyars, who flank it on the southeast, have penetrated deeply into it, especially in the frontier zone; it is only on the northeast and the east that the republic is in contact with friendly States. Direct communication between London and Belgrade-Constantinople, between Paris and Warsaw-Petrograd, between Berlin and Vienna-Budapest (the line of Constantinople and Salonica) and between Petrograd-Warsaw and Vienna-Southern Europe (Adriatic Sea) are all made by way of Prague and Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia is the natural centre of Europe, not only from the point of view of transports by railroads or waterways, but also by reason of its political and economic importance. Thanks to its natural riches and to the moral force of its pople, it is within reach of competing economically with the most advanced States. From a political point of view, it pursues peaceful ends abroad, enterprise

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and general development at home. Its one desire seems to be to aid in the well-ordered development of Central Europe.

Such is the present condition of the nation which has just emerged from its bondage of three hundred years—a bondage of the body, but not of the spirit, for its spirit has given fresh evidence of its existence in the new constitution, as may be gauged from the preamble, which has a familiar ring to American ears:

> We, the Czecho-Slovak Nation, in order to form a more perfect union of the nation, establish justice and order in the republic, insure tranquil development of the Czecho-Slovak homeland, promote the general welfare of all the citizens of this State and secure the blessings of liberty to future generations, have adopted in our National Assembly on the 29th day of February, 1920, a Constitution for the Czecho-Slovak Republic, the text of which follows. On this occasion, we, the Czecho-Slovak Nation, declare that we shall endeavor to have this Constitution and all laws of our land carried out in the spirit of modern principles contained in the word self-determination; for we desire to join the society of nations as an enlightened, peaceful, democratic and progressive member.

In conformity with these lofty aims the people are made the sole source of all State authority. Dual citizenship is forbidden; no citizen or subject of a foreign State may at the same time be a citizen of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The requirements for citizenship and the rights and duties of citizens are determined by law, as are any restrictions of rights which may be necessary in the public interest. Woman suffrage is allowed and titles of nobility are forbidden, for no privileges due to sex, birth or calling are recognized. All inhabitants of the republic enjoy in its territory the same full and complete protection of race and religion as the citizens of the republic. The home is inviolable and personal liberty is guaranteed. Therefore every citizen may settle in any part of the republic, acquire real property there and engage in a gainful occupation without fear of expropriation except by law and with compensation, unless the law specifically forbids compensation. Only in conformity with law can taxes and public burdens, as well as threats and punishments, be imposed. Every physically fit citizen must submit to military training and obey the call to defend the State.

The press is free and it is therefore illegal as a matter of principle to subject the press to censoring before publication. The right to assemble peacefully and without arms as well as to form associations is guaranteed with certain restrictions. Associations may be dissolved only when public peace or order is violated, but the law may impose restrictions upon the participation of foreigners

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in political societies and upon the establishment of associations for profit. Labor unions are officially recognized as legal, for the right to associate for the protection and improvement of conditions of employment and economic interests is guaranteed and all acts of individuals or associations which seem to amount to intentional violation of this right are prohibited. This perhaps solves the question of boycott, the lockout and in some instances the strike.

The right to petition is inherent, secrecy of mails is guaranteed and every person may, within the limits of the law, express his opinions by word, writing, press, picture, etc. This applies to legal persons within the scope of their action, and the exercise of this right of free speech shall not prejudice any one in his relations as employe of another. Scientific investigation and publication of its results, as well as art, is also untrammeled as long as it does not violate criminal law, and public instruction shall be so conducted as not to be in conflict with the results of scientific investigation. The State administration shall have the supreme conduct and oversight of all instruction and education, but the establishment of private schools is permitted.

Liberty of conscience and profession is guaranteed and all religious confessions are equal before the law. No one may be compelled directly or indirectly to participate in any religious act (this does not apply to the authority of fathers and guardians), although the performance of definite religious acts may be forbidden if they violate good order and public morality. All inhabitants have the same right as citizens to practice in public or private any confession, religion or faith, as long as the practice is not in conflict with public or good morals. Marriage, the family and motherhood are under the special protection of laws.

In order that these constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens may be protected, the constitution determines through what organs the sovereign people adopt laws, execute them and find justice and sets the limits which these organs may not exceed. This division of the powers of the State into the legislative, executive and judicial follows the French model in the details more closely than the American, although there are many points of similarity with the latter.

The legislative authority is, as in the United States, bicameral; there is a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, which together constitute the National Assembly. Both houses meet regularly in Prague, which is the capital of the republic, although in cases of absolute necessity they may be called to meet temporarily in some other place in the republic. There are two regular sessions called

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by the President, one in March and one in October, but special sessions may be called according to need, either by the President himself or upon demand of a majority of either house with or without the President's approval. Sessions of both houses are public with certain exceptions, and open and close at the same time. The President declares the session closed and may prorogue the house for no longer than one month and not oftener than once a year. He may also dissolve the houses, but not within the last six months of his term of office. New elections take place within sixty days after the expiration of the term or at the dissolution of either house. Contested elections are passed upon by the electoral court.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of 300 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret vote in accordance with the principle of proportional representation. Elections take place on Sundays and voting is limited to citizens without distinction of sex who are twenty-one years of age and comply with other requirements of the electoral law. All citizens, without distinction of sex, who are thirty years of age and comply with the other requirements of the law, are eligible to election to the Chamber. It will be noticed that the age requirement for eligibility in Czecho-Slovakia is five years higher than in the United States. The term of a deputy is six years, three times as long as that in the United States.

The Senate consists of 150 members, chosen in the same general way as the members of the Chamber, except that the age for the franchise is twenty-six, five years higher than in the United States, and the age for eligibility is forty-five, fifteen years higher than in the United States. The term for which Senators are elected is eight years, two years more than in the United States. The general tendency of these requirements is to make the Senate a conservative body of greater maturity and stability, and although the age requirement for the Chamber is also higher than in the United States, its more representative membership and greater powers leave ample room for progressive measures, while their check upon each other and the Presidential power of dissolution and referendum make it possible for even a rabidly radical people to enforce their will.

As a rule, cumulation of public offices is not permitted. No one may be a member of both houses simultaneously or be a member of the National Assembly while President. Employes of the State who are elected to the National Assembly and qualify as members receive leave of absence for the duration of their term and do not lose their rank or privileges thereby. Members of either

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house may resign at any time, but, while members, must carry out their mandates in person and may not intervene with public authorities in party interests except in so far as such intervention is a part of their regular duties. Refusal to make the pledge to be faithful to the republic and observe the laws or making the pledge with reservations carries with it automatic loss of mandate. Members may not be molested by reason of their vote and are subject only to the disciplinary power of their house for anything they may say in the exercise of their mandate. Even for prosecution or discipline for other acts or omissions by the proper authorities, the consent of the proper house must be obtained, and if this be refused, prosecution is dropped permanently, except when a member incurs criminal liability as responsible editor. Members may refuse to testify as to matters which were confided to them as members, even after their membership has ceased, except when they apply to charges of seducing a member to abuse his trust. Members receive compensation provided by law.

Each house elects its own officials and adopts its own rules. The quorum, except where otherwise provided in the constitution, is one-third of the entire membership and a majority vote of those present carries an act. The United States Constitution provides for a majority in both instances. The affirmative vote of three-fifths of the entire membership of both houses is necessary for a declaration of war and the amendment of the constitution or fundamental laws, and a two-thirds majority of two-thirds of the membership of the Chamber is necessary for the impeachment of the President, the Prime Minister or any other minister. Ministers, by the way, may participate at any time in meetings of either house and of all committees and shall be given the floor whenever they desire to speak. Ministers must comply with requests from either house or its committees to attend its meetings and submit information; otherwise they may be represented by their subordinates.

Although the legislative authority is bicameral, the powers of the Senate are very limited and the Chamber of Deputies is as completely predominant as the British House of Commons. This will be readily recognized from the procedure of measures in their passage by the National Assembly. Bills may be submitted by the Government or by either house; in the latter case a statement of expenses involved in the bill and a recommendation as to how they shall be defrayed must accompany the bill itself. Government proposals for financial and army bills must be laid before the Chamber first. Changes in fundamental laws, and, with some exceptions, in other laws, must be concurred in by both houses. There are certain time limits within which a bill passed by one house must be

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acted upon by the other house, and failure to act during this time is considered as equivalent to approval of the decision of the first house. The Chamber may override by a prescribed majority the Senate's disapproval of a measure passed by it, but the Senate has not the reciprocal privilege. Bills which fail in this way cannot be resubmitted in either house for a year, and amendment in one house of a bill passed by the other is equivalent to rejection.

In view of the popular agitation caused by the adoption of the prohibition and woman suffrage amendments to the Constitution in the United States, it is interesting to note that Czecho-Slovakia has made provision in its constitution for a restricted form of referendum in all matters except proposals to amend the constitution or fundamental laws. If the National Assembly rejects any other Government bill, the Government, by a unanimous decision, may order a popular vote to be taken as to whether the bill shall become a law; in this referendum all may vote who are entitled to vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies. The President may veto a proposed law within a month after he receives it from the National Assembly, but his veto may ordinarily be overridden by a majority vote of the entire membership of both houses, or, that failing, by a three-fifths vote of the entire membership of the Chamber of Deputies on a new roll call. Laws do not go into effect until proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law; every law must state which member of the Government is charged with its execution and must be signed by the President, the Prime Minister and the minister charged with its execution.

A distinctive and somewhat unique feature of the constitution is the provision for the enactment of urgent legislation during the adjournment of the National Assembly. During the time when the session of the two houses is prorogued or closed, urgent measures may be legally enacted by a commission of twenty-four members, sixteen of whom are elected by the Chamber and eight by the Senate, each for a term of one year. Each house also elects as many alternates as members and each alternate takes the place of a definite member. When a new house has been elected it selects new members of this commission, regardless of the non-expiration of the one-year term of sitting members. The principle of proportional representation shall be applied in these elections, but parties may combine, and if all parties agree, members of the commission may be selected from the body of the house. A member of the Government may not be a member of the commission or his alternate. Members of the commission remain in office until their successors are elected.

Certain details are prescribed for the organization of the com-

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mission and the filling of vacancies; Sections 23-27 of the constition apply to members of the commission. The commission may act in all matters within the legislative and administrative jurisdiction of the National Assembly, except the election of the President or his deputy, the amendment of fundamental laws, the imposition of new and lasting financial obligations upon citizens, the increasing of military obligations, the permanent burdening of the State finances, the alienation of State property and the declaration of war. Emergency measures which are in the nature of law may be adopted only upon the recommendation of the Government approved by the President; such acts have only temporarily the effect of law. Measures which are not approved by both houses within two months of their convening are thereafter void.

The executive or governing power of the republic is vested in the President and his ministers. The President must be a citizen thirty-five years old and qualified to be a member of the Chamber of Deputies. He is not elected by the people or by an electoral college, but by the National Assembly, as in France, and by a three-fifths vote of a majority present of the combined membership of both houses. The present President, Masaryk, was opposed by a German, who received only sixty-five votes out of some 415. In the election of a President, if two ballots result in no choice, the next balloting is limited to the highest candidate and he who receives a plurality is elected. Election is held within the last four weeks of an expiring term and the term is seven years, beginning with the day when the newly elected President promises before the National Assembly upon his honor and conscience that he will study the welfare of the republic and the people and observe constitutional and other laws; the President continues in office until the new President is elected. No one, except the first President, President Masaryk, may be elected for more than two successive terms and may not be elected again until seven years after the expiration of his second term. On the disability of the President for more than six months, the National Assembly will elect an acting President to serve until the impediment is removed, such election to be governed by the rules applying to the election of the President. Should the President die or resign during his term of office, a new election is held for a term of seven years, and until a new President is elected in this way or upon the minor disability of the President, the authority is exercised by the Government.

The rights and duties of the President are given in detail in the constitution; the power of proroguing and dissolving the National Assembly and the power of appointing ministers, university pro-

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fessors, judges, and military and civil officials of high rank make him more powerful than our President. The Czecho-Slovak President represents the State in foreign relations, receiving and accrediting diplomatic representatives and negotiating and ratifying international treaties; but treaties which impose upon the State or the citizens burdens of a financial or personal nature, especially military, and treaties which change the State boundaries require the consent of the National Assembly. The President proclaims a state of war to exist, declares war after first obtaining the consent of the National Assembly, and lays before it the negotiated treaty of peace for its approval. He convenes, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly and declares the session of the houses closed; he gives the National Assembly oral or written information of the state of the republic and recommends to their consideration such measures as he deems necessary and expedient. He may return bills with his objections and sign laws of the National Assembly and of the Diet of Carpathian Russia and ordinances of the commission. He appoints and dismisses ministers and determines their number, and appoints all professors of universities, judges, civil officials and army officers of the sixth or higher rank. He grants gifts and pensions in special cases upon motion of the Government; is commander-in-chief of all armed forces; and grants pardons in accordance with section 103. All governing and executive power not expressly reserved to the President shall be exercised by the Government, which is responsible also for the execution of the office of the President and for his utterances as such, but the President may be criminally prosecuted for high treason before the Senate upon impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies with punishment not to exceed the loss of his office and future disqualification.

But broad as the President's powers may seem to be, it is necessary not to lose sight of the fact that they are all within the control of the actual governing body, the ministry. For every official act of the President, to be valid, must be signed by a responsible member of the Government (minister). The President appoints and dismisses the members of the Government and decides over which department each minister shall preside. Provision is made for the election, by the Government from its membership, of a President's deputy, who may take his place. Members of the Government make a promise to the President similar to the one he makes to the National Assembly and they are not allowed to act as representatives of a stock company or firm engaged in business for profit. The Government is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, which may, by a majority vote of a majority of its membership, declare its

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lack of confidence in the Government. In this case the Government must hand its resignation to the President and he selects persons to carry on the affairs of State until a new Government is formed. Ministers may be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies for violation of fundamental or other laws in their official capacity either intentionally or through gross negligence, and the trial is held before the Senate. The Government acts as a college which is competent to take action only in the presence of a majority of the ministers. This corporate action extends to those matters which in this country would be attended to by cabinet officers and administration leaders in Congress. Sections 82-93 of the constitution outline the restrictions applying to the ministries and the inferior branches of the national administration.

The judicial power is exercised by State courts whose organization, jurisdiction and procedure are prescribed by law. Extraordinary courts may be introduced, under special conditions, only in criminal matters. Provision is made for civil courts for civil cases, for one Supreme Court for the entire republic and for jury trials. The latter may be suspended temporarily in cases provided by law. The jurisdiction of courts-martial may be extended to the civil population according to law only in time of war. Judges are appointed permanently and may not be transferred, demoted or pensioned against their will, unless suspended according to law for proper reasons or pensioned at the prescribed age. They may not hold any other paid position, permanent or temporary, except as provided by law. They cannot pass upon the validity of a law, but only as to whether it has been properly promulgated; they may, however, inquire into the validity of an ordinance. The President has the power to grant pardons, commute punishments, restore civil rights, and in some cases to suspend criminal prosecution, but he may not interfere in cases of impeachment or punishments resulting therefrom.

These are the chief provisions of the constitution of Czecho-Slovakia for the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the Government and for the rights and duties of citizens. However, the Treaty of Peace signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919, required the protection of national, religious and racial minorities by the new State, and this matter is covered by sections 127-133 of the constitution, which corresponds to articles 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the treaty. This treaty also provided for the erection of the Ruthenian territory south of the Carpathian Mountains as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State with the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State. Articles 10-13, therefore, are practically incorporated in sec-

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tion 3 of the constitution. This territory has its own diet, which legislates in all linguistic, scholastic, religious and local questions; it has its own Governor, appointed by the President of Czecho-Slovakia and responsible to the Ruthenian Diet; and it has representation in the National Assembly of Czecho-Slovakia.

Let us see how this well-prepared constitution works out in practice. The first election for the National Assembly took place in April of this year. The principle of proportional representation gave rise to sixteen parties: Eight Czecho-Slovak, five German and three Magyar. If the republic had not introduced the system of proportional representation, so common in Europe but so little known in this country, the smaller parties would have failed to secure any representation. The election gives such an accurate picture of the composition of the population and such a clear idea of the opportunity for all the component parts to collaborate in the consolidation of the State that its results are appended here in full:

		Name of Party.	Seats in Chamber	Seats in Senate
Czecho-Slovak Parties	1.	Social Democrats	74	41
	2.	Popular (Catholic)	33	18
	3.	Agrarians	28	14
	4.	Socialists	24	10
	5.	National Democrats	19	10
	6.	Slovak National Peasant	12	6
	7.	Tradesmen's	6	3
	8.	Progressive Socialists	3	0
German Parties	9.	Social Democrats	31	16
	10.	Bourgeois	15	8
	11.	Farmers	11	6
	12.	Christian Socialists (Catholic)	10	4
	13.	Freethinkers	5	3
Magyar Parties	14.	Socialists	4	0
	15.	Christian Socialists	5	2
	16.	Farmers	1	1
		Total	281	142

The Catholics seems to be the most poorly organized of the parties, for, although the population is over 85 per cent. Catholic, the Socialistic parties captured over 50 per cent. of the available seats, while the Catholic parties only obtained 17 per cent. of the available seats. This indicates that the vast majority of Catholics in Czecho-Slovakia are affiliated with parties other than the expressly designated Catholic parties. It may be that the small percentage of seats obtained will be increased when the remaining nineteen Deputies and eight Senators are elected to complete the required member-

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ship of the National Assembly. Moreover, the Catholic parties obtained no representative in the second Government, which was appointed by President Masaryk some time after May, 1919; this consisted of fifteen ministers, divided among the parties as follows:

4 Social Democrats (including Premier Tusar)	4 Agrarians
4 Socialists	2 Slovaks
	1 non-party (Benes)

The results of the election are also illuminating in the matter of woman suffrage and the protection of national minorities. The women obtained thirteen seats in the Chamber and three in the Senate; they no doubt will obtain many more as they become better organized. It is interesting to note here that Czech women boast of the oldest rights of suffrage in the modern world. They date from the year 1861, although not in continuous use. With regard to national minorities, the "revolutionary" National Assembly was purely Czech. The Germans and Magyars at that time, although fellow-citizens, were in revolt against the republic; they refused to recognize it and even proclaimed certain districts as independent; the Magyars indeed even took up arms against the republic. And yet the Czecho-Slovak constitution, in keeping with the assurances contained in the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, has given equal rights to all. By taking part in the elections they have acknowledged their citizenship in the Czecho-Slovak republic.

A noteworthy provision for insuring stability of constitutional government is made in the Czecho-Slovak constitution by the extension of the judicial power to the determination of the validity of laws in seeming conflict with the constitution. The "enabling provisions" of the constitution, adopted and promulgated with the document itself, entrust this function to a special "Constitutional Court" of seven members, of whom two each are designated by the Supreme Administrative Court and the Supreme Court and the other three (including the president of the court) by the President of the republic.

Another feature of the constitution, which will appeal especially to Americans, is the manner of electing a President. His election by a three-fifths vote of a majority present of the entire membership of both houses of the National Assembly (which has been elected by direct vote, according to the principle of proportional representation) seems to preclude the possibility of a Hayes-Tilden controversy, where a 250,000 plurality was overridden because of a tie vote in the antiquated electoral college. For such a violation of the popular will, more than one-sixth of the combined membership of both houses must be absent—a thing which is hardly con-

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ceivable upon such an occasion as a Presidential election. Moreover, the election takes place four weeks instead of four months before he begins his term, so that there is a minimum of time between the expression of the popular will and compliance therewith.

Congressmen in the United States, who are wont to "fix their political fences" every two years, might be inclined to envy their Czecho-Slovak brethren with their six-year term in the Chamber and their eight-year term in the Senate, but they must not lose sight of the fact that National Assemblymen in the Czecho-Slovak State are liable to be "dissolved" by the president at any time, and this means that they must stand for election by their constituency again. For after all, it is the people who are the sources of all authority in Czecho-Slovakia, and while it seems that the President has too much power and the Chamber has too much power, they are both subject to various checks sufficient to insure the avoidance of autocracy.

But although the new republic seems to have elaborated for itself a very workable constitution, it must not be forgotten that life under the best of constitutions is not necessarily politically wise or physically safe; much depends upon the adaptability of the people to the maintenance of a regime of law and order. From a purely historical point of view there can be little doubt that stability and progress are in store for the rejuvenated ancient Bohemian State, which so steadfastly refused the thrice-made offer of Francis Joseph to be crowned King of Bohemia and which, therefore, may be really said to have ceased to exist. But, as hinted above, the trend of the present National Assembly and ministry is decidedly Socialistic, and this, to say the least, is far from reassuring to those who expect an orderly, stable and progressive government for "the heart of Europe."

It will be interesting indeed to watch the career of this modern republic, better known to us perhaps by its Dvorak, its Kubelik and its Emma Destinova than by its Palacky, its Hruban and its Masaryk, and to discover whether the noble ideals of its constitution be merely the high-sounding, empty phrases of a shadowy pretense at popular rule or the genuine expression of a real Christian democracy.

HERBERT F. WRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

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PLANTS AND FLOWERS.

TRIBUTES TO THE TRAILING ARBUTUS.

"Come for arbutus, my dear, my dear,
The pink waxen blossoms are waking, I hear;
We'll gather an armful of fragrant wild cheer."
—Mrs. S. L. Oberholtzer ("Come for Arbutus")

THE arbutus has been so generally gathered by its fond admirers that in many places where it was once very common it is now quite extinct. Arbutus is too shy to thrive in the footsteps of civilization, and retreats so rapidly that only those living in out-of-the-way woodlands ever see it nowadays, except as the tight, stiff little bouquets appear in florists' windows for a brief time in the spring, to remind city dwellers that there are lovely nooks far away from the grime and roar of their daily lives. If one knew where to go, it would be worth a trip on the train, and a long tramp, just to find the arbutus in bloom in its own chosen haunts.

"Go find the first arbutus
Within the piney wood,
And learn from that shy dweller
How sweet is solitude." —Bliss Carman

To those who know the flower, there is a certain time in the year that seems exclusively arbutus weather, those first melting days of late February or March, that hint the breaking up of winter:

"Days! days! arbutus days!
They come from heaven on high!"
—John Burroughs

Not that one could find the flowers if one put out immediately in search of them, for they are not yet on exhibition. "Arbutus Days" merely hint the plant's anticipated arrival, and though they make one restless, eager to get out looking for signs of spring, the melting snow is as yet the only promise of arbutus bloom. As yet

"Arbutus lies beneath the snows,
While winter waits for her brief repose,
And says, 'No fairer flower grows!'"
—W. W. Bailey

John Burroughs finds arbutus in no danger of over-sleeping, since there is a certain alarm clock sure to go off somewhere near her quiet chamber, the booming reveille of the Ruffed Grouse:

"And through the woods there runs a thrill
That wakes arbutus into bloom."
—("The Heart o' the Wood")

In a poem on the flower, he assigns another reason for its early waking:

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"Thy ear lies close upon the ground,
Far off it hears the thrilling sound
Of spring's oncoming feet;
Nor lingering snow, nor chilling day,
Can long the genial hours delay
That fills thy chalice sweet."
—("Trailing Arbutus")

So soon do the blossoms appear after the melting away of the snowy coverlet that it would seem the poet is right who wrote:

"The sweetest flower of all that grows,
Is born beneath the winter snows;
In early spring, under the trees,
'Tis found beneath the frosty leaves,
Its tints more rare than lily bells,
With pink and white of ocean shells."
—A. E. H. ("Trailing Arbutus")

However, both botany and common sense advise that the blossoms do not open under the snow, but in the shelter of last year's leaves, in response to the first warm sunbeams that pierce the bronze-green wrappings and touch the folded buds with magic golden wands:

"Lift soft the russet drift of winter leaves,
Delicious air! the sweet arbutus weaves
Her sprays of pink below.
Lift the dead leaves, oh, sunny southern wind,
And rosy buds and waxed clusters find,
And leaves of massy green." —R. Mills

Usually, when bouquets of these blossoms are prepared for market, the leaves are carefully nipped away, because though evergreen, they are more or less rusty and torn. But this only gives the blossoms a bare, mutilated appearance; for the protecting leaves add a beauty that is lost when they are removed:

"Thy little leaves so harsh and hard,
So torn by winds, by winter marred,
Enhance they tender face;
But he whose days are evergreen,
Though storms may come and frosts be keen,
Is sharer in thy grace."
—John Burroughs ("Trailing Arbutus")

To one who has seen the flowers growing, there is something pathetic and unpleasing in those corsage bouquets for which the shy blossom was never intended. We want the blossoms in their sheltering leaves, or not at all.

"It grew under leaves, as if seeking
No hint of itself to disclose,
And out of its pink-white petals
A delicate perfume arose." —Henry Abbey

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And that is the way we like to have it, whether we find it ourselves or buy it of a more fortunately situated person. The poet does not disassociate the flower from its foliage, realizing that the very contrast makes for beauty.

"Tinged with color faintly
Like the morning sky,
Or, more pale and saintly,
Wrapped in leaves ye lie—
Even as children sleep in faith's simplicity."
—Rose Terry Cooke ("Trailing Arbutus")

Indeed, the leaf deserves some praise, being prettily rounded with a heart-shaped base, and with a taut midrib that seems to pucker it, a decorative effect very few leaves possess. But the new leaves come after blossom time is over, and so their loveliness passes unnoticed until they become the russet wrappings for delicate blossoms. But at least, the evergreen nature of the foliage has given the plant the pretty name of "Ground-Laurel," which two poets have noted:

"within the woods,
Tufts of ground-laurel, creeping underneath
The leaves of the last summer, send their sweets
Up to the chilly air."
—William Cullen Bryant ("The Twenty-seventh of March")

"Round the boles of the pine-wood the ground-laurel creeps,
Unkissed of the sunshine, unbaptized of showers,
With buds scarcely swelled, which should burst into flowers."
—John G. Whittier ("April")

It would seem that these two poets do not write of the same spring, or at least spring in the same locality. The twenty-seventh of March is rather early for the flowers, unless the season was unusually forward. To be sure, this is one of the earliest of spring blossoms, but there must be some warm weather to encourage even these hardy bells to open, and March seldom offers this. Another poet, writing of "March Days," only anticipates:

"and, cradled in the wood,
As sweet as womanhood,
As shy as any maiden lured by love,
The dimly flushed arbutus bloom above
The harsh earth soon will peer,
And April airs be here!" —Richard Burton

May-flower is a popular name in New England and no doubt they are often found in bloom this late in spring:

"Now the tender, sweet arbutus
Trails her blossom-clustered vines."
—Dora R. Goodale ("May")

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"And I love the Mayflower the best, in May,
Smiling from its snow-drift cover,
With its breath that is sweet as a kiss, to say
That the reign of winter is over."
—Lucy Larcom ("The National Flowers")

But May is rather late for "snow-drift covers," and for assurances that winter is over, as Miss Larcom herself seems to think, for in another poem she gives the flower an earlier blooming:

"And Mayflowers bloom before May comes
To cheer, a little, April's sadness."
—("The Sister Months")

The largest and pinkest blossoms are found among withered leaves, the deciduous foliage of the summer before, at the edge of snow-drifts, in mid-April. For arbutus does not mind the cool breezes of early spring, and indeed, seems to prefer the wetness and chill of melting patches of snow:

"Ere yet the lingering snows had gone, the arbutus was blushing
Beneath her screen of withered leaves, a vestal faintly flushing."
—Margaret E. Sangster ("Wildflowers")

It thrives best in cold, shaded nooks, such as rocky hollows or ravines densely sheltered with evergreen growth. A wooded brook is a favorite spot:

"Then from a secret nook
Beside the pasture brook—
A place of leaves—
A pink-lipped bloom she took,
Softly before his feet,
Oblation small and sweet,
She laid the arbutus." —C. G. D. Roberts

One would hardly expect to find arbutus in a "pasture," unless one possessed a magician's wand, and any "pasture" containing arbutus must be well shaded. Trees seem to be an essential part of arbutus' place of abode, and if they are removed she goes, too.

"There pink, perfumed arbutus trails from underneath bare trees," says Lucy Larcom; pine woods are particularly favored:

"Underneath the dear pine droppings
Close entangled with the mould,
Gleamed a rosy chain of flowerets,
Rosy flowerets, fresh and cold."
—Frederick C. Tuckerman ("May Flowers")

Amid these stern, forbidding places, and above the cold earth upon which it lies, the starry blossom takes on a beauty ineffably sweet, because so fresh and pure:

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"Like a pure hope nursed beneath sorrow's wing,
Its timid buds from the cold moss spring;
Their delicate hues like the pink seashell,
Or the shaded blush of the hyacinth's bell."
—Sarah Helen Whitman ("The Trailing Arbutus")

If pines be present, arbutus has no hesitation about taking to the hills, since wherever pines are found she is certain of moisture and chill. So the poets have found them in such retired spots:

"Once more I see that wooded hill
Where the arbutus grows." —E. C. Stedman.

"And far up the rugged hillside,
Spring and Hope in every breath,
Pure and perfect, sweet arbutus
Twines her rosy-tinted wreath."
—Elaine Goodale ("First Flowers")

Indeed, often is the plant found in rugged uplands that one of its names is "Mountain-Pink," which one poet has chosen to call it:

"Where bed on bed of mountain-pinks
About the lava boulders blow."
—Mary Duclaux

Quite appropriately, Mrs. Dorr says of "Vermont": "In thy hair sprays of the pink arbutus twine," for the New England States are all hosts to this charming guest; though it is not limited to that section:

"Now pink as the lip of the sea-shell,
Now white as the breakers' foam,
It spreadeth its stainless treasure
To brighten its rugged home."
—Anon. ("A Flower from the Catskills")

The comparison of the frosty, waxy white petals daintily edged with pink to sea-shells is a popular one; Whittier uses it twice:

"And the ungathered May-flowers wear
The tints of ocean shells."
—("The Friend's Burial")

"And, guided by its sweet
Perfume, I found, within a narrow dell,
The trailing spring-flower tinted like a shell
Amid dry leaves and mosses at my feet."
—("The Trailing Arbutus")

Being tubular, and of exquisite chinaware tints, the following likeness is appropriate:

"Mayflowers, rosy or purest white,
Lift their cups to the sudden light
Under the leaves." Anon. ("Under the Leaves")

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And, of course, no one would dispute the flower's right to be called

"The groundwork gay and the lady of May
In her petticoat pink and white." —Alice Cary

Just what relationship exists between arbutus and spring has not been decided by the poets. Elaine Goodale has an original idea in the opening line of an arbutus poem: "Hail the flower whose early bridal makes the festival of spring." Helen Hunt Jackson uses the same thought, with variations:

"If Spring has maids of honor,
Arbutus leads the train;
A lovelier, a fairer,
The Spring would seek in vain."

Lloyd Mifflin attributes the origin to Spring, who

"Scattered coyly from her azure gown
Arbutus bells beneath the leaves of brown."
—("The Fields of Dawn")

Two other poets find the relationship more intimate:

"To-day the south wind sweeps away
The types of autumn's splendor,
And shows the sweet arbutus flowers—
Spring's children, pure and tender."
—Albert Laighton

"Where shy spring tends her darlings,
And hides them away from sight."
—Louise Chandler Moulton ("May Flowers")

In the language of flowers, arbutus has been assigned the sentiment, "Thee only do I love," but the poet is fond of associating "hope" with the message it bears:

"Thou dainty firstling of the spring,
Homage due to thee I bring,
The faintest blushes of the sun
Do tint thy petals, and adorn.
And thy fine perfume, sweetly faint
Is like the breathings of a saint,
Thou poem of perfumed grace,
Dear hope and truth beam from thy face."
—Albert C. Pearson

Many of the quotations already used have paid tribute to the fragrance of the flowers, often betraying their presence to the nose when the eye might miss them; here is one more:

"And the trailing arbutus shrouds its grace,
Till fragrance betrays its hiding place."
—Mrs. Sigourney

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As for the "trailing" habit, such a noticeable characteristic of the plant, it has been well illustrated by these many poetical lines. *Epigæa repens* is the botanical name, the first word a combination of two Greek words—"upon the earth," or prostrate, and the second word a form of the Latin "reptum," to creep:

"They say, sweet flower, that pride is not thy failing,
But is there not, I prithee, in thy 'trailing'
A touch of floral pride?" —W. C. Richards

Lucy Larcom finds a reason for this humble attitude, because the flower never appears until the brook is quite free from its icy bonds, so that there is no overtaking the liberated stream:

"The wild arbutus, flushed with haste, trails close to make appeal
For brief delay, and after her the wet-eyed violets steal."
—("Friend Brook")

"Are beauties" is a pet nickname for the blossoms, which John Burroughs calls "rosy-lipped and honey-hearted." The five-lobed, salver-shaped blossoms are honey tubes, and have the rich, spicy flavor of muscatel grapes. Perhaps it is the fear of appearing in a salad that makes the plant hug the earth so closely and wear its blossoms with shy reserve.

"Close to the damp earth clinging,
Tender and pink and shy,
Lifting her waxen blossoms
Up to the changeful sky."
—Elaine Goodale ("Trailing Arbutus")

One would think that no one fortunate enough to find the haunts of this lovely vine would be as Whittier complains of certain hill-dwellers:

"Blind to the beauty everywhere revealed,
Treading the Mayflowers with regardless feet."
—("Among the Hills")

The Mayflower holds first place in the heart of a loyal New Englander, because it is a fit emblem of these hardy, sturdy Pilgrims who conquered the wilderness:

"'Twas I the Pilgrim Fathers found
When April called them to the wood,
. . . . . .
My fragrance, like a message sweet
Their spirits touched, and reverently
They chose the blossom at their feet
The symbol of their faith." —Hopestill Goodwin

In Massachusetts the flowers are peddled about the city streets as "Ply-mouth Ma-a-ay-flow-ers!" a title that honors the original settlers in a doubly suggestive manner; Whittier tells us, in his

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preface to the following poem, that this was the first flower that greeted the Pilgrims after their fearful winter:

"Sad Mayflower! watched by winter stars,
And nursed by winter gales,
With petals of the sleeted spars,
And leaves of frozen sails!

"What had she in those dreary hours,
Within her ice-rimmed bay,
In common with the wildwood flowers,
The first sweet smiles of May?

"Yet 'God be praised!' the Pilgrims said,
Who saw the blossoms peer
Above the brown leaves, dry and dead,
'Behold our Mayflower here!'

" 'God wills it here our rest shall be,
Our years of wandering o'er,
For us the Mayflower of the sea
Shall spread her sails no more.'

"O sacred flowers of faith and hope,
As sweetly now as then
Ye bloom on many a birchen slope,
In many a pine-dark glen.

"Behind the sea-wall's rugged length,
Unchanged, your leaves unfold,
Like love behind the manly strength
Of the brave hearts of old.

"So live the fathers in their sons,
Their sturdy faith be ours,
And ours the love that overruns
Its rocky strength with flowers."

—("The Mayflowers")

Longfellow connects the blossoms with that pretty bit of romance so dear to all Americans, "The Courtship of Miles Standish," for while on his way to speak to Priscilla on behalf of the timid Captain, John Alden was

"Gathering still, as he went, the Mayflowers blooming around him,
Fragrant, filling the air with a strange and wonderful sweetness,
Children lost in the woods, and covered with leaves in their slumber.
'Puritan flowers,' he said, 'and the type of Puritan maidens,
Modest and simple and sweet, the very type of Priscilla!
So I will take them to her: to Priscilla the Mayflower of Plymouth.' "

and who, like them, had an unexpected bit of spice in her makeup that led her to put the mischievous question: "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?"

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This pretty member of the Heath Family of plants is firmly entrenched in the affections of all who know it, not alone for its delicate beauty, but for the lesson it has to teach of Fatherly care:

"Have ye not seen Him, when through parted snows
Wake the first kindlings of the vernal green?
When 'neath its modest veil the arbutus blows?"
—Mrs. Sigourney ("Show Us the Father")

A BOUQUET OF APPLE BLOSSOMS.

"Have you plucked the apple blossoms in the spring?
In the spring?
And caught their subtle odors in the spring?
Pink buds pouting at the light,
Crumpled petals baby white,
Just to touch them a delight—
In the spring." —William Martin

If the apple tree never did anything but put forth blossoms it would be well worth the cultivating. I remember once, in an examination in nature-study, one question called for a list of good shade trees. I thought of a certain lawn with an apple tree in the front yard, and the many times I had seen it in bloom, as Julia C. R. Dorr describes one:

"Graceful and lithe and tall,
It stands by the garden wall,
In the flush of its pink-white bloom,
Elate with its own perfume.
Tossing its young bright head
In its first glad joy of May,
While its singing leaves sing back
To the bird on the dancing spray.
'I'm alive! I'm a-bloom!' it cries
To the winds and the laughing skies.
Ho! for the gay young apple-tree
That stands by the garden wall!"

So I headed my list with the apple tree, eager to pay tribute to such a lovely thing. The good professor, however, was highly wrought up over its inclusion, and made it the subject of a little discursion on sticking to instructions when answering qkuestions. "The apple tree has none of the requirements of a good shade tree," he grumbled, and for the remainder of the term I was in his black books as a student not worth the bother, since I could not profit by his lectures.

Yet to this day I look upon the tree as one of the prettiest that can ornament a lawn, and it pleases me to see, in my drives, a front yard here and there with an apple tree or two occupying a prominent place in the foreground. There are other benighted folk who regard it as a good lawn tree, thank fortune:

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"My apple tree, thy dome of rose and pearl
Will vanish on the morrow, like a dream.
Yet every spring, the springs when I am dead,
A tabernacle thou wilt build for men;
And they will look up through thee into heaven,
And hear the hum of bees among thy boughs,
A faint sky-music. . . .
Thou art too beautiful to be dropped out
Of human vision, even beautified.
There is no glory of the trees like thine,
Though there be many set in Paradise:
There must thou blossom also."
—Lucy Larcom ("A White Sunday")

Dwarf apple trees are sometime scultivated for ornament, as when planted for hedges, forming very beautiful ones when properly selected with regard to color of the blossoms and fruit. But most of us prefer to let it "gang its own gait" in shape and size, for there is something charming in those crooked old branches, making the tree so easy to climb and offering such comfortable seats when one has accepted the invitation. In winter, the gesture of an apple tree is pleasing, particularly after a soft, heavy, quiet snowfall that leaves the branches ridged with ermine. It is easy to believe that the ancient Druids held it in high regard, cutting their divining rods from

"the crooked apple trees,
Gray with their fleecy moss and mistletoe."
—Robert Southey

And that King Arthur's fairy sister claimed special rights over it:

"I am Fay Morgana's own,
See the mistletoe for token,
Clutching to my lichened bough,
Wherefore sing ye likewise now,
Keeping the old spell unbroken."
—Frederick Lorn ("Song of the Apple Tree")

The ermine mantle is worn with such lavishness, and so anticipates the mantle of blossoms to follow, that the old tree seems possessed of plenty of vitality even in the winter:

" 'You think I am dead,'
The apple tree said,
'Because I have never a leaf to show—
Because I stoop
And my branches droop,
And the dull gray mosses over me grow!
But I'm all alive in trunk and shoot!' "
—Edith M. Thomas ("Talking in Their Sleep")

"And when the spring-warmth shoots
Along the apple roots,

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The gnarled old boughs grow full of buds,
That gleam and leaf in multitudes.
And then, first cold and white,
Soon flushing with delight,
The blossom heads come out and blow
And mimic sunset-tinted snow."
—Edmund Gosse ("The Farm")

One characteristic that makes for beauty is the apple tree's way of doing one thing at a time, and doing that prodigiously well. So to get its blossoms before the public in the most conspicuous manner, *Malus malus* starts them out ahead of the leaves:

"No leaf as yet! Though like a wraith of snow
The white bell-flowers have burst their sheathings green."
—C. A. Dawson ("Bell-Flower Apple Trees")

The very short time that the branches are in the budded condition is a beautiful phase in the tree's life; for "the apple-buds clustered together on the apple-boughs," as Walt Whitman sees them, give the rugged tree the look of being garmented in pearls:

"From gnarled apple-boughs the buds
Of perfumed white and red
Are peeping forth."
—Madeline Rock ("A Spring Chanson")

"Upon the apple tree, where rosy buds
Stood clustered, ready to burst forth in bloom." —Bryant

Even the bell-flower, whose blossoms are so snowy when they spread wide, have rosy petal-backs to brighten the brown twigs just as they come peeping out of their winter casings:

"And all the belle-fleur buds were out that day,
As ruby red as your own dear lips."
—Lloyd Mifflin ("The Fields of Dawn")

The tint of red persists, when the flowers are out, and as the short flower-stems enable the blossoms to droop slightly, with the branch's way of putting forth tufts of bloom on all sides, we have a lovely mixture of two dainty colors to delight our eyes:

"the soft
And delicate wealth of apple-blossoms spread
In tender spirals of blent white and red." —Paul H. Hayne
"snow's self with just the tinct
Of the apple blossom's heart-blush." —Robert Browning

At this time there are two ways to enjoy the tree. One is to get close enough to feel that you are a part of it, standing under the branches so that your head is up among them, or better yet, finding a good seat in the tree's lap and just staying there, motionless even to the brain, and drink in the loveliness and fragrance and rustle.

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"While through the branches of this apple-tree
Some spots of sunshine flicker on your brow,
While every flower hath on its breast a bee,
And every bird in stirring doth endow
The grass with falling blooms that smoothly glide
As ships drop down a river with the tide." —Jean Ingelow

Another way to revel in its beauty is to stand far enough off to see how "the apple trees their rosy bloom display," according to Hartley Coleridge, and how, according to other poets, each tree becomes a bouquet of fragrant bloom:

"The faint pink blossoms on the apple tree
Blew in such rich profusion as to hide
What gnarled and twisted branches smothered therein,
And every little wanton puff of wind
Fluttered a thousand petals to the ground." —Heather Bigg

"I see the comely apple trees,
In spring ablush with blossoms sweet;" —Phœbe Cary

May is the month of apple blossoms, as certainly as June is the month of roses, and one has very little chance of finding them before or after these special thirty-one days:

"Apple blossoms, budding, blowing,
In the soft May air;
Cups with sunshine overflowing—
Flakes of fragrance, drifting, snowing,
Showering everywhere!" —Lucy Larcom

"Sweet as the apple blossoms, when in May
The orchards flush, of summer grown aware."
—Celia Thaxter

If we could have but one month in the year, surely it would be the one we remember with delight when it is gone and anticipate with such high hopes when it is coming:

"On the topmost orchard branches
It then was crimson and snow;" —F. T. Palgrave

"Visions of orchards crowned with bridal bloom
Where apple blossoms scent the air of May."
—D. M. Jordan

Still another pleasure the tree has for us is the glory of the full-blossomed orchard; whether you stand in the middle of one, or admire it from a distance:

"The apple trees with blooms are all aglow—
Soft drifts of perfumed light—
A miracle of mingled fire and snow—
A laugh of Spring's delight!
Their ranks of creamy splendor pillow deep
The valley's pure repose,

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On mossy walls, in meadow nooks, they heap
Surges of frosted rose." —Horatio N. Powers

"The orchard rows are all ablush,
The meadows all aglow;
On every bough a vivid flush,
A drift of petaled snow;
The clustered bloom, with faint perfume,
Wreathes many a garland fine,
And many a rosy, nodding plume
In apple blossom time." —Elaine Goodale

In her book, "Birdcraft," Mabel Osgood Wright tells of taking a drive through the country in some New England State to see the orchards in bloom, a drive that lasted at least over one night and was continued for perhaps several days. What a wonderful outing, "passing the apple blows of white and pink in the orchards," as Walt Whitman words it, one after another, as they came into sight and were succeeded by others equally beautiful and fragrant. It is the sort of outing every one of us would profit by taking, a leisurely jaunt to admire the orchards. Think of the pleasure, too, of becoming an orchard expert, of being able to choose among the beautiful scenes one orchard or perhaps a section of them, more lovely than others!

"O, Kent has fair orchards; no pleasanter show
Than her apple trees blooming in April, I know,
Save the orchards round Reigate, sweet Reigate, that lie
With their red and white blossoms, so fair 'neath the sky."
—William C. Bennett ("The Green Hills of Surrey")

It is said that in the language of flowers apple blossom means "Preference," that is, in the sense that "Fame speaks him great and good." In which case it would be a delicate compliment to decorate our heroes with these May-time branches instead of laurels and oaks. Perhaps it was with this meaning in mind that Alice Cary records of one:

"The apple blossoms, all on fire,
Fell uninvited in his arms."
—("Going to Court")

Whether those wearing the blossoms always deserve them or not, certain it is that the tree itself has the right to don them freely, for fame speaks it great and good, in spite of a certain bad start history records of it:

"this apple blossom's part
To breed the fruit that breeds the serpent's art."
—Dante G. Rossetti

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At any rate, fame now speaks it great and good, and has for many centuries:

"Yes, by our own unstoried stream
The pink-white apple blossoms burst
That saw the young Euphrates gleam—
That Gihon's circling waters nursed."
—Oliver W. Holmes

There are three creatures, at least, in addition to man, that rank the tree high. The robin finds it offering excellent nesting sites:

"And though the robins go, as guests,
To swing among the elm's soft leaves,
When they would build their snug round nests,
They choose the rough old apple trees."
—May R. Smith

a preference the old tree appreciates by decorating the abandoned cradle, as if inviting its owner back for another season:

"Fragrant and silent as that rosy snow
Wherewith the pitying apple tree fills up
And tenderly lines some last-year robin's nest." —Lowell

To Bossy those knobby old trunks offer much comfort in time of need:

"Dear though the shadowy maple be,
And dearer still the whispering pine,
Dearest yon russet-laden tree
Browned by the heavy rubbing kine." —Holmes

And there is the honey-maker, with hives conveniently situated, so that his trips may be frequent:

"The blossomed apple tree,
Among its flowery tufts, on every spray,
Offers the wandering bee
A fragrant chapel for his matin lay." —Bryant

"And there the wall-spread apple tree
Gave its white blossoms to the bee." —James Hogg

An apple tree glides gracefully from one phase into another. For instance, after the blossoms have developed, the leaves begin to come out, so that presently the tree is a lovely thing of emerald, rose and snow:

"By the withy-wrought gate of a garden I found me,
'Neath the goodly green boughs of an apple full-blossomed."
—William Morris

When, at last, the blossoms have served their purpose, their going is as poetic as their coming,—"the odorous snow-storms of

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apple trees," so Eben Rexford puts it, which simile appeals to another poet:

"Can it be that it is snowing
On this clear and sunny day?
Are the snowflakes thickly falling
In the pleasant month of May?
No, it is the apple blossoms
Falling, falling from the trees,
Dancing in a whirl of rapture
To the music of the breeze."
—William C. Park ("May")

"The blossoms and leaves in plenty
From the apple trees fall each day.
The merry breezes approach them
And with them merrily play." —Heinrich Heine

Gerard Hopkins, however, seems to regard this petal-play in the light of a soap-bubble party:

"when Summer of his sister Spring
Crushes and tears the rare bejewelling,
And boasting, 'I have fairer things than these,'
Plashes amid the billowy apple trees
His lusty hands, in gusts of scented wind
Swirling out bloom till all the air is blind
With rosy foam and pelting blossom and mists
Of driving, vermeil-rain; and, as he lists
The dainty onyx-coronals deflowers,
A glorious wanton—all the wrecks in showers
Crowd down upon a stream, and jostling thick
With bubbles bugle-eyed, struggle and stick
On tangled shoals that bar the brook—a crowd
Of filmy globes and rosy floating cloud."

Soon, to quote one poet, "the apple blooms are scattered roseate o'er the orchard lands," and then, all at once, like the snow they mimic, they have disappeared.

If there can be any preference between apple blossoms, sweet as the cultivated flowers are, the wild species seem to excel them in fragrance:

"Upon the gray old forest's rim
I snuffed the crab-tree's sweet perfume."
—William D. Gallagher

"De wil' plum an' de crab blossoms
Ees rech wid dere perfume."
—Wallace B. Amsbary

"The stars assembling faintly smiled
On woods where plum and apple wild
Their every bough a globe of bloom
With fragrant cedars filled the air." —C. E. Banks

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It is hard to believe that in the language of flowers the Crab Blossom speaks of "Ill-Nature," except perhaps:

"When the wild crabtree showed a naked thorn."
—Hartley Coleridge

For let the blossoms once appear, and they seem as sweet-natured as any:

"Wild apple, thou art blushing into bloom!"
—Ebenezer Elliott

"And of its boughs the wild-crab makes a lair
A rosy cloud of blossoms, for the bees."
—Madison Cawein

It may be because they come in May, the season when all nature arouses in man the desire to forget the many obligations and cares that civilized customs impose, and to wander free as any created being, to enjoy as other animals do the charm of fragrant days and odorous nights, of sunny noons and starry evenings; it may be that the blossoms themselves have some magic power; but wherever the magic lies, we all feel it:

"While apple bloom is white as snow
But far more fair to see;"
—Andrew Lang ("Nightingale Weather")

THE MALLOW FAMILY.

"Hardy and high above the slender sheaf
The slimy mallow waves her silky leaf,"

says George Crabbe, in "The Village," and in those two lines he sums up many of the characteristics of the Mallowworts. In Middle English times the name was *malwe,* adapted from the Anglo-Saxon *maelwe,* derived from the Latin *malva,* by which the plants were known to Pliny, who in turn got the name from the time-honored Greek name by which Theophrastus called the plant, and which meant "soft,"—a most appropriate term, certainly, whether in allusion to its soft, downy leaves or to its soothing properties. The family consists of over seven hundred species, classed in about thirty-five genera, and is of wide distribution, and it is a most praiseworthy member of the flora of the world, since none of these many plants possesses any unwholesome qualities, while all abound in mucilage and therefore in healing qualities. Naturally, in the language of flowers, the Mallow stands for "mildness."

Malva is the typical genus, of which there are several well-known species, the common wild mallow *(M. sylvestris),* found everywhere on waste places and roadsides in England, being now a naturalized weed here in America; with large, purple or rosy flowers of a

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demulcent, medicinal nature;

"And by the woodside, tall
Stands sere the mallow."
—Madison Cawein ("Noera")

Still more common here is the dwarf mallow *(M. rotundifolia),* with handsome round, heart-shaped leaves, somewhat scalloped on the edge, and small, whitish, violet-white, or purplish flowers. This is the plant much prized by children for its flat seeds, or "cheeses," which give the plant one name of "cheese mallow":

"The sitting down when school was o'er,
Upon the threshold of the door,
Picking from mallows, sport to please,
The crumpled seed we call a cheese." —John Clare

These, too, are mucilaginous, which is half the pleasure of eating them, although several dozen of them make even a child feel well fed. This plant is always somewhere near at hand; by the wayside, or in the door yard, or some rich heap of compost, this "purple malva lifts its spreading cup" to entice the children to come and enjoy a meal of the "cheeses" lower down on the stalk. Another beautiful malva is the Musk-Mallow, a native of Europe, but cultivated for its fragrant, musky odor, and its beautiful deeply-cut leaves and large rose-colored flowers:

"The rosy musk-mallow blooms where the south winds blows,
O my gypsy-rose!
In the deep dark lanes where thou and I must meet,
So sweet!
—Alice E. Gillington ("A Romany Love-Song")

The color of the flowers of the common wild mallow, being neither rosy, nor lilac, or violet, but rather a combination of all three with an additional dash of purple, has been honored with a color-word which exactly expresses their tinting—*mauve,* which is a French form of *malva.* But although this gave the poets a rare opportunity, the only instance I have found of its use is in William Sharp's poem, "The Coming of Love," and then it is applied to a different species:

"Whose following feet are these that bend the mauve marsh-mallows?"

The Marsh-Mallow bears its original Greek name of Althæa, with *officinalis,* meaning of value as a medicinal plant. The mucilaginous root is used as a demulcent, but perhaps its most *officinal* popularity is when it appears as a confectionery; these sweetmeats, called pâte de grimauve, or "marsh-mallow paste" are made in large quantities in the south of France, particularly at Marseilles. In these days of adulteration, however, one cannot be sure they are

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getting any "grimauve" in their pâte, since a combination of gelatin, powdered sugar and the white of eggs in proper proportions will produce a similar paste, which cannot hurt one seriously.

The poets have not made much use of any of the mallows, but have mentioned by name the marsh-mallow most frequently of all. Margaret E. Sangster in "A Goodbye," named "blushing marsh-mallows," some sort, and probably *Althæa officinalis* edges Tennyson's "Brook," and there are a few other lines, such as

"Born like the mallow that blooms in the shallow;" —Anon.

"And the soft slimy mallow of the marsh." —George Crabbe

"And the marsh-mallow crept along its edges."
—Julia Goddard ("The Deserted Garden")

The Greeks planted mallows about graves, that those within might feed on seeds. The mallow is once named in the Bible, but is perhaps none of the plants which we know by that name, although its medicinal value is of great antiquity, and the "cheeses" are eaten seriously in the Orient. Taken in the morning, the mallow protects one from disease for the day. Marsh-Mallow, however, was held to be "twice as good" a medicine as any other member of the family, so it speaks of "beneficence" in floral language. As ointment, the mallow cured those affected by witchcraft, and it had the more wonderful effect of protecting from hot metal. In Devonshire, they have great regard for the "maller," or the "mallish," but most of all for the "meshmellish," by which they mean *Althæa officinalis.* One of the European tree mallows, *Lavatera olbia,* or French mallow, was highly prized in folk-medicine, and, as Gerarde recommends:

"If that of health you have any special care,
Use French mallows, that to the body wholesome are."

The favorite mallow of all, from the standpoint of beauty, is *Althæa rosea,* a native of China, introduced into England at least three centuries ago, and still known everywhere by its Middle English name of holihoc, which is the Anglo Saxon word for mallow, *hoc,* distinguished as *holy* because brought from the East.

"The splendid, showy hollyhocks!
Maroon and gold, their color mocks
The butterflies in brilliant flocks
Within a web of Eastern dyes,
Yea, here in closes calm and sweet,
Awhile allured by August heat,
The tropics and the Orient meet
Beneath our Northern skies."
—Nellie R. Eberhart ("Hollyhocks")

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At what time the double and the multiplex-flowered varieties originated among cultivators would be difficult to determine, but Gerarde's "Herbal," which appeared in 1636, mentions three sorts of hollyhocks, of which one is called the double purple. But for several hundred years now, "great-eyed hollyhocks" have beautified old gardens, until one cannot imagine a real, old-fashioned village without seeing such kindred spots as

"Where by the wall of the garden
The hollyhocks lift their bright heads." —Alice Cary

"One [cottage] almost to the martin-haunted eaves
A summer burial deep in hollyhocks." —Tennyson

"Those leaves of podded hollyhocks
That the bland wind with odorous murmurs rocks."
—Madison Cawein ("Quiet Lanes")

In June, "silk-soft hollyhocks colored like the moon," or, as William Cowper terms it, "Althæa with the purple eye," begin to appear; still in August "cottage crofts are gay with hollyhocks,"

"The great upstanding hollyhocks,
Those heavenward ladders by which in a row
Roses footing for angels go,
The larger, the farther down they grow."
—Laurence Houseman ("The Queen's Bees")

But with the chill nights of early autumn "the crimson cups o' the hollyhocks," begin to fade; soon

"Pinched with cold,
The lordly hollyhocks repine
For still September's mild sunshine
And moon of gold." —Alfred Hayes

and the last scene of all somewhat later, when the "hollyhocks fall off their tops," according to a song of Owen Meredith's:

"The podded hollyhocks—that fall
Had stripped of finery—by the wall
Rustled their tatters; dripped and dripped,
The fog thick on them."
—Madison Cawein ("Uncertainty")

One characteristic of the plant has impressed the poets, and that is its imposing, dignified height, which, apparently, but one word will express:

"Stately hollyhocks, row on row."
—Julia C. R. Dorr ("An Old Fashioned Garden")

"And rows of stately hollyhocks
Down by the garden wall,
All yellow, white and crimson,
So many-hued and tall." —Mary Howitt

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"And they loved to stray in the garden walks,
Bordered by stately hollyhocks." —Phœbe Cary

"And sunflowers and hollyhocks grown supreme
Pay stately court to each other."
—Mary R. Jarvis ("An Old Fashioned Garden")

Their height, combined with the silky texture of the petals and the profusion of flowers that dress the single stalk, make them easily personified, as "maidens," or "spinsters," "queens," or "gypsies," or even "torch-bearers":

"While rows of hollyhocks, like maidens slim,
Bowed to each other in the sun of June."
—Lloyd Mifflin ("Fields of Dawn")

"They rise beyond the fountain rocks,
These spinsters robed in dainty frocks,
So stately, prim and tall;
Their hue the very rainbow mocks—
These quaint, old-fashioned hollyhocks,
Against my garden wall."
Lloyd Mifflin ("Hollyhocks")

"queen hollyhocks,
With butterflies for crowns." —William Morris

"Her hollyhocks like maidens gay
Bedecked with many a pink rosette."
—Augusta Hancock

"Bubble-like, the hollyhocks
Budded, burst, and flaunted wide
Gypsy beauty from their stocks." —Madison Cawein

"and yon hollyhock,
That through the creeping weeds and nettles tall
Peers taller, lifting, column-like, a stem
Bright with its roseate blossoms." —Southey

In the language of flowers, the hollyhock stands for *ambition,* which Austin Dobson implies in "A Garden Song":

"Here beside the modest stock
Flaunts the flaring hollyhock."

This plant is one in which cross-pollination must be accomplished, if not by the wind, then by the bees and butterflies, and *Althea Rosea* takes good care to make herself attractive, in colors, odor and nectar:

"And hollyhock wide-edged and tall;
Its gaudy leaves, though fanned apart,
Round thick and mealy stamens spring,
And nestled to its crimson heart
The sated bees enamored cling."
—Henry T. Tuckerman ("Sleepy Hollow")

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"Seraglio of the Sultan Bee!
I listen at the waxen door,
And hear the zithern's melody
And sound of dancing on the floor."
—Frank D. Sherman ("A Hollyhock")

The Hollyhock is also called the Rose Mallow, or Mallow Rose, but that name more properly belongs to a species of Hibiscus *(H. syriacus)*, commonly cultivated under the name of Althea, for its large, showy, rosy flowers:

"The althea, in her crimson coat,
Tricked out to please the wearied sun." —Alice Cary

"The purple hibiscus is shriveled and withered,
And languidly lolls its furry tongue."
—W. W. Story ("In the Garden")

Okra, cultivated for its mucilaginous pods for soups and pickles, paddy lucern, with its useful fibre, both belong to the mallowworts. But, by far the most useful of this large family of useful plants is the Cotton, whose history and botany would fill pages:

"So, thou wert known in history! and thy sire
The sounding name of Sir Gossypium bore.
He was the younger brother of the fleece,
And of the flax of Egypt, . . .
Thy race have multiplied exceedingly,
And sown themselves in every sunny zone
Of both the hemispheres."
—Mrs. Sigourney ("To a Fragment of Cotton")

For the use of cotton fibre as a material for textile fabrics does not appear to have been known to those nations of antiquity whose skill in the manufacture of fine linen and in the weaving of wool is recorded in the most ancient writings. This "younger brother" of wool and flax emigrated from India to Rome, about 450 B. C., but before the Christian era was in general use, although even yet, the cotton fabrics of the Hindoos are excelled in fineness and perfection only by the most perfect machines, although spun with the distaff alone and woven on the crudest of looms. The Mexicans and Peruvians manufactured cotton cloth long before the arrival of Europeans, but although seed was planted, experimentally, in the provinces as early as 1621, it was little known except as a garden plant until after the Revolutionary War.

No more beautiful crop can be raised than a field of cotton. The rich dark green leaves have a beauty of their own, then comes the yellow-blossoms with the purple spot at the base of each petal, which turn red the second day, and as all blossoms do not open simultaneously, a field in blossom is a gay sight. And when the

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blossoms are gone, there is the snow of the bursting bolls lovely by the millions, or singly:

"I turn thy cloven sheath,
Through which the soft white fibres peer,
And slowly, thread by thread,
Draw forth the folden strands,
Than which the trembling line
By whose frail help yon startled spider fled
Down the tall spear-grass, from his swinging bed,
Is not more fine."

—Henry Timrod ("The Cotton Boll")

And there is a melancholy sort of loveliness about the plants which have withstood the winter's rain and wind, adding to the general bleakness:

"Last year's cotton-plants, desolately bowing,
Tremble in the March-wind, ragged and forlorn."

—Henry Van Dyke ("Spring in the South")

HARRIETTE WILBUR.

Duluth, Minn.

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THE INSPIRATION OF JOSEPH MARY PLUNKET.

BUT a few short years have passed and the name of Joseph Mary Plunket has leaped from a realm almost unknown into the sphere where only dwell the men whom renown has welcomed to its fold. Previously his name was scarcely known outside the limits of a small coterie of intellectuals who enjoyed his confidence and friendship. The violent setting of his sun of life heralded the rise of his literary fame. His talents have captured a recognition of no mean order from many competent quarters of the English-speaking world. Though destiny allotted him but a brief span of life the Muse was generous in her gifts to this youth of twenty-nine. His name seems destined to be graven deep in the memory of Gaelic Ireland not only as a man dowered with a courage that paled not before death for the sake of an ideal, but as one of the greatest of her children with whom lofty inspiration has abided.

Though the final scene of his life's drama saw him enveloped in the storms of an armed revolt, it is singular that his intellectual bent was decidedly meditative. He loved calm ways and revelled in great silences. He trod the mystic's path and followed whither apocalyptic visions hailed him. His spirit sought realities

> "Beyond Mortality's foot-rule
> Of loveliness——"

Clearly and unfalteringly does he bear testimony to his high design:

> "I must attain the Flag of love
> Blazoned with the eternal Dove."

From early years his thought manifested the presence of this moving force within him. Later on, a two years' course of philosophy at Stonyhurst made keen his visionary powers and gave a signal impetus to a mind already hot on the trail of the mysterious and intangible. The sublime subtlety of the thought of Aquinas furnished a vast field for speculation on things beyond the ken of sense. Subsequently, the impulse given by scholasticism gained constant vigor from the study of the writings of the masters of mystical theology. In his most mature days his choicest companions were John of the Cross, Teresa and Francis of Assisi, whose eagle flights in Catholic mysticism are yet without a peer.

What Plunket has achieved in this the highest department of poetic endeavor is quite sufficient to secure him a place among the great ones who traversed kindred literary paths. Of him as of Thompson might it be stated: "He has the essentials of the true

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mystic; the simple trust of the child; the deep insight of the philosopher, and the faith of the saint."[1] The highest flights of his genius share to a considerable degree Dantean inspiration. Like the great Italian, love eternal is the wondrous mirror of the thought-depths of his soul, the compelling law of his glory-winged footsteps and the primal lure that ever calls him on, with truth and beauty's grand companionship, to union with the Divine Essence. Love is almost omnipresent in his poetry and in its atmosphere his truest inspiration lives and moves and has its being. One cannot, by any jugglery of thought, divorce his verse from passion, the most genuine proof of the true child of the Muse. Plunket's soul expresses itself in terms of love: symbolism other than this, his spirit, as a medium of expression, never sought. His passion, responsive to his changing visions, soars and subsides with all the variety of the heaving and sinking billows of the main. Usually its great fervor seems to come from a soul where great fires burn, and rarely does it betray a menial origin. In its moments of greatest strength it weds with glory the material creation; the "flickering stars are blown to vivid flame." It transfigures the human heart when it enters therein with its "tumultuous light." Purest of all is its glow when he rivets his gaze upon the Cross where hangs the great Victim, the fruit of "Love's most lovely birth." In "Heaven in Hell" the agonies of the victim are most intense, as merciless love seeks to sever from it the darkness that weighs it down and bars it from the places where love's brightness dwells. But strong hope bears him over critical situations over "Death and the mouth of Hell," and doles out strength sufficient to hold him on the difficult ways that lead to passion's highest triumph, union with the Paraclete.

Side by side with passion's flame goes its faithful satellite, Beauty. In "Dedication" he proclaims to the world how the revelation of Beauty in her fairest form is his mission. Naked Beauty he sings of, wherein no grossness enters, where nudity is the hallmark of its reality and its sacred shield from the profane gaze of all save those initiated in its mysteries. The eyes of the unhallowed intruder are "blinded with its splendid spears." Dreadful Beauty at other times he loves to call it, for terror charges from its unveiled presence against the "unaccustomed eyes" and rears for it a sanctum where the sacrilegious are smitten with a thrice-deserved blindness. And yet, for all its shafts of death, he feels that he stands in Beauty's favor. All things lovely he invokes, for he feels that he is dowered with vision, "the vision and the faculty Divine" that Wordsworth lauds, the purest nutriment of which is Beauty. He

[1] Rev. Thomas F. Burke: "Irish World," February 10, 1917.

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seeks it, too, for is it not the arch-ally of Truth along the great highway, the terminus of which is Love in essence? With all this ardor, still he is conscious of his limitations and that the pain of constant purging is his duty until he stands in Beauty's audience-chamber and views with stainless gaze its highest revelations. And so he cries:

". . . Beauty must forever be
My cloud of anguish . . ."

and its breath must

"Raise sorrow like the surging sea
Around the windy wastes of death."

Nor does he lack any reverence for its twin sister, Truth. Here, as in the quest of Beauty, he finds his pilgrimage beset by gloom's grim visage, but buoyed up by the hope that Truth's triumph will yet be joy without alloy, he seems, paradox-like, to make the bitter sweet. Truth's ways are sorrow-bitter as well as laughter-sweet, yet

". . . Let no wind that sings
Of sorrow wither joy's young blossomings."

Truth may be hard, but its light rather than darkness must sway the soul of him who seeks it.

"Because I know the spark
Of God has no eclipse,
Now Death and I embark
And sail into the dark
With laughter on our lips."

His fealty to sorrow-winged Truth is such, not solely because Beauty is seated on its brow, but it supports, despite his dream-like wanderings, the realism embodied in his philosophy. His desire to give a concrete coloring to the unseen, to view things Heavenly with intensely human eyes, to treat with loving familiarity the most sublime spiritualities, is a marked feature of his thought, and rooted in the hope that his visions may be accepted as realities and no products of a disordered fancy. Suffice it to cite one signal proof of this, a poem redolent of the spirit of familiar acquaintance with the great verities which Thompson displays in "The Making of Viola."

"The stars sang in God's garden;
The stars are the birds of God;
The night-time is God's harvest,
Its fruits are the words of God.
God ploughed his fields at morning,
God sowed his seed at noon,
God reaped and gathered in his corn
With the rising of the moon."

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In one respect his mysticism is a departure from that of Thompson and his English confrères. It imbibes copiously at the founts of Irish national inspiration whence it derives an individuality that segregates it from kindred literature emanating from Saxon minds. Its mode of conception, symbolism and phraseology are peculiarly Gaelic. His "terrible simplicity" and baldness of expression strongly recall the thought and imagery of early Irish saga. The weird effect of his use of nature's elemental forces, fire, wind and water, recall the naked vigor and savage freshness that dominate the early bardic tales of Gael. His mysticism is as much the resultant of his Celtic character as of the teaching of books. It is characterized by more spontaneity and naturalness than that of Thompson. The Irish freshness of mind and directness of diction, so adaptable to mystic thought and expression, revealed in it, stand out in strong contrast to the English poet's ornate imagery and reverberant phrase. To maintain clarity of vision was his chief resolve, and adhering to the Wordsworthian creed that the language that is closest to nature's heart is the most commonplace, he rarely indulges in any but the simplest terminology. To distrust artistic effects in language and endeavor to make it so translucent as to reduce to a minimum its dulling influence upon ideas clamoring for the light was the pith of his theory of poetic diction.

Apart from the department of mystic thought, other aspects of his mentality reveal the influence of Gaeldom's national tradition. It is this that renders his interpretation difficult for one who has not inherited such a literary fortune. As Thomas McDonagh tells us, "this 'terrible and splendid trust,' this 'heritage of the race of kings,' this service of a nation without a flag,' with the lure of God in her eyes,' has endowed some of our poetry with meanings that must be lost to all but those baptized in our national faith."[2] It fired him with the "anger of the sons of God" when face to face with alien oppression. It stirred up in his spirit the high winds of passion and the tragic fervor that sprang from conflict with forces of darkness conceived in mystic fashion as hostile to his country's aspirations. It communicated to him the sacred fire of the patriot as well as the ardor of the saint.

"The heritage of the race of kings
Their children and their children's seed
Have wrought their prophecies indeed
Of terrible and splendid things.

. . . . . .

No alien sword shall earn as wage
The entail of their blood and tears,
No shameful price for peaceful years
Shall ever part this heritage."

[2] "Literature in Ireland," p. 17.

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It tuned his soul to sorrow's sweetness and taught him how to utilize with fruit the gloom and darkness that gird the ways which lead to the passion of the patriot. In his own glorious words, for him the memory of the heroic dead held

> " . . . The strength and the might
> Of a sword for the sod."

The tradition of the Isle of Destiny, his homeland, the land of tender smile and tear, is graven deep upon the soul of his verse with its medley of gray clouds and sportive sunshine. Yet gloom has never extinguished the bright spark of his soul: joy retains decided mastery, and thus, in truest fashion, the spirit of the Gael enlivens all his thought. Like the early writers of his race he champions "the joy of natural things; the joy of earth's beauty . . . and the birds in the woods; . . . the joy of the sea with its witching song."[3] Very tender are his thoughts, pure his passion and lovely his symbolism when through the gleam and the gloom he pledges his fealty to Kathleen ni Houlihan, the Erin of allegory and utopian ideals. In fancy's delicate fabric, with finest paradox, he sees the little Red Rose garbed in darkness: then peering into the future he beholds that shroud of sorrow, passion, become the Rose's renovating power restoring it to its original ruddy hue, symbolic of love. Then passion's binding force makes Rose and lover one by bonds that cannot be sundered.

> ". . . When my heart is pillowed on your heart
> And ebb and flowing of their passionate flood
> Shall beat in concord love through every part
> Of brain and body—when at last the blood
> O'erleaps the final barrier to find
> Only one source wherein to spend its strength
> And we two lovers, long but one in mind
> And soul, are made one only flesh at last;
> Praise God if this my blood fulfills the doom
> When you, dark Rose, shall redden into bloom."

Of Plunket's almost sacred respect for thought's high functioning and natural dignity there was born an attitude of distrust of verbal expression. Not that he sought to conceal the secrets of his mind or check the self-diffusive tendencies of intellectual energies. Revelation and illumination was the golden work of his poetic mission. Could he find some medium of expression kindred in nature to thought and worthy of it his soul would have clung to it as the key to the success of his apostolate. Such he did not find in language. The material in it created an impassable gulf between itself and thought, the product of a spiritual being. It was concrete and an ill-adapted habiliment for a creature of pure intangible

[3] Thomas McDonagh; op. cit., p. 109.

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essence. It must remain forever by nature the inferior of mental effort. Its sole saving feature was its simplicity, for thus might it hold nearest place to ideas, the offspring of a parent untainted by complexity. The acme of perfection he sought was "terrible simplicity," a lucid medium through which his soul's secrets might trickle scarcely transformed by the mode of transference. That was the "ars artium" of his text-book of poetic rhetoric. Aught else of Art's devices he shunned: that of the artistic he alone favored which seemed more akin to nature than to Art. To a considerable extent he realized his ideal. The difficulty experienced in writing and the care and patience with which his task was undertaken largely contributed to his success. In the travail of his mind forging its way to clarity of expression there was fashioned a painstaking temperament calculated to grapple with the trying monotony and hackwork incidental to the work of language purgation. The absence of an easy efflux of happy verbiage warded him off the flower-decked ways of literary fineries where clarity is often sacrificed to sensuous pleasureableness of ringing phrase and soulless music. Mere external æstheticism found no place in his conception of the beauty of language: whatever did not reveal a secret was a deformity. His dogmas of diction were founded on utilitarianism. Words were beautiful when they did their duty, when they were nearest in nature to the heart of thought. That the beauty of the spirit might gleam brightest on the brow of diction the obscuring splendor of art should be abolished. To use his own pointed statement, he only desired the "art" of words "that is not art but blood," for solely by the glory of artless nakedness could the written symbol be expected to have in it the throb of life. His canons of simplicity he never violates to such an extent as would bring him near in luscious imagery to Thompson. Never could the self-descriptive words of the English poet be applied to him:

> "Across the margent of the world I sped,
> And troubled the gold gateways of the stars,
> Smiting for shelter on their changed bars."

On the contrary, his marked fidelity to his principles sometimes betrays him into the hands of tameness of expression which checks the flame of passion. It always lends a humble pilgrim-like effect to his visionary personality which stands out in marked contrast to the giant stride and majestic mien of the author of "The Hound of Heaven." The genius of Plunket, modest and splendor-shunning, bore the impress of Gaeldom, that of Thompson, joying in burnished word and pageantry of phrase, was redolent of Orientalism.

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His music, too, was to some extent qualified by his peculiar brand of mysticism and the influence of national inspiration. He did not cater so much for the pleasing effect of sweet sounds upon the ear as for the harmonies of thought that directly soothe the spirit. This music he never wished to forsake, deeming it an almost inalienable property of poetry in its mission of illumination. Music was a useful acolyte of the meditative mind in the work of self-revelation, for, as an unearthed beauty of the heart, it was a considerable aid for the pilgrim to Love's shrine. Harmony in the soul contributed to the elimination of the disagreeable effects produced by the relations of soul and body, caused the predominance of the former and created a peace where beauty might be tempted to reveal itself. From his songs came the "beauty of dead silence," the utopian state of the visionary. Here the spirit might best feel the breath of love stirred up by harmony's gentle promptings, and song and passion mate themselves in closest alliance. Then would come into being those

> ". . . flaming hearts where entereth
> The Song of Songs with Love's tumultuous light."

Negligence of the music of written symbols was likewise engendered by the Celtic element in his character which sought the music of nature rather than that of art. The strange sweetness of the voice of the elements, and the lovely weird effects of the 'keen' were favorites with him. This is strikingly in evidence where he commemorates the death of O'Connell:

> "The wind rose, the sea rose,
> A wave rose on the sea
> Swelled with the mournful singing
> Of a sad centenary."

From it wells forth the Banshee's wild, weird strains and wail of a sorrowing land untrammeled by aught of art's devices.

Plunket has done a noble work for literature and his country. Though his life was brief and the grave received him twenty years earlier than Thompson, competent critics concede him an easy second place to the great English mystic whom, in his best moments some would reckon next to Shakespeare. He fulfilled with marked success the role of a writer of the highest department of literature, illumination through mysticism. He lit up the world with the blaze of revealed beauty. His poetry ought to live in high honor, embalmed in the grateful memory of his race, a pillar of fire by night, a guiding cloud by day, to enlighten, elevate and

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fortify it. Such is to be its destiny if the testimony of the poet on his own behalf has ought of worth in it:

"My songs shall live to drive their blinding cars
Through fiery apocalypse to Heaven's bars.
When God's loosed might the prophet's word fulfills,
My songs shall see the ruin of the hills,
My songs shall sing the dirges of the stars."

JAMES F. CASSIDY, B. A.

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POST-REFORMATION FEATURES OF ENGLISH DRINKING.

IN THIS Era of Prohibition and wide spread reaction against even the milder variants of so-called intoxicants, while yet the minds of many are divided as to the advisability of such wholesale restriction, it may perhaps not be amiss to enter upon a brief, historical survey of the introduction and use of alcoholic stimulants in modern Europe and especially in Great Britain, where the evils of excessive drinking have assumed their greatest proportions. We would do this not so much with a view to offering a solution of the vexed question of abstinence versus moderation, as simply of tracing the causes which led to the terrible magnitude of the evils of modern drink; and of noting the attitude which the Church assumed toward the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages at a time when she exercised a much more direct influence in the matter than at present. In making such a survey, it will be necessary to note clearly the distinction between fermented and distilled liquors, and to call attention to the comparatively late date at which the latter were introduced into Europe, and the still later one at which their use, for any but medicinal purposes, became at all general. Historical data show us plainly that the curse of alcoholism is, in the strictest sense of the word, a modern one, and necessarily so, since the processes of distillation were neither well, nor generally understood in Europe, outside of monastic walls, until the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.[1] Of drunkenness, in earlier days, among our pagan, semi-Christian, or even Christian ancestors, Briton, Gael, or Teuton, we hear enough, assuredly, to convince us of its prevalence. We read of the prolonged wassails these warlike heroes held, of the mighty potations in which they indulged; of the almost incredible size of the drinking horns which they were accustomed to empty at a single draught.

But we must remember that their indulgence, great as it may have been, was, with the exception of the usquebaugh, known to the Irish and to the Scottish Highlander (of which we will speak later), entirely confined to brewed, or fermented, liquors; beverages which, containing a far lesser per cent. of alcohol than our modern ardent spirits, although sufficiently powerful to intoxicate, did not entail the same baleful effects upon the constitution of the drinker, nor fasten upon him and his descendants the terrible effects of modern alcoholic

[1] Ency. Brit.: Art. "Distillation." Morewood, "Hist. Inebriating Liquors," p. 390-398. De la Croix: "Moeurs, Usages, et Costumes au Moyen Age." p. 164.

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poisoning. Moreover, if we may rely upon the statements of prominent British historians, the mass of the English people, during the centuries between the Norman Conquest and the Reformation, were by no means given over to unrestricted license in drink: a notable change for the worse, in this respect, occuring during the latter half of the reign of "bluff King Hal," and making itself still more sadly manifest from the days of Elizabeth onward. Camden, in his "History of Elizabeth," written in 1615, emphatically declares drunkenness to be a recent vice among his countrymen, who, he states, had been, until his day, "of all northern nations, the most moderate drinkers, and most to be commended for their sobriety,"[2] adding that it was in their wars on behalf of the Netherlands that "the English first learned to drown themselves with immoderate drinking and, by pledging others' health to impair their own." Tom Nash, a town wit of the reign of Elizabeth, and a keen observer of manners, confirms Camden's statement, saying: "Superfluity in drink is a sin that, ever since we have mixed ourselves with the Low Countries, has been held honorable, but before we knew their lingering wars was held in that highest degree of hatred that might be. Then, if we had seen a man go wallowing in the streets or lain sleeping under the board, we should have spat at him and warned all our friends out of his company."[3]

Another confirmation of this view comes from the pen of Edward Chamberlayne in his Magnae Britanniae Notitiae (1710): "As the English returning from the wars in the Holy Land, brought home the foul disease of leprosy, so in our fathers' days, the English returning from service in the Netherlands, brought home the foul vice of drunkenness."[4] To speak of the curse of modern English drunkenness, as a by-product of the Reformation, may seem to many the mere fatuousness of bigotry; nevertheless, however theoretically distinct, in point of fact, it is indubitably true that the doctrines of the Reformers and the use of ardent spirits were introduced into England at approximately the same time, and through the same national channels. The first step in the downward path as to the abuse of liquor seems to have been taken in, or about, the year 1524 of our Lord, the eleventh of the reign of Henry VIII., through the seemingly innocent importation of hops from Holland, for use in the brewing and conservation of ale and beer. The same Hanse vessels which brought the hops across the channel secretly convoyed also the writings of Luther, a fact which led the preachers of the

[2] Camden, Eliz., Bk. III., p. 263.
[3] Nash's Pierce Penniless, quoted in Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature." [Drinking Customs in England.] Vol. V., p. 161., ed. 7th.
[4] Quoted by Lecky, in "England in the Eighteenth Century." Vol. I., p. 516.

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Reformation to resent Wolsey's attempt to render France, instead of Holland, the channel of commerce between England and the Continent, by making Calais the chief port of entry for merchandise.[5] About this time, Thomas Bilney, of Cambridge, was gathering his little band of reformers around him, Saxton, Lambert, Rogers and others, at the sign of the White Horse, while, but a little later, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament found its way into England from Antwerp, being publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross, in 1526. It was doubtless this combination of traffic in things sacred and profane, which gave rise to the old English distich by which the facts were long commemorated:

"Hops, Reformation, Bays and Beer,
Came to England all in one year."[6]

The lines were later prudently, but somewhat meaninglessly, altered into:

"Hops and Turkey, Carp and Beer,
Came to England all in one year."

The introduction of the hops was opposed by Henry almost as strongly as was that of the heretical doctrines of which he was at the time a violent adversary. This conscientious monarch feared that their infusion into good, English ale would render that beverage too stimulating for the nerves of his faithful subjects, as an edict of his reign still remains to testify.[7] Hops, however, won their way despite royal disfavor, and even later opposition. In 1552, native plantations were formed, England being now said to produce more hops than any other European country. They are now, as we know, universally employed, not only for their "tonic" or digestive qualities, and for the "pleasant bitterness" which they impart, but because they preserve the liquor and prevent it from turning sour, by removing the principle of acetous fermentation. A certain quantity of hops, therefore, is boiled with the wort. Their adoption on the continent far antedates their use in England. In Germany, they had been utilized from the ninth century at least in the manufacture of monastic beer, since we find a note to that effect in the annals of the Abbey of Corbey in 802.[8] Probably, earlier attempts had been made toward their introduction in England, which were, however, only limited and temporary in their effect, leaving the public manufacture of English ale still innocent of the exciting properties of this "wicked weed," until the date above referred to.

[5] Ency. Brit., Art. "Reformation," p. 329, ed. 9.
[6] Morewood: "Hist. Inebriating Liquors," p. 535.
[7] Ency. Brit., Art. "Brewing," also Morewood: "Hist. Inebriating Liquors," p. 535.
[8] Richer: "Hist. German Civilization," p. 161.

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In their new born craving for stimulating draughts, the English, however, were far from pausing at the simple infusion of hops into ale, but before tracing farther the successive steps by which Great Britain brought upon herself her great national curse of excess in drink, we must cast a retrospective glance upon her earlier condition in this respect. It is sometimes said that Julius Cæsar introduced beer into Britain, but if so, the gift was a superfluous one, as, "long before the arrival of the Romans on Albion's shore, the inhabitants thereof had discovered an easy and almost ever ready means of becoming intoxicated."[9] The beverage thus used was the famous mead, or fermented honey, of our northern ancestors, the simplest and most readily prepared of all fermented liquors in a non-wine growing country. The mead-maker was a person of importance in courtly circles, ranking eleventh among British princes, while his whole produce seems to have been kept under strict, royal control, not a cask being allowed to be made without the acquaintance of the king. It is probable that, before the introduction of agriculture, mead and a species of cider, made from the wild apple of the country, were the only fermented drinks known to the Britons. But during the three centuries of Roman control, they planted grain and brewed a barley-wine, akin to the later, Saxon ale. Ermenes, an officer of Constantius, in his panegyric on that ruler, alludes to this barley-brew, saying that in the year 296 A. D. Britain produced "such an abundance of corn as sufficed not only to supply bread, but also to furnish a drink comparable to wine."[10]

In this sense, barley wine may have been Cæsar's gift to Britain. There is clear evidence to show that the Romans introduced, also, the culture of the vine into England and, however unfavorable the present climate of the Island may be to the cultivation of grapes, yet there is abundant proof that native wine continued to be produced throughout the Middle Ages, especially by monks and in monastic gardens," as may be seen by divers entries in Domesday Book. Doubtless the early Britons, like most other northern nations, indulged, more or less, in excessive drinking, but their immediate successors, the Saxons, have achieved a far more unenviable record in this respect. If we may trust the verdict of their Norman critics, they were a nation of veritable gluttons and drunkards. Such has been largely their reputation and we know their fellow-countrymen of the Rhine were by no means moderate in their potations. Yet we must remember, in passing judgment

[9] Emerson: "Beverages, Past and Present." Vol. II., p. 224.
[10] Morewood: p. 523.
[11] Emerson: p. 264. Wallace: "Wonderful Century," p. 84. Morewood: p. 523. Redding: "Modern Wines," p. 23.

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upon them, that our information comes chiefly from their enemies. Thus William of Malmesbury assures us that excessive drinking was one of the commonest vices among them, high and low spending entire days and nights in feasting, and again that one chief distinction between the Normans and the despised Saxons, was that the former built stately and magnificent castles, while the latter consumed immense fortunes in riot and hospitality while residing in mean dwellings.[12] On the other hand, the reply of the Saxon youth, still preserved in a dialogue of the Cottonian MS. to one who asked what he drank, argues greater moderation. "Ale, if I have it, water, if I have it not. I am not so rich that I can buy me wine, nor is wine the drink of children, but of elders and wise."[13]

True, the statutes issued against drinking in Anglo-Saxon times, and the efforts of prominent churchmen to stem the evil seem fully to bear out the accusations of the Normans, yet even here we must note that all these statutes date from times subsequent to the settlement of the Danes in Saxon England. These latter were desperate drinkers in their own country, to such extent did they carry their orgies, that even their religious ceremonies were regularly closed by a drinking bout, in which with the utmost solemnity they emptied stoup after stoup, in honor of their gods, until they could drink no more.[14] Green gives a more pleasing and perhaps a juster picture of the Saxon feast. "They were hard drinkers, no doubt, as they were hard toilers, and the ale-feast was the centre of their social life. But coarse as the revel might seem to modern eyes, the scene within the timbered hall which rose in the midst of their villages was often Homeric in its simplicity. "Queen, or earl's wife, with a train of maidens, bore ale bowl, or mead bowl, around the hall, from the high settle of the king or ealdorman, in the midst, to the mead benches ranged around its walls, while the glee-man sang the hero-songs of his race."[15] This description recalls that of the feast given by Hengist to Vortigern, in which Rowena, the beautiful daughter of the Saxon chief, presented the British king with a golden goblet of wine. The fact that women were highly honored witnesses of these feasts, which were graced also by the presence of bard, or harper, would seem to raise their character somewhat to that of more chivalric times. The measure of ale, or mead, allowed to the monks of St. Albans, on festivals, namely a "sextarium," divided

[12] William of Malmesbury quoted. Dorchester: "Liquor Problem in All Ages," p. 65.
[13] Morewood: p. 527.
[14] Dorchester: "Liquor Problem," p. 49.
[15] Green: "Hist. English People." Vol. I., p. 16.

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between six brethren at dinner and twelve at supper, seems also favorable to a more moderate estimate of Saxon indulgence.

Thorpe, however, in his "Anglo-Saxon Home," gives an idea of great excess on convivial occasions, at least; stating that the Anglo-Saxon notions of hospitality were inimical to sobriety and that it was the duty of the host to press the guest to drink even to intoxication; while kings and nobles when journeying were supposed to stop at the hall of every thane to drink.[16] The great precautions taken to guard against assassination while drinking, likewise argue that these potations were deep, both hands being needed to raise the tankards then employed to the lips. A man in the act of drinking thus left his person unprotected, and offered to secret foe an excellent opportunity for attack. The murder of Edward the martyr, by his treacherous stepmother, Elgiva, furnishes the most famous instance of this kind of assault, one so frequently practiced by the Danes as to have given rise to the custom of "pledging," to stand guard, namely, over a friend, or master, while the latter drank. In the reign of King Edgar, restrictive legislation was deemed necessary, and drinking pins, or pegs, were introduced into cups, to mark the distance beyond which it was unlawful to drink, a custom which gave rise to the saying that one had now reached his "merry pin."[17] By the advice of St. Dunstan, Edgar also limited the number of alehouses in each town to one, but expressly affirms such measures to have been necessitated by the debased conduct of the Danes and the bad example they set to his more temperate Saxon subjects. The proverb of the day, quoted by Green, that "men learned fierceness from the Saxon, effeminacy from the Fleming, and drunkenness from the Dane,"[18] would seem to justify the king in his recrimination.

By the ninth century, however, serious effort was found necessary to check the vice of drunkenness in Saxon England. The edicts framed against it by Theodoric, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egbert, of York, may be read to-day in the Penitentials of the former, where the saint, in painfully explicit language, states, not only the penalty to be imposed, but the successive, offensive stages to which each penalty applies.[19] A man is to be considered drunk "when his mind is quite changed, his tongue stutters, his eyes are disturbed, he suffers vertigo in the head, distension of the stomach," with various added details which, while they furnish sufficiently

[16] Thorpe: "A. S. Home," p. 301.
[17] William of Malmesbury: Bk. II., p. 31.
[18] Green: Vol. I., p. 96.
[19] "Penitential," XXVI., sec. 9. "De Elarietate et Vomital." See also "Discipline of Drink." Rabarus Maurus. Ed. by T. E. Bridgett, p. 141.

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unpleasant matter for the polite reader, are far from removed in seriousness from the terrible symptoms of modern alcoholic poisoning. Fasts of ninety days, with the chanting of a hundred psalms, or perhaps the entire Psalter, were penances imposed on an ecclesiastic, guilty of drunkenness, especially during a sacred function, while those convicted of habitual indulgence, were to be deposed. The laity were more mildly dealt with. A penance of twenty days was imposed upon one compelling another to drink to intoxication, if out of hospitality, but if from malice, the punishment is the same as for manslaughter. A new national element was introduced by the Norman conquest, much to the advancement of the cause of sobriety and general refinement of living. The banquets of the Normans, we are told, were remarkable for their splendor and magnificence, but "their feasting was moderate and attended by no excess in drinking."[20] The drinking bouts of the Danes and all assemblies of the conquered Saxons were suppressed with great severity by the law of curfew lest sedition or rebellious plots should be hatched thereat.

Under Norman influence, intemperance decreased in England, and we hear of no further legislation against it until the reign of Edward VI. Thorpe, however, is of opinion that Norman abstemiousness gradually gave way to the love of good living so prevalent among the Saxons[21] and that, in later Plantagenet days, a tendency to surfeit in eating and drinking became somewhat characteristic of Merrie England. Such surfeit in drink, however, was still confined to ale and wine. English literature, as Emerson reminds us, has from the beginning been replete with tales of ale and ale-drinking, alewives and ale-conning, with numerous statutes as to its brewing and selling,[22] while, later, wines, both native and foreign, came into prominence as the luxury of the rich. Notable quantities of both these beverages appear to have been consumed for the population of the times. If we examine, however, the various analyses and recipes for their preparation, we find the percentage of alcohol in ale to range from 3 to 4 per cent. only, that of wines varying from 6 to 12, generally, though sometimes rising as high as 20 per cent. We must remember, too, that throughout the Middle Ages, tea and coffee were unknown in Europe, so that ingenuity was taxed to concoct a variety of liquors which should be nourishing, stimulating and, according to the belief of the day, health-giving. Ale and wine being antiseptic in nature, formed a natural remedy against accidental impurities in drinking-water, or food, and since our more succulent vegetables

[20] Dorchester: "Liquor Problem," p. 68.
[21] Thorpe: "A. S. Home," p. 301.
[22] Emerson: Vol. II., p. 225.

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were then little known, a greater quantity of liquid may have been needed by the system, to balance a diet largely composed of meats, graines, cheese, beans and pulse, with edible roots.[23] Liquors, too, were drunk in their purity, the adulterants which form the curse and poison of modern intoxicants being happily then unknown. We find no evidence that the health of the nation, at this period, suffered from the effects of over-indulgence in drink.

Stalwart men led lives largely in the open air, agricultural pursuits were general, large cities were unknown and, although the laws of hygiene were equally so, English constitutions seemed to thrive under conditions from which they would now sink. Native wines were chiefly cultivated on large estates, or in monastic gardens, where they flourished under the careful tendence of the monks, many of whom came from wine-growing countries. William of Malmesbury, Bede, and Stowe, make frequent allusion to such culture. Thus the Island of Ely was denominated the Isle of Vines, from the abundance of its vintage; Roganeia in the "hundred" of Rochford, contained a vineyard yielding an average of "20 modii" of wine. Gloucester was said to excel all other parts of England in its wine growing, some of its vines being little inferior to those of France. Of the grapes of Windsor Park, a part were kept for royal consumption, and the remainder sold for the benefit of the royal treasury.[24] While careful culture had much to do with the success obtained in such vintage, it also indicates a real difference in climate. The Merrie England of olden days was actually a sunnier country than the present. The vast amount of soft coal used in manufacturing in England has induced an appreciable increase of cloud and rain, and horticultural records show the blighting effect of this increase on fruit and vine. Besides native wines from grapes, the English of Mediæval days were fond of extracting an almost bewildering variety of sweetened fermented drink from fruits and blossoms: as crab-apple wine; Perry, from fermented pears, a liquor resembling a coarse champagne; currant wine, black, and white, gooseberry shrub, elderberry and elder blossom wine, with Hypocras, or wine sweetened with honey, and an endless variety of "pigments" of "piments," spiced and sweetened mixtures of honey, wine and fruits.[25] Foreign wines were not wanting, those from France being especially cheap and abundant during Norman domination. From more distant lands, came Sack, Malvoisie, Romney, Cypriota, etc., while added to these were the cordials and liquers, the secret of whose preparation was closely

[23] Traill: "Social Eng.," Vol. I., pp. 475, 477.
[24] Morewood: p. 524.
[25] Emerson: Vol. II., pp. 264, 274.

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confined within monastic walls, for these were, strictly speaking, *distillations* from fruit or flowers, or non-fermented fruits, blended with Aqua Vita and Aqua Composita, comparable to the modern Benedictine or Chartreuse.

This brings us to the prominent part played by monks and monasteries in the production of both fermented and distilled liquors. Monastic ales and wines were once famous for their quality, and until the dissolution of religious houses under Henry VIII., the secrets of distillation, in England at least, were almost wholly confined to the cloister. This fact has often been quoted as a reproach against religious orders, and Catholics have been treated to caricatures of rubicund monks in wine cellars, drinking the glowing vintage from generous cups, and evidently much the worse for their draughts. We have been given poems as well, such as "King Wittaf's Drinking Horn" (written, too, by a Longfellow, generally so appreciative of the Catholic spirit), in which the "Merry Monks of Croyland" are represented as outvying the drunken Danes in their salutations of the gods of Valhalla! It would be impossible, within the limits of this brief article, to point out the injustice of such portrayals, or enter upon any vindication of monks and friars. Examples of deep-drinking fox-hunting parsons were certainly not wanting in the England of the Georges, or even in that of the Restoration, yet we would not select such characters as typical Protestant clergymen, and, naturally, resent an equal, or even greater injustice, done to ourselves, since any wholesale abuse of monks, founded on their culture of the vine, can readily be shown as either due to prejudice, or founded on an entire ignorance of the function of monastic life in European civilization.

The monks were the agriculturalists of early Europe. Making their way through virgin forests and dense morasses, they felled trees, drained swamps, redeemed waste land and brought it to a high state of cultivation. The pasturage of cattle, the planting of vineyards, fruit culture, culture of bees, were among their most important services to the rude tribes of pagan and semi-pagan Europe. The civilization begun by the Roman colony in the farthest outposts of the Empire, was completed by the monks, and what Rome failed to accomplish was effected by them. The abbey became the centre of civic as well as religious life, and the school of culture for the entire surrounding district.[26] Gradually, their efforts in the cause of education and for the preservation of literature came to overshadow these earlier ones, but the first task of

[26] For description of Mediæval Abbey see E. Richard: "Hist. German Civilization," p. 160.

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the monk was to teach to effete Roman and rude barbarian alike, the dignity of Christian labor. "The vine and the olive," writes Gibbon,[27] "have been from earliest times, the mark, almost the symbol, of settled and cultured life. Their cultivation extended itself gradually from Greece and Italy, through Spain, Gaul and Germany, even in the days of the Roman Empire. In the general desolation and decay which followed the breaking up of that vast dominion, agriculture, of which vineyards and vintage formed a conspicuous feature, was preserved to us chiefly by the labors of the monks. Corn and wine, as in Palestine of old, were the commonest elements of life, the food of the European peasant, and throughout the Middle Ages, as even now in Southern Europe, golden cornfields and smiling vineyards were the accepted symbols of peace and plenty, and the monks cultivated the latter as fearlessly as the former." The monks of early days, were, we must remember, not for the most part priests, and so at liberty to engage in works now confined chiefly to their lay brethren. In England, the Benedictines especially soon became large land-owners, employing and feeding many poor.

Of English monks, Traill writes,[28] "We have seen how the numbers of monasteries increased after the conquest, and the people had much reason to be thankful therefor; they were centres of learning and the monks were essentially the friends of the poor, relieving their distresses and healing their sicknesses; nay, even among the lepers, who were very numerous—the very incarnation of self-abnegation. The monasteries were as inns to the wayfarer, none being refused food and lodging, be his quality what it might." Though not neglecting the vine in England, ale, as the beverage of the people, demanded more special care, and the monks followed up their labors by asking God's blessing on their work as on something that could honestly be done for, and in, His service. Emerson writes: "The various convents and monasteries of those days did a great deal towards the perfecting and development of the art of brewing. . . . The question was carefully studied from all points that the element of uncertainty might be lessened, or possibly entirely removed, and the result of their labor is evident to-day, for the methods they discovered and practiced in those times, are in use at present." Again he adds: "Another great and powerful element that had considerable influence in keeping ale before the English people was the clergy. The old-time monks and priests thought it no sin to make and use the beverage and, furthermore, they took special pride in producing something superior to the

[27] "Hist. Decline and Fall of Rome." Vol. I., p. 69.
[28] "Social England." Vol. I., p. 385.

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general run. The brewer and cellarer, whether in mitered abbey, or in the less distinguished religious houses, were officials of considerable importance."[29] It is on record that in the priory of St. Swithun's in Winchester, special prayers were offered up for the cellarer and his charges. This offering of prayer for the success of their brew, may at first seem strange. But why should it? Our earliest writers and more especially those who wrote on sacred subjects often make mention of prayers offered for the success of the vine, and the wine to be made therefrom; and, to-day, all through the Latin countries, wherever the vine grows, religious rites are observed, not only by the people, but by the priests.

Some of these ceremonies are most solemn, and their observance carries with them a memory of sacredness that no other subject could. So why should it be deemed strange for the monks of old England to pray for the success of their favorite beverage? They of all men knew that while water was the natural thirst quencher, it did not, and never would, supply the craving that exists in mankind for something that will impart a vigor and energy beyond his natural state or condition; recognizing this, the monks by their example to teach the people the use of the least harmful of beverages; one also that owing to its small cost could be had or made, even by the poorest in the land. "The English monasteries were famous for the strength and purity of their ales brewed from malt prepared by the monks with great care and skill. The waters of Burton-on-Trent had begun to be famous in the thirteenth century. The secret of their special adaptation for brewing was first discovered by some monks who held land in the adjacent neighborhood. The abbots of Burton must also have made their own malt, for it is a common covenant in leases of mills belonging to the Abbey, that the malt of the lords of the manor, both temporal and spiritual, shall be ground free of charge."[30] Later, Burton beer began to be popular in London, as we learn from Stowe and, incidentally, from the *Spectator*. But by this time, the era of monastic brewing was past. Ale and beer making, no longer limited to the convent or to the manor, or even to the humbler "home-brew," had become a public industry, with what consequences we shall soon see. An amusing illustration of popular devotion to the national beverage about this time is furnished us by an incident of the English expedition against Guienne under Henry VIII., where the great trial of the soldiery was the deprivation of beer or ale.

Stile, Henry's ambassador, writes: "And it please your Grace, the great lack of victuals that is here, is of beer, for your subjects

[29] "Beverages Past and Present," p. 35, p. 233.
[30] British Ency.: "Brewing."

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had lever for to drink beer than wine or cider; for the hot wine doth harm them and the cider doth cast them in disease and sickness." By a "breach of discipline unparalleled in the military annals of England," the soldiers mutinied and set sail for England in defiance of orders[31]—and all for the lack of their native beverage! We must remember that the "boys" of those days, had no "smokes" to console them! Did time permit us to trace the history of continental vineyards, we would find the names of many wines still testifying to their monastic origin. Marcus Aurelius is said by Gibbon to have employed his Gallic soldiers in vine planting during the intervals of peace, and the vineyards of the Matrona (Marne), and the Mosella (Moselle), forthwith became famous. But after the Roman came, as we have seen, the monk. St. Martin of Tours seems to have been the second patron of vine culture in France, since he is reputed to have planted a vineyard wherever he preached. From his epoch at least, the real history of the vine, in France dates. From the Moselle to the Mediterranean, from the Rhine to the Atlantic, the fruit was to be found growing on hillsides formerly barren, while their fame was to be sung in every corner of the world. It was probably the well-known property of the vine which enables it to grow on otherwise worthless soil, which first drew monastic attention to its culture and induced those hardy pioneers of civilization to plant it so extensively.[32] The wine of the Gironde grows in soil, reputed unfit even for weeds, and it is from this region also that we obtain the medoc, known in England as claret. The sauternes grow in a most unpromising soil of clay and gravel. Tradition and history ascribe the invention of Champagne (produced by a blending of wines), to Dom Perignon, a Benedictine monk of St. Peter's Hautvillers. He is also said to have been the first to use corks, instead of a plug of lamb's wool, dipped in wax, to stop his bottles.

The monks of Citeaux cultivated a wine whose future renown they could little have surmised, the famous "Clos de Vogeot." After long years of patient toil and experiment, as to the best methods of culture, they became the instructors of the peasants and led them along the highway to success and gain, one beneficent feature of monastic culture being that their wines were free from the terrible tax on wine manufacture demanded by the grandes seigneurs of France from their miserable vassals.[33] The famous hermitage wines owe their origin to a French hermit, Gaspard de Sterimberg, who, in the days of Queen Blanche and St. Louis, retired to a rocky eminence on

[31] Brewer: "Henry VIII." Vol. I., p. 19.
[32] Emerson: Vol. II., pp. 129, 131; Redding: p. 58.
[33] Emerson: Vol. II., pp. 154, 159.

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the left bank of the Rhone, and there planted a few vines. One great reason for the economic success of monastic wines was, naturally, the fact that the monk worked without payment. To quote again from Emerson, "had wages been paid to monks, as in any commercial house, the progress of betterment would have proved slow indeed. The monks in their frugality, required but little, time to them was of small value, they were generally men of brains and education, trained to think and study deeply: they had none directly dependent upon them for subsistence and could thus proceed along their chosen path until they reached the goal of perfection, and were prepared to teach others the secret knowledge they had gained."[34] This was their gift to the husbandman of many lands. Howbeit, there were cloister secrets which, for wise reasons, they retained. These were in the realm of aqua vitæ and cordials. Their knowledge of brewing and vine culture the monks imparted, but the secrets of distillation they prudently retained.

The exact date at which distillation was first practiced in Europe (apart from the Irish usquebaugh) is difficult to fix. A knowledge of it is said to have been brought from the East, either at the time of the Crusades, or through trade with the Levant, or by contact with the Moors of Spain. The study of its processes was connected with that of Alchemy, and the search for an elixir of life may have stimulated experiments in distillation. The names of Friar Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Arnoldus de Villa Nova and Raymond Lully are all connected with such experiments, as pioneers in the art of distillation. It was at first practiced by the few, and its products were used only for medicinal purposes, or as a foundation for cordials and liqueurs, themselves sparingly employed in earlier days.[35] Lully after his studies under Arnoldus de Villa Nova, at Naples, wrote his "Testamentum Novissimum" on the preparation of alcohol in the thirteenth century. Ambrose Paré court physician of Charles IX., gives us a formula for the manufacture of "pure aqua vitae" by a sevenfold rectification, and considers it a most valuable medicine in the "cure of epilepsy, frigidity, wounds and punctures of the nerves, syncope, gangrene and putrescence."[36] The first analysis of alcohol, however, was made by Theodore de la Saussure, Genevan chemist, as late as the opening of the nineteenth century. The Italians, especially the Genoese, were the first to traffic in distilled products. In 1270, a Florentine physician recommended spirits of wine, as "possessing great virtues and effecting valuable medicinal purposes," while in an early cata-

[34] Emerson: p. 172.
[35] Ency. Brit.: "Distillation." Ed. 11th.
[36] Morewood: p. 398.

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logue of European mercantile productions, appended to a poem by Haluyt, we find it recorded that, in 1340, Genoese traders brought *Arrack,* a species of Oriental brandy, into England.[37]. "In England, however, the manufacture of aqua vitæ was slow, and like the products of the alembic in other parts of the world, was sold in the shops of the apothecary as a medicine only." The earliest recorded use of distilled spirits as a beverage, is given by Ernest Richard as occurring among some Hungarian miners, where it was used as a preservative against cold and damp.

He adds that brandy first became popular in Germany at the time of the Peasants' War.[38] The German name for brandy, "Brannt-Wein," from brennen, signifying equally to burn, heat, or distill, explains the origin of the old English term brandy-wine, the original form of the name, brandy, and points also to the introduction of the article from Germany or Holland. "We have now reached a new period in the drinking customs of the race," exclaims a modern temperance writer; a period new, indeed, in many ways, in which old restraints were cast aside, and old authorities as to custom and morals, as well as faith, abandoned. Of its immediate effects on the English people in the matter of which we are writing, we will let the same author speak. "Hitherto fermented liquors had constituted the intoxicants of the nations. The drinking habits formed by these milder beverages were henceforth to be intensified to a fearful degree, and a greater havoc of life and morals witnessed in consequence of the introduction into common life of the more potent and destructive stimulant of distilled spirits. Up to the period of the Reformation, there was no civil legislation whatever in England against drunkenness. It is a crime not mentioned in the statute book until the fifth year of Edward VI."[39] Camden also states that ever since English intercourse with the Netherlands, "the vice of drunkenness hath so diffused itself over the whole nation, that in our days first, it was fain to be restrained by severe laws."[40] Up to this date, continues our former author, "the action of the state was confined to procuring a supply of good and wholesome liquor to be sold at a moderate price. The regulation of ale and victualling houses had indeed claimed the attention of government from an early day; their number, the prices of liquors and provisions sold, and the hour for closing were all fixed by statute. But the causes for these statutes were varied." Now, more specific laws were necessary.

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[37] Morewood: p. 560. Dorchester: p. 76.
[38] "Hist. German Civilization," p. 289.
[39] Dorchester: "Liquor Problem," pp. 75, sq.
[40] Camden: Eliz. Bk. III., p. 263. [There had been, however, Saxon legislation.]

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"During the reign of Henry VIII., drunkenness and crime prevailed in England to a fearful degree. In the reign of Edward VI., licenses for the sale of liquors at taverns were first required by magistrates. But these restrictions soon failed, and under the reign of Elizabeth, drunkenness became one of the most striking characteristics of the nation, the public houses of London being crowded with drunkards from morning until evening."[41] From the time of Elizabeth until the Revolution, drunkenness was more general among the upper classes than at any previous time, many of the most conspicuous characters being grossly addicted to it.[42] "We drink," says an old writer, "as if we were nothing but sponges, or had tunnels in our mouths. We are the grape suckers of the earth."[43] Such statements serve but to confirm those quoted earlier in this article, as to the sudden increase of drunkenness in England at the time of the Reformation. The liquor traffic, begun with the Dutch at that time, was continued with increasingly disastrous effects, until the time of William of Orange, when, as we shall see, a further step was taken to accelerate the degradation of the English people through the "master curse" of drink. By the time of the Commonwealth, the use of ardent spirits had become well-nigh universal among the gentry of England. The Puritans, much as they frowned on many forms of conviviality, were in no wise averse to liquors and "Cromwell used them freely." The period of the Restoration, as we might naturally suppose, was one of increased indulgence, when loyalty and drinking became closely allied. Cavaliers delighted to drink the King's health on their knees, and during the days of the "usurpation," would put a crum in their glass, exclaiming devoutly, "God send this crum-well down."

"The thirst for alcoholic stimulant was momentarily abated by the introduction of coffee drinking. The first coffee house was opened in Paris in 1643 and a little later they became popular in London, and had begun to exercise a beneficent influence, when they were prohibited by royal decree, Charles II. seeing in them a possible meeting place for plotters of treason. "The tide of alcoholic drink now rolled on afresh." Yet amid this widespread indulgence, the drink of the poor, and of the humbler middle classes (upon whose welfare the ultimate safety of a nation depends), was still beer or ale. During the English naval wars with Holland, caused by commercial rivalry, France had become the great supply house for imported liquors; these, however, were expensive, so that among the masses, the popular national beverage still held its own. But the era of the

[41] Dorchester: pp. 74, 78.
[42] Lecky: "Eng. in Eighteenth Cent." Vol. I., p. 517.
[43] Quoted by Lecky.

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gin palace was soon to be introduced. In 1689, William of Orange ascended the English throne in joint partnership with his wife, Queen Mary, and in 1691, the English distillery trade was established under royal patronage! "These measures laid the foundation of the passion for drink among the common people of Great Britain." "Small as is the space," writes Lecky, "which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably, if we consider all the consequences which flowed from it, the most momentous in the eighteenth century, incomparably more so than any event in the purely political or military annals of the country. The fatal passion for drink was at once and irrevocably planted in the nation!"[44] "Most of the crime and sorrow of the present day," adds another English author, "may be traced to the example given by William III. and his Dutch courtiers as imbibers of ardent spirits. . . . while the consummation of all injury to the people, was the encouragement that this monarch was pleased to give the newly born manufacture of spirituous liquors. Strange it is that a sovereign of Great Britain should repeatedly come into his Senate Chamber to recommend to the legislators of the nation such encouragement! Yet this respectable request of royalty stares the reader in the face of every manuscript Journal of Parliament."[45] In the age of Elizabeth, the British nation seemed still alive to the degradation of drunkenness and the depth of its fall (although the Queen herself farmed out monopolies in the liquor trade to her favorites).[46] In that of Charles II. and William III., the nation seemed rather to glory in its shame. De Foe, who lived through the reigns of both these kings, gives a curious illustration of the moral callousness of the times on this point. When the news of the parliamentary ratification of William's title to the throne was publicly announced, a gentleman of quality turned to his servant, saying: "Jack, go home to your lady and tell her we have a Protestant King and Queen; go, make a bonfire as large as the house, and bid the butler make ye all drunk, you dog." This pious recognition of Providential blessings, together with the example set by William, form a singular contrast to the legislation of a great Catholic monarch in regard to drink. At the Diet of Paderborn, Charlemagne, who made his strong arm felt throughout his domains, gave a constitution to his nobles confirming their lands and privileges, accompanied by solemn injunctions not to sully by drunkenness that which they had won by valor. Soldiers were commanded not to force, or entice, their companions to drink. The elders were exhorted to set an example of abstinence to the young, and the young to imitate the abstemiousness of their seniors. The clergy were brought under

[44] Lecky: "Eng. in Eighteenth Century." Vol. I., p. 519.
[45] Strickland: "Queens of England." Vol. IX., pp. 258, 260. Eng. Ed.
[46] Morewood: p. 561.

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strict rule and punished for entering a tavern.[47] From the first to the second quarter of the eighteenth century may be termed the hey-day of English drunkenness. For a while, a certain rivalry existed between the two liquors, rum and gin.

"To encourage the consumption of rum" was clearly "the interest of the British Government," since the finest brand of that article was the produce of the British West Indies, espcially of the Island of Jamaica, while, despite the native distilleries, by far the best quality of Geneva, or gin, long continued to be manufactured in Holland, and exported thence to England. Nevertheless, gin won the day, and the infection spread from high to low "with the rapidity and violence of an epidemic." "Retailers of gin were accustomed to hang out painted boards announcing that their customers could be made drunk for a penny, dead drunk for twopence, and should have straw for nothing. Cellars, accordingly, were provided, into which those who had become insensible were dragged, and where they remained until they had sufficiently recovered to pursue their orgies."[48] Physicians declared that in excessive gin-drinking "a new and terrible source of mortality had been opened to the poor," while magistrates openly stated that much the greater part of the poverty, murders and robberies of London could be traced to this single cause. This "beneficent" beverage owes its origin to a certain chemist and physician of Leyden, Francis de la Boë, generally known to the scientific world by his Latin name of Sylvius (1614-1672), who conceived the idea of transforming the simple and healthful juniper wine, or genèvre, of the French peasants, long known among them as the "wine of the poor," from its trifling cost, into a powerful distillation, like brandy. It was first sold by apothecaries, whence the abbreviated form of its name, gin, for Geneva, druggists' bottles then, as now, bearing abbreviated names of their drugs. Distillers, however, finding that it was "drunk with avidity by the common people," were not long in undertaking its manufacture, and it soon became an article of profitable trade to the Dutch. The frightful dimensions of the gin evil in England at length, forced a reluctant Parliament to pass an act restraining its unlicensed and unlimited sale. Violent riots ensued; a clandestine trade sprang up and the act was soon found to be practically inoperative.

In 1750, London physicians reported 14,000 cases of illness due to gin alone in a population of 800,000. Every sixth house was calculated to be a gin shop. In two years, no less than 1,200 persons had been condemned for illicit traffic in this spirit. Fielding, the English novelist, in his pamphlet on, "the late increase in rob-

[47] Dorchester: "Liquor Problem," p. 101.
[48] Lecky: Vol. I., p. 519.

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bers," published in 1751, speaks of a "new kind of drunkenness, unknown to our ancestors," and declared gin to be "the sustenance of more than 100,000 in the metropolis," predicting that if the then rate of gin drinking continued for twenty years, there would be few of the common people left to drink it.[49] In Fraser's "Life of Berkely," the statement occurs that the English people had become "what they never before were, cruel and inhuman. Those accursed spirituous liquors which, to the shame of our government, are so easily to be had and in such quantities drunk, have changed the very nature of our people and will, if they continue to be drunk, destroy the very race of people themselves."[50] It was computed that in the year 1750-51, more than 11 millions (Eng.) of gallons of spirits were consumed in England, and the increase of population, especially in London, visibly checked. It was the misery of a period such as this which the pencil of Hogarth so vividly portrayed in his masterpiece of "Gin Lane." Swift and easy is the descent to Avernus! But one farther step was needed to complete the demoralization of the British people by drink, and this was taken when the modern era of adulteration of every species of alcoholic beverage began. Adulteration of liquor is now carried to a fine art, and has become all but universal, so that Dickens scarcely spoke too strongly when he said he did not believe there was such a thing "as honest grape juice left," adding, "it is a myth, a shadow." Wine-venders confess frankly to "adulteration" and "fabrication," but blame the popular taste.

It is well known, for instance, that wines for the British market are usually heavily charged with brandy, the natural alcohol of the wine not being thought sufficient to please the Anglo-Saxon palate. The Greeks and Romans of later days sought to stimulate their jaded appetites by steeping intoxicating herbs in their wines, showing it was not the natural exhilaration of the wine they sought, but a quick and ready means of producing inebriation. A similarly vitiated taste has been charged upon the modern public, but there can be no doubt that by far the most common cause of adulteration is the dishonest desire for excessive profit on the part of the brewer and distiller; either by fraudulent imitations, or by obtaining a wider sale for a cheaper article. Canon Farrar puts this matter quite clearly in his "Talks on Temperance."[51] "You think the wine you are sipping was ripened in the golden sunlight of Italian valleys, or bloomed in purple beauty on the hills of the Rhine and Moselle, but did it? O sancta simplicitas." He then proceeds to

[49] Lecky: Vol. I., p. 519.
[50] Fraser: "Life of Berkely," p. 332.
[51] "Talks on Temperance," pp. 187-89. Dorchester: "Liquor Problem," pp. 149, 158.

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give irrefragible evidence of the extent to which adulteration is carried, and quotes Prof. Mulder as saying that "adulteration begins from the very moment the grapes are gathered. That in the two processes of fermentation and clearing, among the ingredients added are: (1) cream of tartar, (2) bone charcoal, (3) juniper, (4) precipitate of lead, this last rendering the wine highly injurious. In the clearing, are added: (1) powdered marble, (2) gypsum, (3) blood, (4) salt, (5) sulphuric acid, while in sulphurizing the casks, the wine frequently becomes arsenical. Best sherry is sometimes made from a low-priced sherry mixed with the washings of brandy and a small quantity of lamb's blood. You take refuge in claret: this, too, may be concocted from a lower-priced article mixed with cider, cochineal, turnson (sunflower), and other drugs. You turn to port. Here we find introduced: (1) gum benzoin, (2) gum dragon, (3) red sander, (4) tartaric, citric, or oxalic acid, (5) logwood, (6) nitric acid, (7) nitric ether." These adulterants deceive even chemists, and Professor Mulder adds that England stands far beyond other countries in the art of adulteration, while Mr. Redding declares ("Modern Wines") that the adulteration of wine has of late become almost a scientific pursuit, and that the "effect of pure wine on a healthy stomach is known to very few."

In regard to the adulteration of gin, we may say the adulterants are legion: "Coriander, cardamons, cassia, cinnamon, grains of Paradise, cayenne pepper, are only a few of the host of substances, cheaper and easier to handle than juniper. But should these produce a cloudy appearance, they must be refined by such substances as alum, sulphate of zinc, and acetate of lead. The spirit of traffic which attracts to our doors the luxuries of the earth rarely limits itself to legitimate profits."[52] Long ago, Addison in *The Tatler* (No. 131), alludes to the transmutation of wines, and Sir Richard Steele complains of "coarse imitation of wine by sloe juice." The science of adulteration, however, was then in its infancy and its clumsy attempts at deception would be scorned by a modern adept. Physicians tells us that the artificial "fretting in" of additional brandy, or alcohol, into wine, has a far more injurious effect upon the constitution than the same quantity combined with the wine by natural fermentation, "to this, and other adulterations, the injurious effects of wine being mostly attributable." "Not only the individual drinks in years of suffering with the convivial cup, but the whole community is deprived of its power to judge between pure and impure. In modern England, it is this alcoholic admixture which gives the momentary elevation of spirits: the exhilaration from pure wine is of quite a different character in its effect on the nervous

[52] Redding: "Modern Wines," p. 319.

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system and stomach. Moreover, even if taken in slight excess, the effect soon passes away, whereas, in wine mingled with brandy, the exhilaration is the first access of fever and the head and stomach suffer severely for the indulgence, not to speak of the certain ruin to the constitution of the constant user of such wines, in the shape of indigestion and ultimately, apoplexy and dropsy. Brandied and adulterated wines are the bane of Englishmen!

That an abuse of the good things which the Creator has bestowed for man's use should be followed by swift retribution is natural and just. In proportion as the desire for intoxication grows in any land, wines becomes more and more sophisticated. The healthy stomach relishes plain food, the epicure must be pampered with spiced dishes. Among the Hebrews, "*mixed* wines" and "strong drink" are accursed and a special woe called upon the head of those who are mighty to *mingle* the same,"[58] an admonition to which the history of Post-Reformation drinking in England may well make us say Amen! But before pronouncing a final verdict as to its inducing causes, there remains yet one matter to be examined: the nature and history of the Irish (or Scottish), usquebaugh. Was this beverage, indeed, similar to our modern whiskey? And was the Emerald Isle the primitive home of distilled liquors, the nursery of modern strong drink? According to the ordinary account, we are told that the "English soldiers who entered Ireland in the reign of Henry III., found the native Irish addicted to the use of a distilled spirit, known as usquebaugh, the precursor of our modern whiskey." When, however, we endeavor to examine the facts more closely, it becomes by no means so clear that usquebaugh was an ardent spirit, at all analogous to modern whiskey. All the formulæ for its manufacture, which we now possess, give a contrary impression. But none of these date farther back than about 500 years. Etymologically, wisge-beatha, water of life, is identical with aqua vitæ, by us identified with "acqua vite," or spirits of wine, although even here, uncertainty meets us, early usage being by no means uniform as to nomenclature, one old dictionary defining aqua vitæ as a "sort of cordial, made from beer, strongly hopped and well fermented."

The matter is an interesting one, to which we would gladly devote more space than our brief limits permit, but to secure an impartial survey, we will confine our extracts to two well-known authors who cannot be suspected of any bias in the matter. Emerson, already quoted, gives us an Elizabethan formula for usquebaugh, under the head of "Delights of Ladies" (1602), which reads: "To every gallon of aqua composita, 2 oz. of chosen licorice, bruised and cut into small pieces; macerate five or six days; draw off as much as

[58] Ibid., pp. 323, 327.

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will run cleare, dissolving in that cleare aqua vitæ, five or six spoonfuls of the best molasses, add dates and raisins, redistill, and of that aqua composita, make usquebaugh."[54] From its complexity, it seems quite evident this cannot be the original usquebaugh. Emerson concluded, however, from general evidence, that this beverage was simply a cordial, but believes a simple Irish distillation, known as "poteen," existed, but does not pronounce as to its antiquity. Morewood, who was British Excise Commissioner at Dublin at the time of writing, devotes over a hundred pages of his work on Irish liquors, giving us these general statements:[55] First, that the "alembical liquor called usquebaugh," mentioned by Hector Boethius, the Scottish fifteenth century historian, "as drawn from thyme, mint, anise, and other fragrant herbs," was probably originally produced in Ireland, not Scotland, as suggested by Boethius. Morewood then dwells on the early civilization of Erin, and conjectures the art of distillation to have been brought thither from the East, or from Spain, by the Milesians at their advent. He adds that Ireland was better known to the classic world than England, and that Tacitus, Strabo, etc., agree in describing the ancient Irish as galactophagi, or milk eaters, to which description confirmation is given by a similar term in the old Erse chronicles: Gael-laedfoghac, or curd-eater. The Brehon laws, meanwhile, by their numerous references to the culture of bees, indicate that mead was an ancient Irish drink, and this at a time when Ireland was supposedly closest to Eastern culture. We learn also from Camden and other authors that honey was so plentiful in Ireland as to be early an article of export.

Allusions to grape wine, and flower wine, are also found in Irish literature and are noted by Adaman and Bede. Ale, under the name of curmi, seems well known. Formulæ for the making of usquebaugh—aqua vitæ—and nectar are all found in the Red Book of Ossory. From these, Morewood decides usquebaugh to have been a general name for *all* compounded spirits and "that plain whiskey as we now have it was not the common Irish drink." He adds that saffron formed a chief ingredient in true Irish usquebaugh and proceeds to give us a formula, introducing cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, anise, caraway, and coriander seed, licorice root, aqua vita, and saffron. At the same time, he tells us that "the *monasteries* being the original repositories of science and dispensaries of medicine, kept the secret of aqua vitæ until their dissolution gave it to the public."[56] However we may reconcile these somewhat conflicting statements, in detail. Whether or not we suppose the early knowledge of distillation in Ireland to have

[54] Emerson: p. 303.
[55] Morewood: p. 581, sq.
[56] Morewood: p. 615.

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passed from lay to monastic hands until the dissolution of the abbeys, it seems plain from the general testimony, that the Irish, like their English cousins before the Reformation, partook largely of milder variants of alcoholic liquors and that (whatever the exact nature of their usquebaugh), their simple and primitive stills could not have produced a very "high-proof" spirit. Had they done so, it would have been strange, indeed, that the dwellers in Merrie England should, for 500 years, have steadfastly resisted the allurements of ardent spirits, when offered them by a sister Isle, only to fall an easy prey to the same temptation from the hand of a Hollander!

It is to be noted that the first complaints of Irish drunkenness reach us from a British Lord Lieutenant toward the close of the reign of Henry VIII., when the same evil was beginning to be felt in England. The first edict limiting the manufacture of aqua vitæ in Ireland was in 1556, two years before Henry's death. Holinshed dwells in his chronicles[57] on the excessive use of ardent spirits among the Irish nobles, but they are the nobles of Elizabeth's day. Later, we know that drink became in Ireland, as in England, the curse and temptation of the poor. From all this, it seems to the writer, we are drawn to conclude that the origin and increase of the excessive use of spirits among the Irish, was fairly parallel to the same increase in England, and largely induced by the same causes. To enter into an examination of all these causes would carry us beyond our present limits. We can only ask ourselves (and, incidentally, those who stigmatize monastic brewing and wine culture) whether a better plan for the moderate gratification of man's natural craving for stimulating beverage of some kind, with restraint of its more dangerous excesses, could have been devised, than that adopted by the monks, when such control was possible; and whether Modern England, the young and vigorous England of the Reformation, rejoicing in the new-born strength of its maritime and commercial life, going forth with its Drakes and its Frobishers, its Clives and its Hastings, like a young Alexander, to conquer and exploit new worlds, to East and West, when arraigned before the Bar of Supreme Justice, will not be held responsible for wrecking the lives of millions—literally, millions—of her subjects, through the hideous vice of modern gin-drinking?

E. Von Rycken Wilson.

New York, N. Y.

[57] Holinshed: Bk. VI., p. 331.

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THE POETRY AND ROMANCE OF THE SPANISH MISSIONS.

IT WAS fortunate for California that its early life and beginnings touched the chivalric heart of Spain, for neither the Puritan of New England nor the Cavalier of Virginia, with their cold and austere character, had they first sought and found the sun-kissed shores and golden harbors of this wondrous State, could have sown in its soil the seeds of romance and poetry that now blossom with a wealth of fragrance all its own.

The Puritan of New England, albeit that he lived not without God or the presence of God, it is true, could not put spiritual joy into his life. He planted in his New World home the acorns of an oak that had been scarred and rent and blasted and torn from a once happy and Catholic soil, known as "Merrie England." The laws of God he interpreted as through a colored glass darkly; and read into the heart of his fellow-man sins and frailties that were but the creation of his own perverse nature. In a word, life to him was sadness and gloom; and the fretted vault of heaven revealed to him neither the promised covenant of God nor the bright smiles and joy of the cherubim.

As deep calls unto deep, so nature calls unto nature, and ofttimes seeks its affinity. It is scarcely credible that a Cotton Mather, or a Jonathan Edwards, with their hard Calvinistic tenets, could have toiled in the spiritual vineyard of California. This sunny, semi-Orient land, full of the splendor of radiant star and the soft caress of wooing winds and mystic morns, was destined for all time to be the spiritual dower of the sons of St. Francis. They it was who were to bring to its native children the gentle teachings of the Umbrian saint.

California was practically discovered in 1541 by Cabrillo; and in 1602, eighteen years before the Pilgrim Fathers had landed in Massachusetts Bay Vizcaino had returned to Mexico, after having erected a cross at Monterey in California. But it was more than one hundred and fifty years later, when an expedition under the authority of Galvez, the Visitador General of Mexico, set out from La Paz, Mexico, for California. In this expedition was a band of Franciscan Fathers with Fray Junipero Serra at their head. They entered San Diego Bay, where the first mission, that of San Diego de Alcala, was established in 1769. Between this date and 1823, twenty-one missions in all were established; and of these nine were founded, during the life of Father Junipero Serra, who died August 28, 1784, in San Carlos Mission, Carmelo Valley.

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The story of the Spanish missions is the most beautiful chapter in the life of California. It is a story of heroism, of sacrifice, of suffering. It is a story of the triumph of the Cross and the conquest of heathen souls.

This story has engaged the pens of some of the most notable writers of the Pacific Coast. Hubert Bancroft has devoted tomes to it; Father Zephryin Engelhardt, O. F. M., with painstaking labor, has given us an exhaustive and monumental work, dealing exclusively with the Spanish missions—a work destined to be regarded as not only authoritative but, we think, final in its presentation of this stirring and heroic period of California history; George Wharton James, with touching sympathy and truth of fact, depicts "The Old Franciscan Missions"; Helen Hunt Jackson, the author of "A Century of Dishonor," and that classic novel "Ramona," tells us in her work, "California and the Missions," of the pitiful condition of the Indians after the missions had been secularized; Bryan J. Clinch, in his work, "California and the Missions," has weighed evidence and given impartial judgments on this chapter of California history; while several illustrated works, among others those of Racine McRoskey and Paul Elder, present to us, with great artistic fidelity, the Spanish missions as they are to-day.

But there yet remain the names of two California *literati*—Charles F. Lummis and John S. McGroarty, whose labors to perpetuate and conserve the memories of the brown-hooded friars of St. Francis, in their work for God and humanity, in the golden State of California as pioneers of faith and civilization, are deserving of special honor and the gratitude of every Californian.

With a scholarship, sympathy and industry unsurpassed by that of any other writer or patriotic son of California, Mr. Lummis has impressed upon his native State the historical value of the great heritage of the Spanish missions, and the need of preserving every vestige, every trace and footprint of the sacred toilers who builded the early altars of faith and civilization in that great State which stretches to-day from "the Valley of the Seven Moons in the north to the Harbor of the Sun in the south."

Mr. McGroarty, with a singular devotion, has consecrated his gifted pen not alone to the story of the Spanish missions in both prose and verse, but he has written the best pageant-drama—"The Mission Play"—ever produced in America, which has been presented, with unqualified success, for ten years, at the old Mission of San Gabriel, hard by the city of Los Angeles.

Referring to this splendid and unique production which so vividly portrays the life, heroic faith and triumphant toil of the Franciscan padres, in the sacred vineyard of California, Dr. Henry Van Dyke,

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the eminent American litterateur and diplomat, writes: "It remained for John Steven McGroarty, a Pennsylvanian and a Celt, a poet and a historian, to tell the story of California to the world as the story should be told. This he has done in his wonderful Mission Play, which is one of the greatest of the world's pageant-dramas."

Mr. McGroarty was singularly fortunate in securing for interpreter of the chief role in this play—that of Fray Junipero Serra—the eminent and veteran Shakespearean actor, Frederick Warde.

It is needless to say that both poet and painter have devoted their pen and brush to this splendid theme of the old Spanish missions, and have given us creations of truth and beauty vital with the spirit of these early mission times. In the year 1770, with the arrival of Fray Junipero Serra, Father-President of the Missions, and Don Gaspar de Portolá, the first Governor of California, Monterey became the seat of both the religious and civil authority in the new Spanish province of California, and continued to be so till the American occupation in 1846. Here no small part of the drama of Spanish life, civil and religious, was unfolded. But a few miles from here, in the valley of the Carmelo, was the mission of San Carlos, where the Father-President of the Missions, Padre Serra, resided and from this point directed the work of all the missions.

We learn of the importance of Monterey, during the Mexican occupation which extended from 1822 to 1846, from Richard Henry Dana, Jr., who, in his "Two Years Before the Mast," describes a visit which he paid this old capital in 1835. Here came, too, Right Rev. Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno, O. F. M., first Bishop of California, in 1841.

John Steven McGroarty has written a poem bearing the title, "The Way to Monterey," which is full of the breath and atmosphere of the old mission days. Here are its limpid and lightsome lines, laden with music and picturesque beauty:

"Green is the way to Monterey,
And once upon a wandering day,
With breath of mist and flash of sky
My feet were where the greenways lie—
My soul unleashed, my heart at play,
Upon the road to Monterey.

"All in the morning's golden glow,
I came by holy Carmelo,
Where whispers still its silvery stream
Like voices from an ancient dream;
And through the haunted silence beat
The long-hush'd tread of sandaled feet.

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"Dream-wrapped in memory's mystic spell,
I rang the rusted mission bell,
And called to hill and vale and sea
To give their dead again to me—
The brown-robed priests, the altar-lights
The hosts of dark-eyed neophytes.

"I called the dead years forth to free
Their dust-thralled feet to trudge with me.
So, fared as comrades with me then,
Fair women and brave riding men—
By wood and dune that dream-kissed day,
They passed with me to Monterey.

"Blithe were the greenways then that told
The gladness of the days of old;
From chaparral, with flocks athrong,
I heard the Indian herder's song,
And ringing scythes, with laughter blent,
From fields where dusky toilers bent.

"*Madre de Dios!* Keep for me
My dream of hill and sky and sea—
The greenways where my path was set,
The gay guitar and castanet,
The stars that hailed at close of day,
The sunset roofs of Monterey."

It is worth noting that almost every mission had its individual character. For instance, the Church of Santa Barbara was the most solid of the mission structures in California. It is 165 feet long 40 feet wide and 30 feet high, and roofed with tiles made by the mission Indians. Five of the early missionaries and three of later date are buried under the sanctuary, in front of the high altar.

A writer tells us that in the stress of turbulent days, the old mission of Santa Barbara was the one gray fortress that never surrendered. Within its quiet walls the Franciscans held their ground. It may be added here that the influence that preserved Santa Barbara from the neglect and decay of the other missions was the petition presented to Rome, in 1853, causing it to be erected into a hospice as the beginning of an Apostolic College for the education of Franciscan novitiates, which it still maintains. Clarence Urmy, a California poet, has written a beautiful sonnet on the Santa Barbara Mission Church, which we here reproduce:

IN A MISSION GARDEN

(Santa Barbara)

"Stand here and watch the wondrous birth of dreams
From out the gate of Silence, Time and Tide,
With fingers on their lips forever bide,

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In large-eyed wonderment where thoughts and themes
Of days long flown pass down the slumbrous streams
To ports of Poet-land and Song-land. Side
By side the many colored Visions glide,
And leave a wake where Fancy glows and gleams.
And then the bells! One stands with low-bowed head
While list'ning to their silver tongues recite
The sweet tale of the Angelus—there slips
A white dove low across the tiling red—
And as we breathe a whispered, fond 'good night,'
A 'pax vobiscum' parts the padre's lips."

To-day deep interest centres in the old San Gabriel Mission Church because here, at San Gabriel, the Mission Play is presented. We recently visited this historic Spanish Mission, and from one of its good and learned padres in charge, Rev. Father Torrente, acquired a knowledge of much of its story, its life and its vicissitudes.

San Gabriel Mission was founded in 1770, from San Diego. It was established on the direct route between Mexico and Monterey. About two miles from the mission was a stone mill. Both the mill and mission were very solidly constructed. Father Torrente took us through the garden of olives. We were shown a mission grapevine, with a gnarled trunk like a great tree and mother of the vines of the valley that came over from Spain in a three-storied castle of a galley in 1798. Here, too, were orange trees that were bearing in 1800. During the mission days there were several hundred acres of vineyard which were enclosed with a hedge of prickly pear. San Gabriel had one of the finest chimes of bells in the California missions.

The late Charles Warren Stoddard, a collaborator with Mark Twain, Bret Harte and Ina Coolbrith, on the *Overland Monthly,* who loved California with filial affection and touched naught with his pen that he did not adorn, has given us the following beautiful poem on "The Bells of San Gabriel":

"Thine was the corn and the wine,
The blood of the grape that nourished;
The blossom and fruit of the vine
That was heralded far away.
These were thy gifts; and thine,
When the wine and the fig-tree flourished,
The promise of peace and of glad increase
Forever and ever and aye.
What then wert thou, and what art now?
Answer me, O, I pray!

"And every note of every bell
Sang Gabriel! rang Gabriel!
In the tower that is left the tale to tell
Of Gabriel, the Archangel.

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"Oil of the olive tree thine;
Flood of the wine press flowing,
Blood of the Christ was the wine—
Blood of the Lamb that was slain.
Thy gifts were fat of the kine
Forever coming and going
Far over the hills, the thousand hills—
They're lowing a soft refrain.
What then wert thou, and what art now?
Answer me once again!

"And every note of every bell
Sang Gabriel! rang Gabriel!
In the tower that is left the tale to tell
Of Gabriel, the Archangel.

"Seed of the corn was thine—
Body of His thus broken,
And mingled with blood of the vine—
The bread and the wine of life.
Out of the good sunshine,
They were given to thee as a token—
The body of Him and the blood of Him,
When the gifts of God were rife,
What then wert thou, and what art now
After the weary strife?

"And every note of every bell
Sang Gabriel! rang Gabriel!
In the tower that is left the tale to tell
Of Gabriel, the Archangel.

"Where are they now, O bells?
Where are the fruits of the Mission?
Garnered, where no one dwells,
Shepherd and flock are fled.
O'er the Lord's vineyard swells,
The tide that with fell perdition
Sounded their doom and fashioned their tomb
And buried them with the dead.
What then wert thou, and what art now?
The answer is still unsaid.

"And every note of every bell
Sang Gabriel! rang Gabriel!
In the tower that is left the tale to tell
Of Gabriel, the Archangel.

"Where are they now, O tower!
The locusts and wild honey?
Where is the sacred dower
That the bride of Christ was given?
Gone to the wielders of power,
The misers and minters of money;

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Gone for the greed that is their creed—
And these in the land have thriven.
What then wert thou, and what art now,
And wherefore hast thou striven?

"And every note of every bell
Sang Gabriel! rang Gabriel!
In the tower that is left the tale to tell
Of Gabriel, the Archangel."

Where the University of Santa Clara stands to-day was the Mission of Santa Clara de Asis, which was established in 1777. Father José Maria del Real was the last Franciscan in charge of this mission, and, after his death, the buildings and land were transferred to the Society of Jesus, who have conducted here since the middle of the last century the prosperous and widely known College of Santa Clara.

The last mission founded by Fray Serra was that of Buenaventura, which was established at beautiful Ventura by the Sea, on March 31, 1782. At the time of the death of the President General of the Missions, in 1784, nine missions in all had been founded; 6,000 Indians baptized, 4,500 of whom lived under the material as well as the spiritual direction and control of the Franciscan Fathers.

Deeply touching were the last moments of the great and saintly padre as he closed his eyes on the scenes of his labors in his beloved California. There in the beautiful old Mission Church of San Carlos rest the remains of this truly faithful servant of Christ.

Richard Edward White, a California poet, whose gifted pen has fashioned more than one poem in tribute to the holy and heroic padres, has written a beautiful poem on the San Carlos Mission Church, now in its ruins, which bears the title, "The Midnight Mass." Here are two of its stanzas:

"Of the mission church San Carlos
Builded by Carmelo's bay,
There remains an ivied ruin
That is crumbling fast away.
In its tower the owl finds shelter,
In its sanctuary grow
Rankest weeds above the earth-mounds,
And the dead find rest below.

. . . . . .

Still by peasants at Carmelo,
Tales are told and songs are sung
Of Junipero the padre,
In the sweet Castilian tongue—
Telling how each year he rises
From his grave the Mass to say,
In the midnight 'mid the ruins
On the eve of Carlos' day."

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The Mission Church of San Francisco de Asis, near San Francisco, known also as Mission Dolores, was founded in 1776. Here it is that the first Governor of California, Don Luis Antonio Argüello, under the Mexican Government, lies buried. Just at the side entrance of the Church is a stone with this inscription to the first Governor of California: "Aqui yacen los restos de Capitan Don Luis Antonio Argüello, Primer Gobernador del Alta California; Bajo el Gobierno Mejicano Nacio en San Francisco el 21 de Junio 1784 y Muró en el Mismo lugar el 27 de Marzo, 1830."

It was the bells of the Mission Dolores that inspired Bret Harte, in 1868, to write "The Angelus," a poem of exceptional melody, charm and tenderness. No more beautiful lines were ever penned having for theme the Spanish missions than these:

"Bells of the past whose long-forgotten music
Still fills the wide expanse,
Tinging the sober twilight of the present
With color of romance.

"I hear you call, and see the sun descending
On rock and wave and sand,
As down the coast the mission voices blending
Girdle the heathen land.
. . . . . .

"Borne on the swell of your long waves receding,
I touch the farther past—
I see the dying glow of Spanish glory,
In sunset dream and last!

"Before me rise the dome-shaped Mission towers,
The white Presidio;
The swart Commander in his Cathern jerkin,
The priest in stole of snow.

"Once more I see Portola's cross uplifting
Above the setting sun;
And past the headland, northward, slowly drifting
The freighted galleon.

"O solemn bells! whose consecrated Masses
Recall the faith of old!
O tinkling bells! that lulled with twilight music
The spiritual fold!

"Your voices break and falter in the darkness—
Break, falter, and are still;
As veiled and mystic like the Host descending,
The sun sinks from the hill!"

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It was, too, in the old mission Church of Dolores that Marie de la Concepcion (Concha) Argüello, who was born in the old Presidio at San Francisco on February 19, 1791, was baptized; and who sixteen years later was destined to be the heroine of a romance that will live forever in poem and story. Briefly the story is this: While "Concha's" father, Don José Dario Argüello, the Commandante of the Presidio at San Francisco, was absent, and the Presidio in charge of "Concha's" elder brother, Luis Antonio, there sailed into the Golden Gate from the north the *Juno,* in charge of the Russian Chamberlain, Rezanov. Calling at the Presidio, the handsome and distinguished Russian nobleman was extended Castilian hospitality and—well, then came love's miracle. The beautiful daughter of the Commandante, in her sixteenth year, had won the heart of Rezanov and as the *Juno* weighed anchor for Sitka, in Alaska, and was passing the fort of San Joaquin, a salute of seven guns was fired from the fort, which received a return salute of nine guns. "Concha" watched and waited for the return of her lover, ever faithful, as was Evangeline to Gabriel.

Rezanov, who had started on an overland journey from Okhotsk to St. Petersburg to arrange with his Government for his marriage with "Concha," was taken ill and died in a little town, in the snows of Siberia. "Concha" did not learn of his death for nearly forty years afterwards. Bret Harte has told the story of the love drama of Rezanov and "Concha" in a beautiful ballad bearing the title, "Concepcion de Argüello":

"Forty years on wall and bastion swept the hollow and idle breeze,
Since the Russian eagle fluttered from the California Seas.
. . . . . .

And the citadel was lighted and the hall was gayly drest
All to honor Sir George Simpson, famous traveler and guest."

During the entertainment of Sir George at the Presidio the conversation turned on Rezanov, the story of whose death in Siberia the guest had narrated, and then turning to the question of "Concha," Sir George inquired:

"Lives she yet?" Sir George repeated? All were hushed as "Concha" drew
Closer yet her nun's attire. "Señor, pardon, she died, too."

Gertrude Atherton has made the same incident the subject of her novel, "Rezanov." The fact, however, of "Concha" drawing closer her nun's attire, in 1842, when Sir George Simpson met her, cannot be correct unless, indeed, "Concha" wore a special religious garb of the Third Order of St. Francis, to which, it is said, she belonged

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before being received into the Dominican Order on April 11, 1851. In the convent she was known as Sister Mary Dominica (Concepcion Argüella). Her death took place December 23, 1857. Her grave, which is in the private cemetery of the Dominican Order overlooking Suisun Bay, is marked by a humble white slab, on which is graven a little white cross, with her name and the date of her death

Thus has Spain, with its ancient and undying faith and its chivalry, dowered an historic corner of the New World with the blossoms of religious heroism, poetry and romance.

THOMAS O'HAGAN, Ph. D., Litt. D.

Toronto, Canada.

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VENICE.

IF WE would trace the beginning of Venice, that fairest of fair cities, we must go back thirteen centuries, groping our way through the mists which veil those far-off years since the enchantress city first rose, as it were, from the depths of the sea.

In the fifth century Attila with his savage hordes descended upon Italy, spreading ruin and desolation throughout the land. Fleeing terror-stricken from the burning city of Altinum, a band of exiles sought shelter on the dreary sandy wastes scattered over the inner lagoon of the Adriatic. Here, on a marshy meadow, they built the city of Torcello, seven miles from where Venice rose afterwards, mother and daughter, as Ruskin describes them. The remains of the older city can still be traced. It is a subject of controversy whether the Duomo of Torcello, still perfect, was built in the seventh or the eleventh century.

The old Venetian chroniclers are in agreement in fixing the date of the foundation of Venice as the 25th of March, 421. The foundations of the city "were laid on the island of the Rialto, the highest and nearest to the mouth of the deep river now called the Brenta."

In those days St. Theodore was patron of the city, and a church built in his honor stood where now stands the Duomo. Even at the present day, his statue standing on a crocodile occupies a pillar in the Piazzetta facing that on which stands the winged lion of St. Mark. The Great Piazza presented a very different appearance to what it does in these days, being a green field through which ran a small stream with trees at either side. Already even in that early stage of her existence, Venice was making a name for herself in the world of commerce; her ships, which left for foreign ports with cargoes of salt, salt-fish, and other commodities of home production, returned laden with the wealth of the East, shimmering silken tissues, rainbow-hued carpets, and other costly things.

In 828 the body of St. Mark was brought with great secrecy from Alexandria to Venice and placed in the confessio of the private chapel attached to the Palace of the Doges, which had been built in 810. From that time forth the Venetians placed their city under the patronage of St. Mark. A tradition still exists that St. Mark founded the church at Aquileia, and so may be regarded as the first Bishop of the Venetian islands.

In 946, violent disturbances broke out in Venice in which the Doge Pietro Candiano, the fourth Doge of his name, lost his life,

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falling a victim, together with his infant son, to the fury of the populace, angered by his arrogance and his exactions.

The choice of the people now fell upon Pietro Orseolo, whom all Venice held in honor and respect. Orseolo's first act as Doge was to set about rebuilding the Ducal Palace and the Shrine of St. Mark, both of which had been destroyed in a great fire which broke out during the disturbances which marked the close of his predecessor's reign. Venice at that time was as yet a struggling State and Doge Orseolo was not himself rich.

But the ancient records of the city tell us that he devoted the greater part of his patrimony to the rebuilding of St. Mark's Shrine and the Ducal Palace. He set aside eight thousand ducats a year to be spent upon the work until its completion, which took eighty years. We are also told that he sought far and near for skilled workmen, bringing them even from Constantinople, at the time regarded as the home of all the arts. He it was, say the historians, who ordered from Constantinople the world-famous Pala d'oro, the greatest treasure of St. Mark's and the most magnicent gold altar screen in the world.

San Marco was consecrated on the 8th of October, 1085, according to some historians; according to others, in 1094; for a certainty the consecration took place in the reign of Vital Faliero, who was Doge from 1084 to 1096. During the long period that elapsed from the date of the consecration of San Marco until the final overthrow of the Venetian Republic, the work of beautifying the Duomo was continued uninterruptedly.

It would seem that during the work of rebuilding inaugurated by the Doge Pietro Orseolo (II. Santo), the precise spot in which rested the precious remains of St. Mark was forgotten. The manner of its miraculous discovery is thus related by the old chroniclers:

"After the repairs undertaken by the Doge Orseolo, the place in which the body of the holy evangelist rested had been altogether forgotten; so that the Doge Vital Faliero was entirely ignorant of the place of the venerable deposit. This was no light affliction, not only to the pious Doge, but to all the citizens and people, so that at last, moved by confidence in the divine mercy, they determined to implore with prayer and fasting the manifestation of so great a treasure which did not now depend upon any human effort. A general fast being therefore proclaimed, and a solemn procession appointed for the 25th day of June, while the people assembled in the church interceded with God in fervent prayers for the desired boon, they beheld, with as much amazement as joy, a slight shaking in the marbles of a pillar (near the place where the altar of the

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Cross is now) which presently falling to the earth, exposed to the view of the rejoicing people the chest of bronze in which the body of the evangelist was laid."

The rapid rise of the Republic of Venice to wealth and power, and her proud supremacy in maritime commerce, won for her many enemies. Throughout the course of her history we find her almost continually engaged in war with some state or other, sometimes suffering crushing defeats, and yet continually growing in wealth.

In 1202, the year of the Fourth Crusade, the Venetians fitted out a great expedition led by the aged Doge Enrico Dandolo, usually described as blind, although this is disputed by some historians. Amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, the fleet of three hundred vessels, on board which were a number of French Crusaders, sailed for the East. But on the way a diversion occurred. At Zara, where they had halted to punish the rebellious inhabitants, ever ready to give trouble to the Venetians, word was brought that Isaac, Emperor of the Greeks, had been dethroned by his own brother, who had blinded him and thrown him into a dungeon at Constantinople, whilst Alexius, his young son and heir, was a wanderer through Europe.

Fired with indignation, the French and Venetians at once sailed for Constantinople—which they took. The old blind emperor was restored to his throne, and his son Alexius was crowned in St. Sophia as his heir and coadjutor. It was a short-lived triumph. In less than a year another revolution broke out. The Crusaders again besieged the city, which they took and sacked, but they found young Alexius murdered and his aged father dead of grief and misery.

The Fourth Crusade, begun under such brilliant auspices, ended in defeat and disaster. The Doge Enrico Dandolo, who had performed miracles of valor, died in 1205, far away from his beloved Venice, and was buried in the Church of Santa Sophia in Constantinople. When we read of his heroic deeds it is indeed hard to believe that at the time of his death he had reached the great age of ninety-seven.

Constantinople at that time was the richest city in the world, a storehouse of peerless works of art, and the Venetians returned to their city laden with the richest spoil. Writing of the excesses committed by the army when Constantinople was taken, the Venetian historian quaintly says: "The Venetians only who were of gentler soul took thought for the preservation of those marvelous works of human genius, transporting them afterwards to Venice, as they did the four famous horses which now stand on the façade of the great Basilica, along with many columns, jewels and precious

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stones, with which they decorated the Pala d'oro and the treasury of San Marco." In 1797 Napoleon took these famous bronze horses to Paris. When Venice passed under Austrian rule in 1814 they were restored to the city. Now, in the twentieth century, once again have they been taken out of Venice, this time to save them from Austrian bombs.

In the whole history of Venice there is perhaps no story so full of romance as that of the two brothers of the house of Polo, long famous in the records of Venetian commerce. About the middle of the thirteenth century Niccolo and Matteo Polo were at the head of a large mercantile establishment in Constantinople, presumably a branch of the house in Venice. Constantinople at that time was again threatened with siege and all its attendant horrors, and just when the danger was most imminent we find the two brothers, leaving the business in charge of another brother, setting out for Central Asia, then an unknown region, but one which afforded limitless possibilities of trading in the riches of the East's beautiful carpets, gorgeous stuffs, ivory, furs, spices. The two brothers got as far as Bokhara, and there they remained for three years, unable for some reason to continue their travels or to return. At last, by great good fortune, they contrived to reach the far distant city where abode the great Kublai Khan, "lord of all the Tartars in the world." The great Eastern potentate received the strangers with the utmost courtesy and graciousness, and displayed the deepest interest in all they told him of the manners and customs of their far-off land. But it was their religion which excited the Khan's supreme interest. The Venetians were, of course, Catholics, and the explanation which they gave of their faith so pleased the Tartar ruler that he asked his guests to take a petition from him to the Pope, asking for a hundred missionaries to be sent to preach Christianity to his people, and he particularly specified that these missionaries should be men capable of convincing the Tartars of the truth of what they taught.

In these days of rapid travel it provokes a smile to read that the return journey occupied nearly four years. Many unforeseen obstacles arose to prevent the carrying out of their mission, which ultimately proved a failure. Notwithstanding this, they once more turned their faces towards Kublai Khan's distant city, this time accompanied by Niccolo's son, Marco, a boy of fifteen. From that time for twenty-five years we hear nothing more of these adventurous travelers. The account of their reappearance in Venice reads like a tale from the Arabian Nights. Nothing had been heard of them for nearly twenty-five years, and naturally friends and

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kinsfolk had long ceased to think of them as living. Therefore, when, one day in 1295, three wild-looking men in Tartar dress, with flowing hair and beards, presented themselves at the Casa Polo, claiming to be those kinsmen so long believed to be dead, we cannot wonder that they were regarded as impostors. Then it was that these discredited strangers devised a strange plan by which to convince their relatives of the truth of their story. They invited these relatives to a splendid banquet at which the three appeared in flowing robes of crimson satin, which as soon as their guests were seated they changed for others of crimson damask, ordering the first set to be given to the servants. When the first course was finished, they rose from the table and again changed their dress, this time for crimson velvet, as before giving the cast-off damask robes to the servants. At the end of the dinner they changed once more, putting on plain cloth garments the same as their guests. Naturally enough these strange doing astonished every one. But the great climax was to come. Here we shall let the old historian tell his tale himself: "When the servants had left the hall, Messer Marco, the youngest, rising from the table, went into his room and brought out the three coarse cloth surcoats in which they had come home. And immediately the three began with sharp knives to cut open the seams, and to tear off the lining, upon which there poured forth a great quantity of precious stones, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds and emeralds, which had been sewed into each coat with great care, so that nobody could have suspected that anything was there. For on parting with the great Khan they had changed all the wealth he had bestowed upon them into precious stones, knowing certainly that if they had done otherwise they never could, by so long and difficult a road, have brought their property home in safety. The exhibition of such an extraordinary and infinite treasure of jewels and precious stones which covered the table filled all present with such astonishment that they were dumb and almost beside themselves, and they at once recognized these honored and venerated gentlemen of the Ca' Polo whom at first they had doubted, and received them with the greatest honor and reverence. And when the story was spread abroad in Venice, the entire city, both nobles and people, rushed to the house to embrace them and to make every demonstration of loving kindness and respect that could be imagined. And Messer Matteo, who was the eldest, was created one of the most honored magistrates of the city, and all the youth of Venice resorted to the house to visit Messer Marco. Marco, it would seem, was much given to talk of the Khan's great wealth, which he always counted by millions in gold, for which reason, we are told, the surname was given to him of Marco Millione, which

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may be seen noted in the public books of the republic. And the courtyard of his house from that time to this has been vulgarly called the Corte Millione."

There is a delightful touch of humor in the description of the effect of the jewels upon the relatives, causing them to recognize at once "those honored and venerated gentlemen." But in all ages, in all lands, human nature is the same, and those old Venetians are not the only ones whose views and sentiments have been suddenly changed by the sight of riches.

Some years later, Marco Polo, fighting for the Republic against their powerful rival Genoa, found himself with numerous other Venetians a prisoner in a Genoese dungeon. During the year he spent in captivity he beguiled the time for himself and his fellow-prisoners recounting all the marvels which he had seen during his years of wandering in those far off Eastern lands, around which hung such mystery. Marco never wearied of telling, nor his listeners of hearing, all about Kublai Khan. Among the prisoners there chanced to be one Rusticiano, a native of Pisa, who possessed some skill in writing. While Marco talked, he wrote down what he said in old French.

These sheets of vellum on which were transcribed Marco's travel stories, simple, plain narratives of what he saw and heard with here and there some wondrous legend to enliven them for his hearers, formed a book of travel which even yet is of deepest interest, so true and faithful an account is it of almost the whole of Asia, at that time wholly unknown.

A modern writer says of Marco Polo that "He was the first traveler to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia. . . . The first traveler to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness."

From about the middle of the fifteenth century till towards the close of the sixteenth was the period in which Venice seems to have attained the highest pinnacle of greatness and splendor, even though constantly harried, as the proud Republic ever was, by jealous rivals. The records of that time, and the scenes depicted by the painters present to us a city of palaces glowing with radiant color, a city filled with joyous life and reëchoing from morning until night with laughter and song.

It was also the most brilliant period of Venetian art, the period which that glorious galaxy of painters irradiated their native city with the immortal light of their genius: the Bellini brothers, Giorgione, Tintoretto, Titian, nor must we forget Carpaccio, the place of whose birth and death are alike unknown: names these which shed upon Venice undying lustre.

Meanwhile through all the centuries since Doge Pietro Orseolo

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(II. Santo) began the work of rebuilding, San Marco had been growing year after year more and more perfect in beauty, until at last it stood as it stands to-day, one of the most glorious temples ever raised by pious hands and hearts to the glory of God. Inside and outside this matchless Duomo is a dazzling vision of beauty. Let Ruskin, in words of burning eloquence, picture for us this glorious vision as it first breaks upon the traveler's sight:

" . . . there rises a vision of the earth, and all the great Square seems to have opened from it in a kind of awe that we may see it far away—a multitude of pillars and white domes, clustered into a long, low pyramid of colored light; a treasure heap, it seems, partly of gold, and partly of opal and mother-of-pearl, hallowed beneath into five great vaulted porches, ceiled with fair mosaic, and beset with sculpture of alabaster, clear as amber and delicate as ivory—sculpture fantastic and involved, of palm leaves and lilies, and grapes and pomegranates, and birds clinging and fluttering among the branches, all twined together into an endless network of buds and plumes, and in the midst of it, the solemn forms of angels, sceptred and robed to the feet, and leaning to each other across the gates, their figures indistinct among the gleaming of the golden ground through the leaves beside them, interrupted and dim, like the morning as it faded back among the branches of Eden, when first its gates were angel-guarded long ago. And round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, jasper and porphyry, and deep-green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marbles, that half refuse and half yield to the sunshine, Cleopatra-like 'their bluest veins to kiss'—the shadow, as it steals back from them, revealing line after line of azure undulation, as a receding tide leaves the waved sand; their capitals rich with interwoven tracery, rooted knots of herbage, and drifting leaves of acanthus and vine, and mystical signs, all beginning and ending in the Cross; and above them in the broad archivolts a continuous chain of language and of life—angels, and the signs of heaven, and the labors of men, each in its appointed season upon earth, and above these another range of glittering pinnacles mixed with white arches edged with scarlet flowers—a confusion of delight amidst which the breasts of the Greek horses are seen blazing in their breadth of golden strength, and the St. Mark's Lion, lifted on a blue field covered with stars, until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray, as if the breakers on the Lido shore had been frost-bound before they fell, and the sea nymphs had inlaid them with coral and amethyst . . . the St. Mark's porches are full of doves that nestle among

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the marble foliage and mingle the soft iridescence of their living plumes, changing at every motion, with the tints hardly less lovely that have stood unchanged for seven hundred years."*

And of the interior, what can be said save that it equals in splendor the glorious exterior? The walls are all faced with precious colored marbles, porphyries and alabaster, or glass mosaics on gold ground. The various marbles are placed in broad bands alternating so that one color harmonizes and enhances the effect of the other. The whole of the dome is covered with gold mosaics. The pavement of the church is of red and green porphyry mixed with white marble in wonderful designs, some of peacocks, eagles and lions. We have already mentioned the magnificent altar screen known as the Pala d'oro, which is the chief glory of San Marco. It is formed of microscopic cloisonné enamel pictures of magnificent color and perfection of detail. The enamels are partly translucent, allowing the gold background to shine through the colored enamel. Christ in glory, archangels, angels, saints and prophets mingled with scenes from Our Lord's life form the subjects of these wonderful pictures.

The magnificent palace of the Doges adjoining St. Mark's was begun in the year 1300, and took three centuries to complete. The splendid council chambers are richly decorated, the walls being covered with paintings by the great Venetian painters.

A small bridge, known as the Bridge of Sighs, immortalized by Byron, leads from the Ducal Palace across a narrow canal to the State prison on the opposite side; it was built in 1588.

The glory of Venice has departed, her proud supremacy as Queen of the Adriatic is now but as "a tale that is told." Yet this fairest of cities, matchless even in decay, still fascinates, enthrails the world.

Silent, desolate, Venice seems to sleep on the waters, dreaming of the glories of the far-off olden days. How short a time since her dreams were disturbed ever and anon by the sullen sound of hostile guns which threatened her existence whilst the world trembled with horror and dismay at the thought of her danger. For the world would indeed be the poorer for her loss.

E. LEAHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

*"Stones of Venice."

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Book Reviews

Canon Sheehan's Sermons. 8vo, cloth. Price, net, $3. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"A new book by Canon Sheehan"—how that mere announcement used to fill the Catholic reading world with pleasant anticipation! His pages of polished, elevated thought and genial humor were always sure of an eager welcome; yet, each book, far from satisfying, but whetted the appetite for more. Each new work was warmly received and eagerly devoured.

With the novelist, the essayist and the poet we are already acquainted; in this volume we meet him in a character entirely new —Canon Sheehan the preacher. He was not known especially in this role, particularly in later years.

The modest pastor of Doneraile would be the last to claim the title of orator, yet we all have seen how often the tide of genuine eloquence overflowed his pages, though disguised generally in fictional form.

Yet the writing of those books which so entertain us was not, of itself, a part of his work as a priest. The preparation of his sermons, however, was truly a priestly labor. We may be sure it was nearest to his heart, and that he turned his pen into other channels to preach to greater numbers.

Whatever of sublime expression, of striking imagery, of pregnant forcefulness is found in his other literary work, is also found in his sermons—but in a higher degree. The consciousness of his priesthood was at all times his dominant characteristic, and, because it is as a priest alone that he speaks here, we find an unaffected outpouring of his inmost heart. Here there is no disguise, no digression. This is Canon Sheehan himself.

With all the beauty and literary quality of his sermons, he never strains after effect; from first to last his whole concern is to send home the sacred truth with which he is charged.

The sermons are rather essayic in form, and with a few exceptions could hardly be called practical. They would not fit very well the lips of others, because Canon Sheehan had a distinct personality and style that marked everything that he did. He does not generally use exordiums and perorations, in the strict sense, and he seldom quotes, even the Sacred Scriptures. They are for the most part for special occasions and do not fit the Sundays of the year.

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"Rejoice in the Lord." Happiness in Holiness. A book of reflections and prayers. A unique book of devotion in three parts, filled with the sunshine of happiness in holiness. I. A Book of Reflections (a word of good cheer for each day in the year). II. A Book of Prayer (a complete prayer book for young and old). III. A Little Book of Indulgenced Ejaculations. By Rev. F. X. Lasance. 525 pages, size 5⅞ inches long, 3⅛ inches wide, ½ inch thick. Weight, 6 ounces. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The end of religion is joy—joy here no less than joy hereafter—this is the keynote of this new and unique prayer book. A delightful atmosphere of happiness—the sunshine of happiness in holiness—pervades the book, which unfolds and emphasizes the fact that religion, far from taking the sunshine out of our lives, puts a blessing on our lips and a song in our hearts. Because of the radiant spirit of holy joy with which the author has filled this new book, it will come to be known especially as "The Joyful Prayer Book."

"Rejoice in the Lord" is composed of three parts. The first part is a Book of Reflections. Under the caption, "A Word of Good Cheer for Each Day in the Year" are gathered from the Sacred Scriptures and from the writings of saints and sages, words that help us maintain a spirit of cheerfulness in our vicissitudes, that encourage us to bear our burdens patiently, perform our duties perfectly, to love God, and our neighbor for the love of God. We are shown where true and lasting happiness can alone be found. This part is divided into days. Every day in the year, therefore, has appropriate matter for spiritual reading or reflection.

The second part is a complete prayer book for persons in all states of life, and adequate for all occasions.

The third part is a little book of indulgenced ejaculations and short prayers, grouped under convenient heads easily found for frequent use.

A good book to place in the hands of sick persons, especially chronic invalids or those who are seriously ill. It will drive gloom from the sick room.

Printed in a clear, legible type, in a thin, convenient, oblong pocket size. The bindings are the same high quality of those of Father Lasance's other prayer books.

Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatuum Nova Collectis. Tomus VIII.: Concilii Tridentini Actorum Pars Quinta, complectens acta and preparandum Concilium, et Sessiones anni 1562 a prima (XVII.) ad sextam (XXII.). Collegit, edidit, illustravit Stephanus Ehses. Edidit Societas Goerresiana promovendis inter Germanos Catholicos Literarum Studiis; pp. xi-1024. Friburgi, S. Ludovici: B. Herder.

The eighth volume of this wonderful history treats in the proœmium of conditions in Church and State at the opening of the Council in 1545 and of the vain efforts of the Cardinals who were active in

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the work of preparation to interest civil rulers during the reign of Paul III. When one considers the ambitions and jealousies of the princes of those days, and notes the efforts of each one to to advance the interests of his own country, even to the detriment of the Church sometimes, he should be very tolerant in his reading of history, and very charitable in judging the churchmen of the day. Truly they needed the wisdom of the serpent as well as the gentleness of the dove. They were great men. This is shown especially by the mass of correspondence in this volume, and to quote one instance, in the letter of St. Charles Borromeo. He was a very young man at the time, indeed hardly more than a boy, and yet his correspondence with the leading nuncios of Europe shows a depth of learning and a skill in diplomacy that are marvelous.

We have here a full account of the preparatory work for the final sessions of the Council under Paul IV. Immediately on his election he bended every effort to move the directors of the various commissions to bring things to a final conclusion. This part necessarily includes the correspondence and the "acta" bearing upon the various national agencies most effected by the decrees.

The second part of this volume contains the "acta concilii" of sessions seventeen to twenty-two, held between January and September, 1562, dealing principally with the Index Librarium, the Residence of Bishops and other disciplinary matters, but for the most part with the Holy Eucharist. The treatment of this subject is extremely interesting. The discussion of Communion under one kind or both kinds is lengthy and exhaustive, while the difference of opinion on the question is startling. It is to be noted that parts iii. and iv. of the "acta" are not included in this volume, because the editor was forced to leave Rome at the beginning of the war, and the Roman archives are the richest storehouse of material for the work of the Council at Bologna and under Julius III. at Trent.

These will be supplied in a later volume, and in the meantime the editor has made use of the "acta" published by other approved authors, and he has searched the libraries of Berlin and Munich, and has brought to light valuable documents almost unknown or forgotten.

Again we presume to suggest prompt action on the part of learned men and institutions. The work is literally invaluable, and it will never be repeated.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

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THE CHURCH AND THE ABUSE OF INDULGENCES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

AMONG the almost countless charges directed against the Church during the past 400 years to discredit her mission and to justify the rebellion of the sixteenth century, the allegation that she inaugurated and fostered the practice commonly known in enemy circles as the sale of indulgences, has done good service and contributed much to the propaganda of calumny and misrepresentation. Nor can it be said that its life of usefulness in this direction is waning. On the contrary, one needs only to cast a cursory glance over the denominational literature of the past two or three years to be satisfied that in the midst of a mass of untruth and intellectual rubbish, it stands out to-day as prominently and tenaciously, as vitally and energetically, as it stood in the days when it was launched and sent forth to prop up a bad cause. Some one, actuated more by truth than poetry, has called it an intellectual scare-crow, erected by pride and moral depravity in the arena of history to sentinel the path that leads to Rome and to serve as a warning to the passer-by of the moral disintegration of the old ecclesiastical order.

Be that as it may, the charge that the Church inaugurated and encouraged the practice falls to pieces in the light of history. That indulgences were abused, even to the extent of being put on the market and sold as it were to the highest bidder, is a fact from which by no historical subterfuge we can escape. No one familiar with the period will deny the deep-seated moral deterioration of the mediæval Church. It required no prophet of exceptional foresight

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to see disaster ahead. A continuance of the conditions that prevailed at the beginning of the sixteenth century was clearly impossible. Abuses were great, but they were more than that—they had become in many respects intolerable. Nevertheless, in spite of the moral apostasy that was everywhere rampant, no one who studies the period with an unprejudiced mind will admit that the yawning chasm that was created by Luther and his satellites followed as an inevitable result of that apostasy. Moral corruption, no doubt, played a prominent part, but it merely facilitated the creation. Indulgences were abused, but that abuse was not, as superficial writers would have it, the cause, but only the immediate occasion of the revolt. When men, proud and degenerate, refuse to bring their lives into harmonious relations with the teachings and requirements of the Church, there is no alternative left to their sense of self-justification, but to deny the authority of the Church and attribute their defection not to their own inherent corruption, but rather to what they are pleased to call the hopeless corruption of the Church.

In the following study the aim will be to consider briefly, from notes gahered while working along other lines, the primary agencies and circumstances of the abuses usually connected with indulgences, and incidentally, to point out that the Church, so far from concurring in or regarding the traffic as a legitimate custom, never ceased to combat it through her Bishops and synods and finally suppressed it. In doing so, it is needless to say, only such indulgences will be considered which were granted for almsgiving, that is, those the gaining of which was conditioned by a monetary consideration for a specified object, for these alone furnished sufficient latitude for abuse.

I.

The beginning of the abuse of indulgences must be looked for during the latter half of the Middle Ages. Throughout the first ten centuries of the Church there is no record of a single definitely defined indulgence, either plenary or partial, in the form in which we have them to-day. This does not mean that the indulgence during that period had no existence. Stripped of its accidental features, an indulgence is nothing more nor less than a commutation by competent authority of a more rigorous penitential discipline to one that is less so,[1] and as such the indulgence is as old as the Church, though the form of its concession varied according

[1] Cfr. Albertus Magnus, Com. in 4 Sent. librum, Dist. 20, art. 16. Magistri definiunt relaxationem sic: Relaxatio (indulgentia) est satisfactionis majoris in minorem competens et discreta commutatio.

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as new conditions arose. In II. Cor. xi., 5-10, we have all the essentials of a true indulgence. The identity of the *libellus pacis* of the early martyrs with the granting of a true indulgence is unquestionable and is recognized even by the Protestant theologian, Karl Müller.[2] After the persecutions it became a rule that Bishops could exercise their power in dispensing from a part of the canonical penance, especially towards those who were faithful in the performance of it. The middle of the seventh century saw the origin in Ireland and England of the so-called redemptions,[3] which consisted in the commutation of long and rigorous penances to works of a milder character, especially prayer and almsdeeds. By almsdeeds here is understood the giving of a certain sum of money for a good purpose. At first this commutation was made in individual cases by the priest in the confessional. Later on it became the custom to grant it *generally* by the Bishops outside of sacramental confession. This system finally found its way to the continent and became the universally adopted method of granting indulgences. It prevailed well into the eleventh century, when, owing to changed conditions, it gave way to the practice of granting indulgences in the form in vogue to-day—the Church stating exactly by how many days or years she would abbreviate penitential obligations.[4]

In any treatment of the abuse of indulgences, or for that matter in any treatment of indulgences granted for alms from the close of the eleventh century to the Council of Trent, there are a few facts that must be borne in mind if we would do justice to these spiritual grants, understand their abuse and interpret aright their place and influence in mediæval life. In the first place, man possesses an

[2] Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch. XVI. (1896) 201. Cfr. also Kirsch, "The Communion of Saints in the Ancient Church" (St. Louis, 1911), 96-106.

[3] Muratori (Antiq. ital. III., 358), strange to say, overlooked the fact that for the validity of these redemptions true repentance was a necessary condition. According to him they were nothing more than a material tax, of no value in foro Dei; yet he admits (op. cit. V., 765) eas (redemptiones) invehere necesse fuit, neque enim homines tam diuturnas et graves corporis afflictiones sustinere poterant.

[4] The history of indulgences is still a work of the future. The best account of the subject in English is Lepicier: "Indulgences, Their Origin, Nature and Development," London, 1906. Of very special historical interest are the following articles by the learned Dr. N. Paulus of Munich: "Die Anfänge des Ablasswesens," Hist.-polit. Blätter, CXXXVIII. (1906), 550-64; "Brückenablässe," id. CLI. (1913), 916-31; CLII. (1913), 20-36; "Ablässe für gemeinnützige Zwecke," id. CLIII. (1914), 561-75, 657-73; "Die Ablässe der röm. Kirchen im M-A," id. CLV. (1915), 225-41, 316-26; "Die Ablässe der röm. Kirchen vor Innocenz III.," Hist. Jahrbuch d. Görresgesellschaft, XXVIII. (1907), 1-8; "Der Hauptschädling des Ablasses im M-A," id. XXXV. (1914), 510-42; "Berühmte, doch unechte Ablässe," id. XXXVI. (1915), 481-515; "Der Ablass für die Verstorbenen im M-A," Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theologie, XXIV. (Innsbruck, 1900), 1-36, 249-66; "Die älteste Ablässe für Almosen und Kirchenbesuch," id. XXXIII. (1909), 1-40, 281-319; "Die Ablasslehre der Frühscholastik," id. XXXIV. (1910), 433-72; "Die Anfänge des sogenannten Ablasses von Schuld u. Strafe," id. XXXVI. (1912), 67-96; "Der sogenannte Ablass von Schuld u. Strafe im späteren M-A," XXXVI. (1912), 252-79; "Die Ablässe der Kreuzwegandacht," Theologie u. Glaube (1913); "Die Anfänge des Sterbeablasses," id. (1914).

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almost infinite capacity for abusing good, it matters not whether that good be human or divine. History stands witness how in all ages of Christianity men, impelled by greed, have sullied the beauty of God's works and diverted into desecrating channels the benefits accruing therefrom. For avarice lives and moves in a world of material standards. It recognizes no sacredness. And the avarice which went hand in hand with violence under the feudal system, blushed not to traffic in indulgences as it trafficked in benefices and canonries.

Then again, there were the almost unlimited purposes for which indulgences were granted during that period. This is true especially of those the gaining of which was conditioned by the payment of a certain sum of money for a specified object.[5] Volumes have been written on the unrivaled architecture of the Middle Ages—those stately cathedrals and sanctuaries that stand even to-day as the apogee of artistic genius; yet it is to the liberal grant of indulgences by Popes and Bishops that we owe these monuments of Christian devotion. Churches, monasteries, schools, hospitals and houses of refuge sprang up oftener under the inspiration of such spiritual favors than by any other reward in the gift of man. Was a church or hospital or some other institution of charity to be built or repaired, an indulgence was granted to all who contributed financially towards its construction or restoration.[6] Nor was the Church neglectful of the temporal well-being of her children. By drawing upon her spiritual treasures she promoted works which to-day are regarded as of a purely public and semi-public character —the construction of bridges, public highways and causeways, dams, harbors, fortifications, colonization enterprises, the organization of guilds, the institution of the truce of God and so on. For the ransom of those Christians who had fallen into the hands of infidels and were reduced to the state of slavery, two religious

[5] Purely devotional indulgences were granted on such occasions as the consecration of a church, the observance of vigils, the festivals of saints, the translation of relics, pilgrimages etc. They were granted for the recitation of certain prayers, visiting certain churches, attending sermons of certain preachers, taking up arms against infidels. Innocent III. (Raynaldus, ad an. 1198, N. 38 and Amort, p. I., 156) granted an indulgence of ten days to all who should marry prostitutes, that these might abandon their evil ways and cease to be an occasion of sin.

[6] It may be of interest to note here that indulgences were granted to all who contributed building material—stone, sand, lumber, etc. Often, too, they were granted for hauling the material (Urkundenbuch d. Stadt Strassburg I., No. 171). Again they were granted for personal labor. Usually an indulgence of forty days was granted for a day's work. Bishop Dietrich of Brandenburg granted an indulgence of ten days to those who worked four hours on the afternoons of Sundays and holydays. Workmen gave freely of their labor's best, and if their zeal or the charity of the faithful seemed to spell exhaustion, the doubling of an indulgence was sufficient to revive them. Paulus, Hist.-polit. Blätter CLI., 916-31; CLII., 20-36; CLIII., 561-75, 657-73. Michael, Gesch. d. Volkes V. (Freiburg, 1911) 42sq.

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orders were founded—the Trinitarians and Mercedarians. In order to obtain the necessary funds to carry on their work the Popes provided them with indulgences which they offered to the faithful in exchange for financial aid. Even individual persons, a member or members of whose family had been taken captive and whose means did not suffice to pay the ransom, received from the Popes similar indulgences.[7] Every work or enterprise that contributed to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people was encouraged by the grant of indulgences and the faithful on their part were ever ready to avail themselves of these spiritual opportunities.

To those not conversant with mediæval life and institutions, it will, no doubt, come as a matter of surprise that indulgences should have been so multiplied, and this, too, in favor of works which must be regarded as of a purely temporal nature. But it must be remembered that the Middle Ages were above all else ages of faith—a faith that created ideals and crowned endeavors. Religion was the power underlying action. It colored and transfigured all the phenomena of social fie. Its spirit and aims had so interpenetrated the popular life that the temporal served only when it served the spiritual. These two facts—the amalgamation of spiritual and temporal interests, and the enormous part indulgences played in mediæval life, must above all others be borne in mind in any consideration of indulgences during that period.

The principle that actuated the Church in rewarding the faithful by spiritual favors for their contributions to the temporal needs of society needs no justification. The idea that almsgiving is most acceptable to God, that it liberates from sin and its punishment, is coeval with the recognition of sin, its consequences and divine mercy. It is a work of penance frequently recommended in Holy Scripture. The Fathers of the Church unequivocally inculcate its necessity. The numerous registers of gifts that have come down to us from the early Middle Ages, testify how deeply the faithful of that period were imbued with the idea that by alms and contributions to the erection and repair of churches and monasteries and works of a public or semi-public character, they could the more easily obtain God's favor and pardon. Hence, if the Church has the right to grant indulgences for all kinds of good works performed by the faithful, she has *a fortiori* the right to grant them for pecuniary contributions when these are intended and given for a good purpose. St. Thomas says, for a purely temporal purpose indul-

[7] Mollat, Lettres communes de Jean XXII., T. I. (Paris, 1904), No. 4558, 4559.

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gences cannot be granted, but only in so far as the temporal serves the spiritual.[8]

The institutions in whose favor such grants were made were naturally not a little concerned in their publication beyond immediate localities. Thus, when in 1118 Alphonso I. of Aragon recovered from the Saracens the city of Saragossa, Pope Galesius II., besides granting a plenary indulgence to the Christian soldiers of Spain who should fall in battle against the infidels, granted a partial indulgence, the amount of which he left to the discretion of the Bishops, to all who should by their alms contribute towards the restoration of the church of Saragossa. Petro de Librana, Bishop of Saragossa, at once gave this indulgence the widest possible publication. Not only did he address a letter to the Catholics of the world, but he also sent abroad preachers, among them his archdeacon, Miorrand, to make known to the people the wretched state of his church, to appeal to their generosity by preaching the indulgence and to collect the alms.[9]

This is by no means an isolated instance, nor one out of a few; it is but one out of many thousands. It was *the* method for collecting funds that seems to have gained general acceptance in the early part of the twelfth century, and though it became the object of bitter denunciation in the course of time, it continued to prevail well into the sixteenth century—prevailed, in fact, till it was abolished by the Council of Trent.

Indulgences for alms, that is, for pecuniary contributions to pious undertakings, were granted during the eleventh century, though instances of such grants were undoubtedly rare. The practice, however, of sending out preachers to promulgate such indulgences and to collect the alms, originated in all probability in the beginning of the twelfth century. The earliest known example of this kind is that of the Benedictine Goffrid, of the Abbey of Croyland in Lincolnshire, England. Upon his election as abbot in 1109 he decided to rebuild the monastery which had been destroyed by fire in 1091. To this purpose the Bishops granted to all who should contribute towards the reconstruction the remission of a third of their penance. To make known the indulgence and to collect the

[8] Temporalia ad spiritualia ordinantur; quia propter spiritualia debemus uti temporalibus. Et ideo pro temporalibus simpliciter non potest fieri indulgentia, sed pro temporalibus ordinatis ad spiritualia; sicut est repressio inimicorum ecclesiae, qui pacem ecclesiae pertubant, vel sicut constructio ecclesiarum et pontium et aliarum eleemosynarum largitio. Suppl. q. XXV., art. iii.

[9] Migne, P. L. CLXIII., 508; Mansi, XXI., 169sq; Baronius, ad an. 1118, No. 18, 19.

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alms the abbot sent his monks not only throughout England, Ireland and Scotland, but also to Flanders and France.[10]

This method of collecting funds applied at first only to churches and monasteries; gradually, however, it received a wider application with the rise of the numerous military and hospitaler orders which devoted themselves to various works of charity and to the defense of the Church against the encroachments of the infidels. It is not necessary to wander far into the field of twelfth century literature to learn how numerous were the indulgences granted in the interest of works undertaken by these orders.[11] "The finest result of the religious spirit in the Middle Ages was to produce that disinterested enthusiasm which, as soon as some distress of humanity became flagrant, immediately created societies for help and rendered self-denial popular."[12] Religious associations, too, whose aims and purposes were apparently of a purely temporal nature, were made the recipients of spiritual favors which served as a means of securing funds to carry on their work. For in those days there were no committees of ways and means, no State or municipal budgets on which could be drawn to defray the expenses of extensive public construction. Most prominent among these organizations, were, no doubt the *Fratres pontifices,* or the Bridge-building Brotherhood. Their work represented and was regarded by all a true charity for certain unfortunate people, namely, travelers. Remnants of bridges constructed by this association are to be seen even at this late day in western Europe, especially in southern France. When in 1220 Frederick II. decided to replace the wooden bridge that spanned the river Danube at Donauworth, he took the almsgatherers in his protection and provided them with letters of recommendation, while Bishop Heinrich of Eichstatt granted an indulgence of thirty days to all who should contribute by money or labor.[13]

[10] Mabillon, Annales ord. S. Benedicti V. (Paris, 1713), 538. We leave out of consideration in this study those preachers and almsgatherers who were appointed for and worked in the interests of the crusades. While they, too, were often the cause of grave scandals, yet they do not belong to that class of almsgatherers which we are considering here. In the Papal Bulls, too, we often find a distinction drawn between the preachers of crusades and the "quaestores." The interests of the Orient are more important and more urgent than all local interests. Hence the crusade preacher takes precedence over the "quaestores." Should it happen that both in the course of their work meet, there are Papal documents to show that the former had authority to silence the latter. Cfr. Hist. Jahrb. XXXV., 510sq. We leave out of consideration here also those almsgatherers of the mendicant orders known as Terminarii. These had no indulgence to promulgate.

[11] Ratzinger, Gesch. d. kirchlichen Armenflege (Freiburg, 1884). Lallemand, Histoire de la Charite (Paris, 1906).

[12] Jusserand: "English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages," tr. (London, 1909) 38.

[13] Lefflad, "Regesten der Bischöfe von Eichstätt," II. (Eichstätt, 1874), 2. Michael, op. cit. I., 170-73.

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Those who were entrusted with the mission to preach indulgences and collect the alms were officially known as *quaestores, quaestiarii* or *quaestuarii,* from *quaerere, quaestare, quaestuare,* and were usually provided by the Pope or the Bishops by whom they were sent with letters of authorization, which always stated the nature of the indulgence offered and the purpose for which it was granted. In English literature they are more commonly known as "pardoners"; an appellation not altogether unfamiliar when we recall the amusing portrait that has come down to us in the "Canterbury Tales." Chaucer's description of the

> . . . gentil pardoner
> Of Rouncival . . .
> That streyt was comen from the court of Rome,

whose

> . . . walet lay byforn him in his lappe,
> Bret-ful of pardoun come from Rome al hoot.

who

> . . . in his male hadde a pilwebeer,
> Which that, he seide, was oure lady veyl;
> He seide, he hadde a gobet of the seyl
> That seynt Peter hadde, when that he wente
> Uppon the see, til Jhesu Christ him hente.
> He hadde a croys of latoun ful of stones,
> And in a glas he hadde pigges bones.

to-day seems extraordinary, so much so that we wonder whether he did not in a moment of poetic ecstasy exceed the limits of reality and depict an entity more or less fictitious. Revolting though they may be to our pious orthodoxy, the poet's characterizations are, however, far from overdrawn, and a careful study of the documents relative to the subject shows that they contain not a single trait that may not be verified by synodal decrees and by letters emanating from Papal and episcopal chanceries. These gatherers of alms in exchange for indulgences were not always in the exercise of their profession confined within the territorial limits of a single diocese, nor of several dioceses for that matter; very often such collections were authorized without any specified territorial limitations; sometimes, too, the authorization stated expressly *per ecclesiam occidentalem,* or *per ecclesiam universam.* In this manner large sums of money were collected, and not infrequently by men who possessed little sense of honesty and less of responsibility. But irrespective of territorial extent, the profession of a "quaestor" or "pardoner" was a lucrative one; there was great competition, hence, recourse was often had to methods as sordid and as despicable as they were immoral and shameless. Then, too, the success of the authorized "quaestores" enticed from his lair the

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charlatan, the vagabond and the impostor, who plied the trade with a cunning and a persistency worthy of the *potestates tenebrarum,* and left in their unholy trail nothing but the abominations of unscrupulous traffickers—counterfeit wares.

As was stated above, a proper estimate of the misdeeds of the "quaestores" and the methods employed by them for speculating in the public confidence is best obtained by a careful exploration of the decrees and ordinances issued against them by ecclesiastical authorities. The earliest instrument of this kind of which we have any record is a writing of Innocent III., dated December 9, 1198, and addressed to Archbishop Absalon of Lund, Denmark. The Archbishop while in Rome made complaint against the "quaestores" of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which like other religious associations of the time was allowed an unlimited territory in its quest of alms. The "quaestores," the prelate complained, are illiterate members of the order—lay-Brothers—some of whom, being unable to cover the territory assigned to them, do not hesitate on their own authority to delegate others as helpmates, priests and laymen, among the latter being men of loose life who through bacchanalian revelries and other dishonorable behavior are the cause of great scandal. In reply the Pope commanded that these subordinate "quaestores" who went about the country wearing the livery of the order, as also those who had engaged them, be forbidden to gather any more alms. Those also of the Brothers who, in default of episcopal sanction, had arrogated to themselves all kinds of authority, were to be severely reprimanded.[14]

When we recall that the office of the "quaestor" was to promulgate the indulgence by preaching and to collect the alms, it will, no doubt, be a matter of surprise to those not conversant with mediæval Church history, to learn that the office should have been entrusted to illiterate lay-members of an order, or even to educated laymen, to say nothing of that class of the laity whose intellectual equipment, at least so far as doctrinal values are concerned, did not rise above the level of the *mens vacua.*[15] If not all, certainly the principal heresies of the Middle Ages were anmiated by a spirit of anti-sacerdotalism. Their abolition of the distinction between hierarchy and laity, between clergy and people, was not without its disintegrating influence on the Catholic people, an

[14] Migne, P. L. CCXIV., 425sq. Paulus, op. cit. 514.

[15] The general chapter of the Dominicans in 1234 forbade its members to interfere with the "quaestores" of the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony when these complied with the provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council. From Bonanni, Ordinum religiosorum Catalogus (Romae, 1722), we learn that these "quaestores" too were "laici quidam." The work of Bonanni was inaccessible to me. Cfr. Acta Cap. Gen. Ord. Praed. I. (ed. Reichert, Romae, 1898), 4.

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influence all the more powerful when we recall to what degree preaching had been neglected by the clergy.[16]. There was a tendency in certain quarters to give to the Church a larger degree of democracy, a tendency, it is true, that was encouraged principally by the sects, but which also found within the Church men and women who arrogated to themselves the distinctive rights and privileges of the clergy and made bold to deliver their sermons in public.[17] This does not mean that the official "quaestores" were as a rule of the laity. On the contrary, these formed the exception, and their appointment was usually due to the greed of one higher up. But as every lucrative trade has its shams and imitations, so there was no dearth of almsgatherers who went under false names, carried false papers and who worked for no one but their own interests. The official "quaestores" were as a rule chosen from the clergy; and while many of these regarded the office as sacred and conducted themselves accordingly, many, too, were in it for all they could get out of it, regardless of the morality or immorality of the methods employed. It was, no doubt, because of the odium that had come to be attached to the office that the synod of Paris in 1213, presided over by the Cardinal Legate, Robert de Courcon, strictly forbade the clergy to identify themselves in any way with the work of the "quaestores." Not only that, but should any present themselves at any church within the province they must produce satisfactory episcopal authorization, and not until their reputation was fully established as irreproachable was permission to preach to be granted them.[18] About fifteen years earlier we find among the *Constitutiones synodicae* of Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris from 1196 to 1208, more vigorous measures against them. Among other restrictions they were forbidden to preach or even to make known this mission to the people. This was to be done by the pastor. They were also forbidden to say Mass on relics of saints or on any receptacle containing relics.

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[16] Humbertus de Romanis, O. P. says: Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis, scil. nec sacerdos, nec, archidiaconus, nec episcopus (de eruditione praedicatorum, lib. I., cap. 21).

[17] The abuse was condemned by Innocent III. in 1199 after he had been informed by the Bishop of Metz of the large proportions it had assumed (C. 12. X. de haeret. V. 7). In 1235 Gregory IX. renewed the condemnation (C. 14. X. de haeret. V. 7). In 1210 Innocent III. wrote to the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Morimond in Lothringia: nova quaedam nostris sunt auribus intimata, quod abbatissae moniales proprias benedicunt, ipsarum quoque confessiones in criminibus audiunt, et legentes evangelium praesumunt publice praedicare. Cum igitur id absonum sit pariter et absurdum mandamus, quatenus, ne id de cetero fiat, curetis firmiter inhibere, etc. (C. 10. X. de poenit. V. 38).

[18] Mansi, XXII., 621. Finke, Concilienstudien z. Gesch. des 13 Jahrh. (Münster, 1891), 45.

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Likewise were they forbidden to parade the streets ringing a little bell and exhibiting relics.[19]

Against those "quaestores" who went about under false names, who had recourse in their sermons to every conceivable device a depraved ingenuity could invent to win their hearers and whose conduct was scandalous in the extreme, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed—a decree, by the way, that served as the basis for similar action by numerous provincial and diocesan synods during the entire thirteenth century—that henceforth no one was to be recognized as a "quaestor" who could not present *Apostolicas vel diocesani Episcopi literas veras.* To these, moreover, who could furnish the required credentials, permission to preach was to be denied and their appeal to the people limited to the bare reading of the letters of authorization. In addition, the Council warned these almsgatherers in the most definite terms against scandals. They were not to pass the night at taverns in drunken carousals nor in houses of a questionable character. Warned they were likewise against donning the habit of a religious order, thinking by such deception to draw the people more easily into their iniquitous nets.[20]

In spite, however, of the action taken by councils and synods, the evil, so far from being checked, much less reduced, rather assumed larger proportions, and more drastic measures of procedure were found imperative. The "quaestores" had a right to a certain percentage of the alms collected; and so long as the same right extended also to the clergy in whose parishes the "quaestores" operated, there was little relief in sight until action of some sort had been taken equally against those of the clergy who were in collusion with the malefactors. To check the misdeeds of both more effectually, therefore, than had hitherto been done, the provincial synod of Mainz in 1233 decided that in the future the "quaestores" as such were to be denied every appearance in the church, and those of the clergy who, contrary to this decree, should admit them would incur suspension. Should a Bishop for a good reason permit a collection to be taken in his diocese, those entrusted with the task were under no condition to be permitted in the church. Their mission as well as the contents of their letters of authorization were to be made known to the people by the pastor

[19] Mansi, XXII., 681. Much after the fashion of our modern itinerant nuisances these peddlers of indulgences often paraded the streets ringing a bell. In addition to indulgences they were provided with relics which they exhibited for alms. They stationed themselves in open places where, having attracted a crowd with the aid of the bell, they would with all the stentorian antics of a twentieth century fakir expatiate on the extraordinary quality of their wares.

[20] Mansi, XXII., 1049. In the same chapter (62) the Council drew up a regular form to be used in letters of Papal authorization.

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himself. They were forbidden to celebrate Mass on the relics of saints, or to wander through the streets ringing a bell for purpose of exhibiting relics.[21]

Eleven years later (1244) another council of Mainz (Fritzlar) took up the matter and proceeded against them still more rigorously. "The 'quaestores' claim to be provided with letters of authorization by the Pope and other prelates, and since many of the clergy cannot distinguish between genuine and fabricated documents, the council insists that no almsgatherer be admitted into any parish until his papers have been examined and their validity certified to in writing by the Ordinary of the diocese. Any infringement of this statute by the clergy will be followed *ipso facto* by three years' suspension. Those, however, who undertake to make collections without written episcopal sanction, are to be arrested by the secular authorities and handed over to the episcopal tribunal."[22]

The bitterest excoriation of the unholy tribe and the most drastic action against them during the thirteenth century was, no doubt, that of the provincial synod of Mainz in 1261. Confronted by a situation that had seemingly become intolerable and with a full realization of the gravity of the abuses, the synod enumerates in detail some of the most flagrant excesses to which these itinerant swindlers had carried their nefarious work. "By their monstrous abuse in the pursuit of the *turpis quaestus,*" says the synod, "they have become an object of hatred the world over; human pests whose abominations have made them so abominable that the complaint of every tongue rises up against them; and who, possessing only a modicum of divine faith, would not hate them whose every way is perverse and whose every step is inspired by the devil? Habituated to every evil, they are *fabricatores mendacii et figuli falsitatis,* whose tongues utter naught but lies of their own creation. These wretches often exhibit as sacred relics common bones of men or brutes *(pro reliquiis saepe exponunt ossa profana hominum seu brutorum),* they narrate fantastic tales and seek by means of prevarication, hypocritical tears and gestures, and exaggerated facial contortions to arouse the sympathy of the people in their behalf. *Contra statutum generalis concilii* (Fourth Lateran Council) they offer such a multitude of indulgences that scarcely any one, even of those who know their infamy, is able to resist their appeals. The result is that the Church's power of the Keys is despised and her penitential discipline weakened, for on the plea that their sins have been remitted by indulgences *(asserentes se a peccatis per hujusmodi*

[21] Mansi, XXIII., 1085. Hartzheim, Concilia Germaniae, III., 600. The statutes of this council with an historical introduction are to be found also in Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. d. Oberrheins, III. (1852), 129-42.

[22] Mansi, XXIII., 730. Hartzheim, III., 575. Finke, op. cit. 24-29.

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indulgentias absolutos)[23] few care to perform the penance enjoined by the confessor. Over and above this, there is the illegitimate use these 'quaestores' make of the money thus collected, a use which renders them guilty not so much of the crime of theft as of sacrilege. For, having been collected ostensibly for a religious purpose, they squander it in banquets, in drinking-bouts, in sports and debaucheries. Wherefore," concludes the synod, "these pestiferous people who are corrupting the whole country are forever banished from our province. No one is to receive them and should they show themselves anywhere, let them be arrested and handed over to the episcopal tribunal. Orders, like the Hospitalers of St. Anthony, that are accustomed to take a collection every year, are not to entrust this work to strangers, but it must be done by their own Brothers. The Brothers, moreover, are forbidden personally to present their petition to the people; this must be done by the local pastors, without a sermon and without the ringing of a bell. Should a church within a diocese with the permission of the Bishop desire to take up a collection, the petition together with the indulgences granted are to be sent to the pastors, who will collect the alms and faithfully forward the same to the church. In gathering alms every diocese, too, should limit itself to its own diocesan territory and not extend its operations into the territory of a neighboring diocese."[24]

This declaration of the synod gives us a fairly good idea of some of the practices of those mediæval indulgence preachers of whom we have heard so much and yet so little. We say some, for the synod makes no attempt to enumerate all. Possessing a singular knowledge of the human heart, these preachers knew how to turn to their own account the religiously emotional temperament of the people. Themselves unscrupulous, they knew how to profit by the scruples of others. They fabricated indulgences and credentials, even Papal Bulls, why should they regard their powers less limited in the matter of relics? If Chaucer's pardoner possessed a piece of the sail of Peter's boat, Boccaccio's Fra Cipolla went him one better when he told his hearers: "I will, as an especial favor, show you a very holy and goodly relic, which I myself brought aforetime from the Holy Land beyond seas, and that is one of the Angel Gabriel's feathers, which remained in the Virgin Mary's chamber, when he came to announce to her in Nazareth."[25] The story of

[23] Here is meant the remission of sin "quoad poenam," not "quoad culpam."

[24] Mansi, XXIII., 1102. Hartzheim, III., 612.

[25] "The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio," tr. by John Payne, (London, 1886), II., 280, 287. This work was inaccessible to me. I am quoting from Jusserant, op. cit. 326. On wandering preachers and false relics, cfr. Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire Francaise au moyen-age, (Paris, 1886), 36 sqq.

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the Chaucerian having in a glass "pigges bones," we were perhaps inclined to treat as a poet's jest; the words of the synod, however, leave no doubt that the poet was not so very far from the truth after all.

A provincial council of Scotland restricted the admission of the almsgatherer into the church to once in the course of the year, when his mission was to be explained to the people by the parish priest.[26]

From a decision of the diocesan synod held at Sankt Pöltken in 1284 and presided over by Bishop Gottfried of Passau, we learn that the "quaestores," to carry on their work more systematically, had formed regular associations.[27] These were bodies of organized professionals, mostly clerics—genuine and counterfeit, orthodox and heterodox, often going about in the habit of a religious order, yet members of no order, full of devotion, yet a devotion that was not their own—drawn largely from that species of flotsam and jetsam which the Middle Ages christened *clerici vagi, vagabundi, Goliardi, Eberhardini.* They hired out and worked for a certain percentage of the alms collected. Not unfrequently, too, churches and other institutions that possessed the right to gather alms in exchange for indulgences would for a certain sum of money transfer or sell that right to such an association. The scandalous results of such transactions can easily be imagined. Traces of such organizations we find as early as the first years of the thirteenth cenury. The provincial synod of Paris (1213), for instance, referred to above, forbade collections to be handed over to members of such associations.

In 1287 a synod of Liege ordained: *Decani et presbyteri non emant de quaestuariis futuros proventus seu quaestus faciendos.* The synod then strictly prohibits preaching by the "quaestores" in the church, in the streets or in any other public place. Neither are they to go from house to house to dispose of their indulgences. Infringement of these rules was to be punished with excommunication. Pastors, too, are called upon to warn the faithful against them every Sunday and holyday and to forbid them under pain of excommunication to attend their sermons. The wishes of reputable and duly authorized "quaestores" must be made known to the people by the pastor, but, adds the synod, the pastor is not to retain any portion of the alms collected.[28]

In the same year the synods of Exeter and Milan occupy themselves with the doings of these wandering preachers. Exeter complains that they overstate the number and amount of their indul-

[26] Bellesheim-Blair: "History of the Catholic Church in Scotland," I. (London, 1887), 348. Finke: op. cit. 52.
[27] Mansi, XXIV., 505. Hartzheim, III., 674.
[28] Mansi, XXIV., 937. Hartzheim, III., 719

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gences. In this way they mislead the simple people to spend large sums of money which they (the preachers) then squander in drunkenness and debaucheries. The result is that true and beneficial indulgences are neglected and despised.[29] The synod of Milan, after forbidding them to preach without permission, adopts a novel course to enforce its decision. Any one may take, even forcibly, from the party violating this rule all the money thus collected and retain it for his own use.[30]

The synods thus far referred to constitute but a few of the large number that during the thirteenth century found themselves obliged to deal with an evil that had become a menace to the Church in more respects than one. In every country of Europe the almsgatherers enjoyed the same reputation, and in every country, too, councils and synods raised their voices in condemnation of them and their methods. In addition to those already mentioned, reference might be made to the synods of Rouen (1214),[31] Trier (1227),[32] Tarragona (1239),[33] Beziers (1246),[34] Paris (1248),[35] Strassburg (1252),[36] Bordeaux (1255),[37] Montpellier (1258),[38] Salzburg (1274 and 1291),[39] and Poitiers (1280).[40]

No less denunciatory than the synods are the allusions of leading men. Jacques de Vitry, with the fiery determination so characteristic of him, hurls his disgust in unmeasured terms not only against those worthless creatures who wander about with false relics, who absolve sinners from all penitential obligations, and seek by every crooked means to gain their money, which they then spend in drunkenness and debaucheries, but also against Bishops who provide them with recommendatory letters and against the clergy who, being sharers in their collections, are abettors of their infamous trade. He directs his invectives with no less force against the institutions, especially the hospitals which, in their mad desire to obtain money, have recourse to the most despicable and fraudulent methods. They falsified and forged indulgence-letters and Papal Bulls; they hired and sent out to collect in their name chaplains, who were not only dishonest but whose character too often was

[29] Mansi, XXIV., 828.
[30] Mansi, XXIV., 880.
[31] Mansi, XXII., 901. Finke, op. cit. 45.
[32] Mansi, XXIII., 32. Hartzheim, III., 531.
[33] Mansi, XXIII., 513, Finke, op. cit. 67.
[34] Mansi, XXIII., 693.
[35] Mansi, XXIII., 768.
[36] Urkundenbuch d. Stadt Strassburg I., No. 366.
[37] Mansi, XXIII., 857.
[38] Mansi, XXIII., 992.
[39] Mansi, XXIV., 141, 1077.
[40] Mansi, XXIV., 386.

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a synonym for fraud.[41] These reproaches and lamentations of Jacques de Vitry are by no means the product of conditions that prevailed during the period immediately preceding the so-called reformatory movement; they are the deliberate and irresistible expression by a historian and churchman of abuses as he witnessed them during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and taking them at their face value, they are indicative of the astounding proportions the evil had assumed even at that early date.

To any one only moderately informed in the literature of the thirteenth century, the classic sermons of that great Franciscan preacher, Berthold of Ratisbon, are not altogether unfamiliar. The "sweet Brother Berthold," for so he was often called by the poets and chroniclers of his time, with the enthusiasm and fearlessness of a Savonarola, was unsparing in his denunciations of the "penny-preachers," as he was wont to call those wandering swindlers.[42]

Albertus Magnus, in his commentary on *De muliere forti* (Prov. 31, 10-31) exclaims: "Alas, the times now are such, that with desire they [the people] listen to those preachers of evil, those 'quaestores' who for one penny lyingly exchange an indulgence of one hundred days, who prostitute the office of preaching for their own selfish purposes and for the sake of lucre preach not Christ, but fables and heresies. And they, too, preach everywhere who are utterly illiterate."[43]

No less outspoken is the great canonist, St. Raymond of Pennafort, who, when speaking of these "quaestores," stigmatizes them as disseminators of false doctrines, habitues of banquets and slaves of drunkenness.[44]

Dante, contrasting the preachers of old who faithfully followed the injunction of the Master with those of his time, thus characterizes these false preachers:

> The preacher now provides himself with store
> Of jests and gibes; and, so there be no lack
> Of laughter, while he vents them, his big cowl
> Distends, and he has won the meed he sought:
> Could but the vulgar catch a glimpse the while
> Of that dark bird which nestles in his hood,
> They scarce would wait to hear the blessing said,

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[41] Jacobi de Vitrico libri duo Douay, (1597), 291, 339. Sermones (Antwerpen, 1575), 700. These two works I have not at hand. Cfr. Paulus, op. cit. XXXV., 527.

[42] Goebel, Die Predigten d. Franziskaners Berthold V. Regensburg (Regensburg, 1906). Extracts from his sermons are given by Michael, op. cit. II., 116sq. Linsenmayer, Gesch. d. Predigt in Deutschland (München, 1886), 123sq. Cruel, Gesch. d. deut. Predigt im M-A (Detmold, 1879), 312sq. Paulus, op. cit. 525sq.

[43] The synod of Trier (1227) forbade preaching by sacerdotes illiterati et inexperti. Hartzheim, III., 530.

[44] Summa de poenitentia (Romae, 1603), 498. Cfr. Paulus, op. cit. 523.

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Which now the dotards hold in such esteem,
That every counterfeit, who spreads abroad
The hands of holy promise, finds a throng
Of credulous fools beneath. Saint Anthony
Fattens with this his swine,[45] and others worse
Than swine, who diet at his lazy board,
Paying with unstampt metal[46] for their fare.[47]

From what has been said it is needless to point out that over and above the scandals and mendacities, the unembarrassed hypocrisies and persistent impudence of these "quaestores," there was the havoc they created as disseminators of false doctrines. Many were illiterate, others were insufficiently grounded in the principles of orthodoxy. Then again, there were those who were out and out heretics, who thrust themselves into the office not so much for their own aggrandizement, but to use it as a means of propagating their heretical ideas. With us the Middle Ages are a synonym for the Ages of Faith, and, compared to the heresies of the twentieth, we are inclined to refer to those of the Middle Ages in terms of a negligible quantity; but in every age the Church has had and always will have its full measure of heresies, and the Middle Ages were not without their measure. It was mainly for this reason that synod after synod forbade preaching by the "quaestores." By a Bull of April 9, 1247 *(Ad nostram noveritis)*, Innocent IV. directs the Dominicans of Freiburg to proceed against certain *quæstuarii* who are operating in the Diocese of Constance and who are disseminating erroneous doctrines relative to the Mother of Christ.[48] That similar efforts were made by other Popes during the thirteenth century, is a matter of history. But synodal and Papal decrees have no meaning for impostors, and should one be unfor-

[45] The poet refers here to the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony. That these Brothers often gave occasion for just complaint on the part of the authorities is a matter of history. We may, however, question the justice of the everlasting scorn heaped upon them by the poet in singling them out to the exclusion of others who were no better and in some respects worse, than they. The Order of St. Anthony, by reason of its vocation more so perhaps than any other was firmly anchored in the popular esteem and sympathies of the thirteenth century. What was more natural than that many a swindler parading the country should don the habit of the order and operate in the name of St. Anthony in order the more easily to prey on the confidence of the people? As early as 1210 Innocent III. in a Bull (Grave gerimus) warned the people against just such impostors. In 1223 Honorius III. repeated verbatim the same warning. Similar warnings were issued in 1245 and 1252 by Innocent IV. and in 1297 and 1298 by Boniface VIII. Bulls were also issued for the protection of other orders against similar impositions, though on account of its popularity the evil concerned itself mostly with the Order of St. Anthony. (For references, see Paulus, op. cit. 531 sq.) At any rate, Dante singles out and stigmatizes this order to level a blow—though an indirect one—against his inveterate enemy, Boniface VIII., who in 1297 constituted the Brothers canons regular with the rule of St. Augustine.

[46] Unstampt metal, i. e., false indulgences.

[47] Paradiso (Cary's translation) Canto XXIX., 121-134.

[48] The Bull is published by Finke in "Die Freiburger Dominikaner und der Münsterbau (Freiburg, 1901) 46 sq.

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tunate enough to be incarcerated or burned at the stake by the civil authorities, there were always others to take his place.

II.

Thus far we have laid the evil we are considering chiefly at the door of the "quaestores," the official almsgatherers. There we would prefer to leave it, did not our suspicions impel us, in the interest of truth, to carry our investigations for a moment into other camps. Of all the centuries of the Christian era, the thirteenth was the century of provincial and diocesan synods, at least so far as western Europe is concerned. They were the means adopted by the Fourth Lateran Council and insisted upon by the Popes to bring about a reform in the morals of the times, especially in those of the clergy. A cursory perusal of these synodal decrees leaves no doubt that if there was one point on which the synods as a whole concentrated their energies of reform, it was the check or complete eradication, if possible, of the abuses connected with indulgences. Yet, when we recall that in spite of the numerous restrictive and prohibitive measures the evil, so far from being checked, much less eradicated, rather assumed larger proportions, we cannot wholly divest ourselves of the suspicion that there were other forces at work, forces less patent perhaps, but none the less powerful and real.

Some years ago, an apparently unpretentious little work came to our desk in which is treated with considerable detail one phase of the antecedent history of the Second Council of Lyons (1274).[49] While not dealing professedly with the subject here under consideration, the author, nevertheless, gives a few hints that more than justify our suspicion. When Gregory X. had decided to convene the said Council, he sent letters to the heads of ecclesiastical provinces and religious orders requesting suggestions as to the reforms that ought to be undertaken by the Council and as to remedies best suited to give them effect. One of the parties thus appealed to was Humbertus de Romanis, the former General of the Dominicans. Speaking of the "quaestores" Humbert suggests that the Council adopt drastic measures against them for the following reasons: (1) by their systematic prevarication and immoral lives they bring disgrace and ridicule upon the Church; (2) *by bribing the prelates* they free themselves from all restraint, and thus are permitted to preach to the people whatever best suits their evil purposes; (3) many of the indulgences preached by them are fictitious, the work of their imagination; (4) of the large sums of money collected,

[49] Studien zu den Reformschriften f. d. zweite Lyoner Konzil. Joseph Auer (Freiburg, 1910).

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they turn over only a small portion to the institutions in whose behalf the indulgences are granted. They deceive the people, moreover, with false relics.[50]

Another work written about the same time and, as far as we can judge, for the same purpose as the above, is the *Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae.* It was published for the first time by Dr. Döllinger.[51] Its authorship is a matter of uncertainty. Döllinger is inclined to attribute it to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Canterbury, while more recent historians regard the author as a member of the Franciscan Order. At any rate, the work is all that its title implies and almost creates in us the impression that Bernard of Cluny had returned to life long enough to give vent anew to his bitter denunciations, choosing this time, however, a form less graceful and a Latinity less elegant. The principal faults of the prelates, says the author, are four: *defectus vitae, scientiae, doctrinae, diligentiae.* They are not *discipuli Christi sed Neronis.* They are incompetent to perform the duties of their office. They cannot preach nor hear confessions, and they aggravate this work for those who are competent by hiring "quaestores," who too often make use of such opportunities to deceive the people and to enrich themselves.

They (the prelates) are *amici luporum et inimici canum.* They are remarkable physicians; for every ailment they have the same prescription; every moral shortcoming, every sin is punished with the imposition of a pecuniary amercement. "I lie," says the author, "if the Bishops do not regularly grant to the 'quaestores' letters authorizing them to preach, letters sealed with their own seals, for which they (the Bishops) receive an exorbitant price."[52]

In each of these documents we have a distinct, yet in significance substantially identical reference to the matter in hand. Not only do both anchor upon the almsgatherers a stigma of infamy with which we are familiar, but in the same breath they introduce us to forces and influences that made such infamy possible. They reveal a definite scheme of reciprocal action, a deliberate systematized plan of co-operation between *certain Bishops* and a certain class of almsgatherers to enrich themselves by means and methods the morality or immorality of which were their least concern. The Bishops were bribed. For a monetary consideration they would issue authenticated letters authorizing the recipient to preach and to collect alms in exchange for indulgences without inquiring into his character or the character of his wares. That under such protection the business

[50] Mansi, XXIV., 131.

[51] Beiträge z. polit., kirchl. u. Culturgeschichte d. 6 letzten Jahrhunderte III. (Wien, 1882), 180-200. Auer, op. cit., 21-56.

[52] Mentior, nisi quaestuariis passim conferant episcopi literas praedicandi sigillis propriis sigillatis, multum excessivo precio comparatas.

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of the "quaestores" thrived, need hardly be said. The action of Popes and synods offered little hindrance to them so long as there were Bishops who were prepared to barter moral integrity for the *turpis quaestus* and flout every principle that was not dictated by greed.

It will perhaps be suggested that our characterizations of the *prelati* are extravagant and not warranted by the witnesses on whose utterances we seek to establish them. We are all familiar with the rule laid down for historian and reader alike, applicable indeed to all times, but to none more so than the Middle Ages, "the more pious the chronicler the blacker his colors." It is a rule that is too often disregarded by our separated brethren when they deal with what they are wont to call the "Dark Ages," with the result that facts are distorted and actions are misrepresented to the disadvantage of history. Who knows but what the complaints of the witnesses cited above are the expression of deeply sensitive and pious natures, inclined to look upon the times in which their lot was cast through highly colored and pessimistic spectacles? Then, too, anonymity should put us on our guard against taking statements at their face value until their reliability has been tested and their endorsement placed beyond question.

Be this as it may, fully developed and wide-spread abuses do not spring into existence over night. Their roots usually lie deeply buried somewhere in the past. That certain almsgatherers offered bribes and that certain Bishops should so far forget their character and calling as to accept them, ought not surprise us. Nor was it the only method to which recourse was had by them to force indulgences into the service of avarice. Against the excessive indulgences indiscreetly granted by certain Bishops, the Fathers of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) decreed that at the dedication of a church the indulgence granted shall not exceed one year, whether the ceremony be performed by one Bishop or more, and for the anniversary of the dedication or for any other cause, it shall not exceed forty days, this being the rule observed by the Pope himself on such occasions; yet, not so long after this rule was made we know it was violated, and it continued to be violated till the Council of Trent.

In his constitution, "Romana Ecclesia," of March 17, 1246, Innocent IV. takes occasion among other things to settle a long standing dispute between the Archbishop of Reims and and his suffragans.[58] From a writing of Honorius III. we learn that as early as 1223 the Bishop of Laon had complained in Rome of the excessive demands made upon him by the Metropolitan of Reims. To enable him to

[58] For the following data relative to the abuse of indulgences by the Bishops, except where the references are given, I am indebted to N. Paulus, Hist. Jahrb. XXXV., 517-20, where the literature will be found.

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carry on the construction of his cathedral, begun some twenty years earlier, the Archbishop with his chapter decided to take up a collection throughout the archdiocesan territory. He granted an indulgence of one year to all who should by pecuniary contributions assist in the work. Of the Bishop of Laon he demanded—a demand which we are quite safe in saying was extended also to the other suffragans —not only that he publish the indulgences throughout his diocese, but also that in every parish the clergy and people meet in public procession the "quaestores" sent out by Reims, and furthermore, that the day of their arrival be regarded as a holyday, with abstention from all work and attendance at divine services. What reply the Bishop of Laon received from Honorius III. is not known. The dispute, at any rate, continued till 1246, when Innocent IV. decided that the Archbishop is under no condition justified to authorize his "quaestores" to insist that the subjects of the suffragan Bishops meet them in public procession and that the day of their arrival be declared a holyday. At most he may appeal to them through their Bishops to extend to them a friendly and cordial reception. The Pope also reminded him that in granting an indulgence of one year he had overstepped the limit of forty days decreed by the Fourth Lateran Council.

At first sight these demands of the Archbishop appear innocent enough when contrasted with other methods then in vogue. A little reflection, however, cannot help but force upon us the suspicion that notwithstanding harmless appearances, there is behind and beneath those demands a well-defined plan of action and that the method is not without its measure of madness. That the suffragan Bishops with their clergy and people were uncompromisingly opposed to such demands is well known. Hence, recourse must be had to means that will successfully break such opposition and force compliance with the wishes of Reims. What the Archbishop really wished to introduce and enforce throughout his metropolitan district was that his "quaestores" should threaten and if need be visit with ecclesiastical censures such persons and such localities as refused to comply with his demands. Nor must he be regarded the originator of this scheme. What the Archbishop of Reims tried to do had already been often done by other Bishops in their dioceses. When in 1237 Bishop Hermann of Würzburg decided to take up a collection in his diocese for the construction of his cathedral, he directed his clergy to warn the faithful that they must attend the sermons of the "quaestores" sent out by him and avail themselves of the indulgences granted by contributing to the collection or incur the penalty of excommunication. Though not expressed in so many words, the same alternative is implied in an indulgence-letter published in 1240 by the Bishop of

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Metz in the interest of his cathedral and addressed to all the faithful of the diocese. In it we read that in every parish the clergy and people, preceded by the cross-bearer, censer and holy water, are to meet in solemn procession the relics which the "quaestores" from Metz bring with them, and this procession is to be repeated on the day of their departure. Moreover, all work shall be suspended as on Sunday till the "quaestores" have finished their business.[54] Instructions similar in content, embodying the same alternative of submission to unreasonable and unjust demands or the incurring of excommunication, were issued in 1243 by Konrad of Hostaden, Archbishop of Cologne, to his clergy in the interest of the Church of St. Mary in Trier; in 1267 by Archbishop Johann of Prague for his cathedral; in 1278 by Bishop Bertold of Würzburg in favor of the Knights of St. John of Mergentheim;[55] in 1290 by Bishop Konrad of Verden in favor of the Brothers of St. Anthony; in 1299 by Bishop Otto of Paderborn; by Bishop Heinrich of Breslau (1301-19); by Archbishop Matthias of Mainz for the Brothers of St. Anthony in 1322. Walsingham has left us a record of his disgust with the conduct of a certain Cardinal who sojourned in England to negotiate a marriage between Richard II. and the daughter of emperor, Charles IV. Adopting the methods of the "quaestores," this prelate, for a pecuniary consideration, absolved from excommunication; he dispensed from pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to the tombs of the Apostles, demanding, however, as the price of his dispensations the money that would have been spent on a journey to those places.[56] That the Papal Legate, Bartholomaeus de Camerino, during his sojourn in Sweden (1484-85) sold indulgences was pointed out some years ago by J. Collijn in his publication of a hitherto unknown indulgence-letter.[57]

Instances as these leave no doubt that the efforts of the synods to remedy the evil were but too often counteracted by the bad example from high quarters, an example, however, so far as the thirteenth century is concerned, that must not be exaggerated or overestimated. For while it is true that not a few of the prelates had

[54] In adventu autem reliquiarum . . . pariterque recessu, per singula loca ad que devenerint, pulsatis campanis, convocato clero et omni populo, cum cruce et thuribulo et aqua benedicta precedente, cum omni sollemnitate debita processionaliter eis occurratis, et dies illa ab opere servili, sicut dies dominica, ab omnibus celebris et festiva habeatur, quousque predictum negotium plenius fuerit adimpletum.

[55] Mandamus, quatenus omnes parrochiales vestros annos discretionis habentes diligenter moneatis et sub poena excommunicationis ipsis precipiatis . . . ut ad ecclesias vestras omnes sine mora conveniant ad diem, horam et locum quem vobis lator presentium duxerit assignandum, nuntios fratrum domus hospitalis Ierosolimitani in Mergentheim super suo negotio audituri. Item precipimus, ut . . . ab omni opere servili . . . vacare studeant universi, donec missa fuerit celebrata.

[56] "Historia Anglicana," Rolls Series, I., 452.

[57] Kyrhohistorisk Arsskrift, (1902), 123-29.

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identified themselves with the promoters of an abuse that had been anathematized over and over again, their number was comparatively small in proportion to those who sought to remedy it by individual and concerted action. Moreover, if the almsgatherers could attribute the invention of not a few of their devices to swindle the people to the ingenuity of certain prelates, these latter in turn could believe themselves all the more justified in adopting the methods referred to because they had often been used by the Popes. The financial difficulties from which the Popes suffered in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though by no means comparable to the same difficulties which they experienced during their sojourn on French soil, constituted a long and in some respects an unpleasant chapter in the history of the Papacy. The long and bitter conflict between the Papacy, and the empire which began in the eleventh century, reached its climax in the thirteenth and terminated in the fall of the Hohenstaufens, was not without its disastrous effects upon the Papal treasury. By no means subordinated to the struggle at home was the anxiety of the Popes to liberate Jerusalem and the holy places from the control of the Mohammedans. It was the age of the crusades. But the preaching of the crusade in the thirteenth century met with considerable opposition. The movement was no longer the enthusiastic *Deus lo volt* of 1095. The temporal princes, besides being loath to lose their jurisdiction of those of their subjects who took part in the crusades, were too much absorbed in their own petty territorial disputes to risk the dispatch of their military forces to a distant land. The enthusiasm of the people, too, had waned. It is true, the old traditions that had inspired and made possible the crusades still lingered in the breasts of many, but times had changed. The altered conditions of civilized life had contributed powerfully to the general well-being and prosperity of all classes of society in western Europe, and the consequent habits of luxury and pleasure-seeking were ill adapted to keep alive an ardor and an earnestness in the affairs of the Orient. It was under such circumstances that some Popes authorized the crusade preachers, at least certain ones, to proclaim holydays in the parishes which they visited and to force the faithful, if need be with ecclesiastical censures, to attend their sermons. Whatever might have been the justification for such extreme coercive measures in the minds of those who authorized them, history has not failed to record the deep dissatisfaction and antagonistic feeling that they created in the clergy and laity. They complained of the large number of holydays (multitudinem festorum), of the unyielding dictatorial policy and arrogant pretensions of the preachers, of unwarranted interference in parochial affairs, and above all, there was their unconcealed disgust for a

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method which from the religious viewpoint lacked every redeeming feature. To aggravate the evil, not unfrequently ordinary "quaestores" adopted this method. Not only would they demand of the pastor free lodging and a generous hospitality, but by their own authority they sought to compel the people to attend their sermons under penalty of excommunication.[58]

Ecclesiastical authorities continued to combat the evil. The first quarter of the fourteenth century witnessed a long array of provincial and diocesan synods which occupied themselves with the doings of the "quaestores."[59] In the main their methods of procedure against them was but a repetition of those of earlier synods. In 1301 the synod of Mainz, for many and good reasons *(propter multas rationabiles causas),* recalled the letters of authorization that had been issued to the almsgatherers to have them carefully examined by the metropolitan court before their issuance would be renewed.[60] About the same time the synod of Cambrai ruled that the collection was to be taken up by the local pastors and not by the "quaestores," emphasizing the fact, however, that the pastors are not to retain a certain percentage of the collection.[61] A synod of Cologne in 1300 required the pastors to give the faithful frequent warning regarding these wandering preachers and to have those arrested who could not produce genuine credentials.[62] The convocation of the Council of Vienne (1311-12) had for one of its purposes the reformation of morals. Speaking of the "quaestores" the Council gives a list of abuses to which they resorted to deceive the simple people in order to obtain their money, to the great detriment of souls and to the scandal of many.[63] "By their own authority do they grant indulgences to the people; they dispense from vows, absolve those who confess to them from perjury, murder and other sins; they absolve penitents from the restitution of ill-gotten goods, remit a third or fourth part of the sacramental penance; for money they will liberate from purgatory three or more souls of the donor's friends or relatives and lead them into the joys of paradise; the benefactors of those institutions in whose interests they profess to be working they grant a plenary indulgence, and there are not wanting those who go so far as to make the indulgence an instrument of absolution from punishment and from guilt *(a poena et a*

[58] Hist. Jahrb. XXXV., 521 sq.
[59] Op. cit., 530-36.
[60] Hartzheim, IV., 96.
[61] Martene, Collectio amplissima VII., 1331.
[62] Hartzheim, IV., 41.
[63] Clem. c. 2. de poen. et rem. V., 9).

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culpa)."[64] After recommending that the almsgatherers be deprived of all those privileges that are likely to lead to abuse, the Council insists that the Bishops proceed vigorously against those who continue to transgress conciliar and synodal statutes.[65]

A provincial synod of Dublin in 1348 strictly forbade the recognition of "quaestores" who could not present genuine and properly authenticated letters. Pastors who knowingly violated this statute *ipso facto* incurred suspension for one year and the "quaestores" themselves incurred excommunication. If the latter persisted during forty days to disregard the prohibition, they were to be arrested and incarcerated till their case had been disposed of by the Ordinary of the diocese.[66]

In 1303 Bishop Friedrich of Strassburg warned his clergy against swindlers *(falsarii)*, who, under the protection of forged letters of authorization, operated in his diocese in the interests of the cathedral of Strassburg.[67] Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1378 found himself similarly compelled to take action against "quaestores" who went about the diocese provided with false credentials, exchanging for money false indulgences and preaching erroneous doctrines.[68] The University of Oxford, giving its opinion of the almsgatherers in 1414, did not exaggerate when it declared: "The shameless "quaestores" acquire *turpissimos suos quaestus ad firman* with Simon Magus, they sell indulgences with Gyges and they squander the money thus obtained with the prodigal son; still more detestable is the fact that not being constituted in sacred orders, they preach publicly, pretend that they possess the power to absolve *a poena et a culpa* both the living and the dead; they promise the

[64] It was a common practice during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in granting plenary and at times too partial indulgences to designate them in the indulgences-formulæ and indulgence-letters simply as a remission of sin, understanding thereby a remissio peccatorum quoad poenam but not quoad culpam. In this sense and in no other has the expression always been understood in the Church. It was only when the term fell into the hands of illiterate and perverted preachers that it was misunderstood and then at times deliberately so to serve the purposes of greed. It may be added that the expression is used in our own day. Pius X. in his Encyclical Magni faustique of March 8, 1913, announcing the Universal Jubilee Indulgence to commemorate the liberty guaranteed to the Church by Constantine the Great, granted a plenary indulgence of all sins (plenissimam omnium peccatorum Indulgentiam ad instar Jubilaei generalis concedimus. (See Am. Eccl. Review, XLVIII., 592.) On this subject cfr. N. Paulus in Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theologie XXXVI., (1912), 67-96, 252-279, and in Hist.-polit. Blätter CLXVII. (1921), 17-25, 81-93.

[65] The Acts of this council have been lost, with the exception of a fragment which was discovered by Father Ehrle, S. J., in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris and published by him in Archive f. Literatur u. Kirchengesch. des M-A. IV., 361-470. The council closed with the third formal session. Whether it enacted a decree in reference to the "quaestores" is not known; at any rate, it is doubtful. On the manner in which this decree with a number of others found their way into the Clementines, "Corpus Juris Canonici," cfr. Ehrle op. cit., IV., 439-70.

[66] Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Brittaniae et Hiberniae (1737), II., 750.

[67] Urkundenbuch d. Stadt Strassburg II., No. 242.

[68] Wilkins, op. cit., III., 131.

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people the remission of future sins, by a variety of blasphemies rob and mislead them, and draw them to hell with them. The abuses of such pestiferous sects should be removed from the Church."[69]

No less energetic than the Bishops and synods were the Popes in combatting the dishonest indulgence-preachers and almsgatherers. Again and again John XXII. proceeded against them in more ways than one. When he learned that the Brothers of a certain religious order were abusing their credentials as almsgatherers, he had all who found themselves in France arrested on the same day, November 1, 1330. In the same year he himself excommunicated certain swindling collectors who posed as members of the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony. When in 1326 he was informed that dishonest "quaestores" were operating in Norway and Sweden, he dispatched to those countries two Nuncios with instructions to eradicate the evil with the aid of the Scandinavian Bishops.[70]

In 1369 Urban V. issued his Bull *Nuper dilectis* against the Hospitaler Brothers of St. John of Jerusalem in England, who, he had heard, *in pluribus contra juris et rationis metas impudenter excedunt.* They claim to have received certain privileges which dispensed them from exhibiting letters of authorization and hence were not bound to exhibit any in order to be allowed to preach and to make known their mission to the people. Moreover, says the Pope, very often these "quaestores," when they set about to injure a pastor, go to his church on some feast-day, especially at a time when the faithful are wont to come and make their offerings. Then they begin to make their collections or to announce the name of their organization, and continue until such an hour as to make the convenient celebration of Mass on that day impossible. Thus they deprive the pastors of the offerings which accrue to them at such Masses. They hold, moreover, divine services in interdicted or polluted places and there, too, bury the dead.[71]

Boniface IX. in a Bull issued against the "quaestores" in 1390, speaks of certain religious of different mendicant orders and of some *clerici saeculares etiam in dignitatibus constituti* who roam through the country claiming that they have been sent out by us or by the Legates or Nuncios of the Apostolic See to collect money for us and for the Roman Church. They abuse their genuine credentials and invent false ones. For a small sum of money they throw the veil of a lying absolution over hardened sinners who have no thought of abandoning their iniquity, absolving, to use their own words, from the most atrocious crimes without any contrition on

[69] Wilkins, III., 365.
[70] Hist. Jahrb. XXXV., 536.
[71] Wilkins, III., 84.

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the part of the penitent nor the fulfillment of any of the prescribed forms. They absolve from the vows of chastity, or abstinence, of pilgrimage to the tombs of the Apostles. For money they receive heretics into the Church without requiring a formal abjuration of their errors; they allow illegitimate children to receive orders and to be promoted to benefices; they dispense from impediments within prohibited degrees, take off excommunication, interdict and other censures; they proclaim that they are collecting this money in the name of the apostolic chamber, and yet they never give an account of it to any one. The Pope commands the Bishops to inquire into the doings of these religious and secular priests, their accomplices and associations, make them render an account, confiscate their receipts and imprison them *de plano, ac sine strepitu et figura judicii.*[72]

Enough has been said to give the reader an idea of the agencies, the circumstances and nature of the abuses associated with indulgences. The same abuses and the same complaints known and heard from the end of the twelfth century continued uninterruptedly into the sixteenth. The Council of Trent in its fifth session, June 17, 1546 (De reform. c. 2) contented itself with merely prohibiting the "quaestores" to preach; in its twenty-first session, however, July 16, 1562 (De reform. c. 9) it once for all laid the axe to the root of the evil by abolishing the office of "quaestor," thus removing an institution which from its inception had been but too often a curse and a scandal. From what has been said, it is apparent, too, that during those centuries of abuse there was no lack of sincere effort, individual and concerted, to put an end to the evil. If that effort proved ineffective, the failure must be attributed not to any one cause, but rather to a series or combination of causes. In the first place, had the Bishops and clergy co-operated and formed a solid and unflinching phalanx against that army of evil-doers, or had the Bishops alone taken a determined stand and thrown the weight of their united power against the many-headed monster, history would have been spared the disagreeable task of recording actions and situations whose only redeeming feature seems to be that they furnish a subsidiary argument in favor of the Church's divinity. But selfish interests prevailed. As we have seen, the collections taken up by almsgatherers in exchange for indulgences, it mattered not whether their methods were honest or dishonest, not unfrequently constituted a source of revenue for the Bishops and pastors in whose districts the money was collected. It is true, the Popes had on more than one occasion prohibited the retention by Bishops and pastors of a certain percentage of such collections, in practice, how-

[72] Raynaldus ad an., 1390, N. 2.

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ever, the prohibition remained a dead letter. Bishops, too, had forbidden their clergy to lay a tax upon the almsgatherers, yet in practice, too often, these very Bishops showed an utter disregard for the Papal injunction.

Another cause of failure was the multiplicity of indulgences granted for alms. When we recall that there was scarcely any useful purpose for which they were not granted, it does not require a long stretch of the imagination to picture to ourselves a country overrun by preachers, beggars and peddlers whose one aim was to get rid of their wares at any cost, and if people did not always have pieces of money, to use the language of Chaucer's pardoner, "silver spones, broches, or rynges" were always acceptable. To restrict the number of collections, the Popes from the time of Gregory IX. in issuing indulgence-letters frequently inserted a clause which forbade the letter to be handed over to or used by the "quaestores" as a means of collecting money, and to insure against its violation they made its observance a condition of the validity of the indulgence. This method was often adopted by the Bishops, and while it contributed not a little towards the reduction of the number of such collections, the frequency, nevertheless, with which such letters were granted to churches, institutions and religious associations with expressed permission to be used by "quaestores," was not likely to bring about a noticeably corresponding check of the abuse.

A third factor, and one that contributed perhaps more than any other to the failure of reform measures, was the appointment to the office of "quaestor" or men whose character and habits were at variance with the honest and upright execution of the task with which they were entrusted. It goes without saying, had always men of irreproachable character been appointed to the office of "quaestor," or had those been ejected from the office who proved themselves dishonest or unfit, the evil would have been, if not completely eradicated, at least reduced to a negligible extent. The interest, however, which ecclesiastical authorities too often had in such collections conflicted with such a course, and when all is said, view the question from whatever angle we will, while a large amount of blame must be charged up to the "quaestores," not a small measure of responsibility for the evil must be laid upon the shoulders of the authorities.

The desire for money and for power is as old as the human heart, and given the opportunity, unless checked by motives and principles stronger and nobler than those that are its inspiration, it will manifest itself, and regardless of the honesty or dishonesty of methods, seek to attain its end. If Bishops and clergy abused indulgences, their number was small when compared to the number of those who

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stood firm against that abuse. If almsgatherers took advantage of a discredited method, the number of those who shunned it was far in excess. And as for impostors, we have them in our own day and in our own country, many of them, and their business often is a thriving one in spite of the boasted efficiency of our police forces. For a few pieces of silver the Son of God was betrayed into the hands of His executioners. But that fact constitutes no reflecion on His character, nor has it ever been used even by His worst enemies to discredit His mission. There is no institution, however holy, that has entirely escaped the malice of men. As long as men are human there will be abuses. And while the abuse of indulgences during the later Middle Ages was undeniably great—at times intolerable—the Church, so far from encouraging the traffic, never ceased to combat the evil through her Popes, Bishops and synods.

Somerset, Ohio. H. J. SCHROEDER, O. P.

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COMETS AS PORTENTS.

EVERY time a comet is scheduled to appear in the heavens, the newspapers devote column after column to the discussion of popular fears and superstitions concerning the possible effect of the heavenly wanderer upon our own planet. The approach of Reid's Comet during the month of May and of Winnecke's Comet during the month of June proved to be no exception to the rule, but as Sir John Herschel once remarked:

> No one, hitherto, has been able to assign any single point in which we should be a bit better or worse off, materially speaking, if there were no such thing as a comet. Persons, even thinking persons, have busied themselves with conjectures; such as that they may serve for fuel for the sun (into which, however, they never fall), or that they may cause warm summers, which is a mere fancy, or that they may give rise to epidemics, or potato-blights, and so forth.

And though, as he justly says, "this is all wild talking," yet it will probably continue until astronomers have been able to master the problems respecting comets which hitherto have in great measure foiled their best efforts.

From time immemorial deep-seated in the minds of all mortals in all ages has been the idea that comets should be feared as stars of ill-omen; that they never appear but as

> the threatening eyes of divine vengeance or the flashing tongue of an enraged deity, to portend with dread surety death, plague, famine, earthquake or terrific storms; and that although there may have been a few exceptions when they have seemed favorable to some one, yet these same comets have been equally inauspicious and unlucky for another.

Ancient writers always depicted them under the most terrifying and mysterious images. They were javelins, sabres, swords of fire, horses' manes, dragons' mouths, bleeding crosses, flaming daggers or decapitated heads with hair and bristling beard. They shone with the red light of blood, yellow or livid, like that of which the historian Josephus speaks, which showed itself during the terrible siege of Jerusalem. Pliny found in this same comet "a whiteness so brilliant that one could hardly look at it; men saw there the image of God under a human form."

Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic School, states[1] that the fact that comets are composed of fire is a reason why many of them are signs of windstorms and droughts. And Seneca likewise thinks

1 "Meteorologica." Bk. I., ch. 7.

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that comets are natural signs as well as causes of storms, although he thinks they are stars; for he says:[2]

> Aristotle says that comets are signs of bad weather and wind and rain storms. Why then do you not consider it a star, even though it does announce the future? For this is not a sign of bad weather in the same manner as
>
> "That oil doth shine and soft mushrooms grow hard"
>
> is of future rain, or as it is a sign that the sea will become angry if
>
> "The sea coots sport on land, the heron quits
> Its accustomed marsh, and o'er the high cloud flits"—
>
> but as the equinox is of a year turning hot and cold, as those reasons which the Chaldean astrologers give why a star determines something sad or joyful for men at their birth.

In old times, when the appearance and movements of comets were supposed to be altogether uncontrolled by physical laws, it was natural that comets should be regarded as signs from heaven, tokens of Divine Providence in favor of others. As Seneca sagely remarked:

> There is no man so dull, so obtuse, so turned to earthly things, who does not direct all the powers of his mind toward things divine when some novel phenomenon appears in the heavens. While all follows its usual course up yonder, familiarity robs the spectacle of its grandeur. For so is man made. However wonderful may be what he sees day after day, he looks on it with indifference; while matters of very little importance attract and interest him if they depart from the accustomed order. The host of heavenly constellations beneath the vault of heaven, whose beauty they adorn, attract no attention; but if any unusual appearance be noticed among them, at once all eyes are turned heavenwards. The sun is only looked on with interest when he is undergoing an eclipse. Men observe the moon only under like conditions. . . . So thoroughly is it a part of our nature to admire the new rather than the great. The same is true of comets. When one of these fiery bodies of unusual form appears, every one is eager to know what it means; men forget other objects to inquire about the new arrival; they know not whether to wonder or tremble; for many spread fear on all sides, drawing from the phenomenon most grave prognostics.

Although there is no direct reference to comets in the Bible, either in the Old Testament or the New, yet it is quite possible that some of the signs from heaven recorded in the Bible were such. As, for instance, in Genesis[3], after God had promised seed to Abraham, "and when the sun was set, there arose a dark mist, and there appeared a smoking furnace and a lamp of fire passing between those divisions."

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[2] "Natural Questions," Bk. VII., ch. 28.
[3] Ch. xv., 17.

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According to some writers, both of theology and matters scientific, the star which guided the Wise Men from the East may have been a comet, since the word used signifies any bright object in the heavens. Such is the opinion of St. John Damascene, as expressed in his article on comets,[4] where he claims

> Comets often rise up overhead, portending the death of kings; but these are not among the number of those stars which were produced in the creation of things, but after that very time are enkindled and afterwards caused to disappear. Because not even that star which appeared to the Magi at the time when the Lord for our sake in His mercy towards men and for their salvation was born in the flesh, was one of those stars which were created in the beginning of the world. And this is made clear by the fact that it advanced now from the East to the West, and now from the North to the South; now disappeared, now again appeared; which indeed is different from the order and nature of stars.

And it is to this same "heavenly intruder" that the Sibylline Oracle referred when she prophesied the fall of Rome and the birth of the promised Messiah:

> The stars shall all fall forward in the sea,
> All one by one, yet shall men see in heaven
> A brilliant comet, sign of much distress
> About to come, of war and battle-strife.[5]

Three hundred and seventy-one years before the Christian era, a comet appeared which Aristotle (who was a boy at the time) has recorded. In the day-book of Diodorus Siculus it is so entered:

> In the first year of the 102d Olympiad, Alcisthenes being Archon of Athens, several prodigies announced the approaching humiliation of the Lacedæmonians; a blazing torch of extraordinary size, which was compared to a flaming beam, was seen during several nights.

The comet was regarded by Ephorus as having not merely presaged but produced the earthquakes which caused the towns of Helice and Bura to be submerged. This was clearly in the mind of Seneca when he said that as soon as it appeared it brought about the submergence of these two towns.

In those times, however, comets were not regarded solely as signs of disaster. As the misfortunes of one nation were commonly held to be of advantage to other nations, so the same comet might be regarded very differently by different peoples or different rulers. Thus the comet of the year 344 B. C. was regarded by Timoleon of Corinth as presaging the success of his expedition against the Sicilians. "The gods announced," says Diodorus Siculus, "by a remarkable portent, his success and future greatness; a blazing torch ap-

[4] "Orthodox Faith," Bk. II., ch. 7.
[5] Bk. VIII., lines 190-193.

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peared in the heavens at night, and went before the fleet of Timoleon until he arrived in Sicily." And Plutarch expresses the same opinion in his life of Timoleon:

> And now, with seven Corinthian ships, and two from Corcyra, and ten which the Leucadians furnished, he set sail. And at night after he had entered the open sea and was enjoying a favoring wind, the heavens seemed to burst open on a sudden above his ship, and to pour forth an abundant and conspicuous fire. From this a torch lifted itself on high, like those which the mystics bear, and running along with them on their course, darted down upon precisely that part of Italy towards which the pilots were steering. . . . Such, then, were the signs from heaven which encourage the expedition.

In like manner, the comets of the years 133 and 118 B. C. were not regarded as portents of death, but as signalizing, the former the birth, the latter, the accession, of Mithridates.

Usually, however, it must be admitted that the ancients, like the men of the Middle Ages, regarded comets as harbingers of evil. According to Pliny,[6]

> A comet is generally regarded as a terrible star and one not easily expiated; as was the case with the civil commotions in the consulship of Octavius and also in the war of Pompey and Cæsar. And in our own age, about the time when Claudius was poisoned and left the Empire to Domitian, and afterwards, while the latter was Emperor, there was one which was almost constantly seen and was very frightful.

Cicero[7] also mentions the second event when he argues that a proof of the existence of a divine power is the fact that terror is produced in the minds of men "by meteors in the air, and blazing stars, by the Greeks called kometes, by us *crinitae,* the appearance of which in the late Octavian war were foreboders of great calamities." Pliny calls the comet fixed because it shone for six months, and terrible because of the effects of Nero's cruelty. He goes on to say:

> It is important to notice towards what part it darts its beams, or from what star it receives its influence, what it resembles, and in what place it shines. If it resembles a flute, it portends something unfavorable to music; something respecting wit and learning, if it forms a triangular or quadrangular figure with the position of some of the fixed stars; and that some one will be poisoned if they appear in the head of either the northern or southern serpent.

And yet with Pliny, the Romans appear to have seriously believed that the great comet which appeared at the death of Cæsar in the

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[6] "Natural History," Bk. II., ch. 25.
[7] "On the Nature of the Gods," Bk. II., ch. 3.

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year 43 B. C. was really the spirit of the Dictator. It is by this metamorphosis that Ovid concludes his great work[8] dedicated to Augustus himself. Venus descends from the ethereal vaults and

> invisible to all eyes stops in the midst of the senate. From the body of Cæsar she takes his spirit, prevents it from evaporating and bears it to the region of the stars. In rising, the goddess feels it transformed into a divine and glowing substance. She allows it to escape from her bosom. The spirit flies away beyond the moon and becomes a brilliant star, which draws through a long space its ignited hair.

But I return to Nero, who for the very reason that he himself feared forced others to fear. This we have on the authority of Tacitus.[9] "During these things," referring to certain prodigies seen in the fourth consulship of Nero, "there appeared a blazing starre, which in the opinion of the common people betokeneth the change of a Prince. Therefore, as though Nero had already been driven out, they were busie to know who should succeed him." But since many appeared during his reign, that he might avert destruction from himself, he was accustomed to expiate them with the blood of illustrious men, having been instructed to do so by Babilus the Astrologer, as Suetonius[10] relates in his life of Nero:

> With no lesse cruelty raged hee abroad even against strangers and meere forainers. A blazing hairy starre, commonly thought to portend death and destruction to the highest poures, began to arise, and had appeared many nights together. Beeing troubled therewith, and enformed by Babilus the Astrologer, that Kings were wont to expiate such prodigious signes with some notable massacre, and so divert the same from themselves, and turne it upon the heads of their Peeres and Nobles, hee thereupon projected the death of all the Noblest personages in the Citie.

This is confirmed by Tacitus,[11] who tells us:

> In the end of the yeere prodigious wonders were noysed as messengers of imminent misfortunes. Great and often flashes of lightnings and a blazing star always purged by Nero with the blood of noble men.

Suetonius agrees with Tacitus in attributing this fear to the common opinion of the deity, as is evident from the above quotation; but even more absolutely in his life of Claudius[12]:

> Especial tokens there were presaging and prognosticating his death: to wit, the rising of an hairy (or blazing) starre which they call a Comet.

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[8] "Metamorphoses," Bk. XV., lines 843-850.
[9] Annals, Bk. XIV., ch. 22.
[10] "Lives of the Cæsars," Bk. VI., ch. 36.
[11] Annals, Bk. XV., ch. 47.
[12] "Lives of the Cæsars," Bk. V., ch. 46.

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Even Christian writers saw in the comet a divine message. For instance, Tertullian[13] writes:

> And as to the fires which lately hung all night over the walls of Carthage, they who saw them know what they threatened. . . . All these things are signs of God's impending wrath, which we must needs publish and proclaim in every possible way; and in the meanwhile we must pray it may be only local. Sure are they to experience it one day in its universal form, who interest otherwise these examples.

Poetry has ever been the faithful repository of popular opinion and prejudice. It is therefore fruitful in references about the comet superstition. It is very probable that Homer does not refer anywhere directly to comets, as a modern astronomer has intimated. Strangely enough, Pingre and Lalande, the former noted for his researches into ancient comets, the latter a skillful astronomer, agree in considering that Homer really referred to a comet in a certain passage, and they even regard it as an apparition of the comet of 1680. There is a Greek proverb to the effect that "there is no comet which does not bear evil in its train" and this sentiment is echoed by Claudian,[14] when he avers that comets are

> Unless some fell calamity be nigh.
> ne'er observed by mortal eye,

Vergil, that "wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the hand of man," in enumerating the portents which were seen in the fierce civil war at Philippi, bursts forth in this strain:

> Such peals of thunder never poured from high,
> Nor forky lightnings flashed from such a sullen sky.
> Red meteors ran across the ethereal space;
> Stars disappeared, and comets took their place.
> For this, the Aemathian plains once more were strewed
> With Roman bodies, and just heaven thought good
> To fatten twice those fields with Roman blood.[15]

And Lucan, about those same signs before the civil war, says:

> The darkest nights on unknown stars did gaze
> And saw the sky aflame, the torches' glare
> In all directions flying through the air,
> A fear-inspiring star's dread hairy train—
> A comet threatening the tyrant's reign.[16]

Not otherwise is Silius Italicus, the epic narrator of the Punic Wars:

> So blazing comets, with ensanguined hair,
> Shoot sparkles round, that kindle half the sphere,

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[13] "To Scapula," ch. 3.
[14] "Getic War," line 243.
[15] "Georgics," Bk. I., lines 487-492.
[16] "Pharsalia," Bk. I., lines 526-529.

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Then o'er the heavens direct their rapid flight,
Make nature change, and throw pernicious light.[17]

And again:

And comets, that portend the fall of kings,
Shot flashing sparkles from their sanguine wings.[18]

Papinius Statius also mentions the baneful consequences of the dreaded comet,[19] as does Vergil again in his larger and more important work:

Thus threatening comets, when by night they rise,
Shoot sanguine streams, and sadden all the skies;
So Sirius, flashing forth sinister lights,
Pale human kind with plagues and with dry famine frights.[20]

In his famous satire on woman, Juvenal speaks with bitter sarcasm of feminine curiosity when he says: "She is the first to see the comet that menaces the Armenian and Parthian king." He evidently refers to the expedition made by the Emperor Trajan in 106, or to the earthquake in the neighborhood of Antioch in 115, "when mountains subsided and rivers burst forth, "as Dio Cassius relates. Both of these events were supposed to have been influenced by "dire portentous stars." The Erythrean Sibyl in prophesying the woes to come on Lybia says[21] that

In the west there shall a star shine forth
Which they will call a comet, sign to men
Of the sword and of famine and of death,
And murder of great leaders and chief men.

Tibullus calls comets "the evil signs of war,[22] and Valerius Flaccus sings that they are

called down
By angry Jove upon the tyrant crown.[23]

Pontanus likewise, in his work on meteors, insists that comets give sure signs about the winds, even portend war and destruction of great people and deaths of Kings; so that when they show their threatening heads in the sky, cities are filled with terror, neighbors advance in war and brothers fight against brothers.

Among the poets even of our own time do we find allusions made to the evil brought by these flashing mysteries. Sylvester has well rendered in English a well-known passage from Du Bartas thus:

Canst thou tearless gaze
(Even by night) on that prodigious blaze,

[17] "Punics," Bk. I., lines 461-464.
[18] "Punics," Bk. VIII., lines 636-637.
[19] "Thebaid," Bk. I., line 708.
[20] "Aeneid," Bk. X., lines 272-275.
[21] Bk. III., lines 273-275.
[22] "Elegies," Bk. II., No. 5, lines 71-72.
[23] "Argonauticon," Bk. VI., lines 607-608.

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That hairy Comet, that long streaming Star,
Which threatens Earth with Famine, Plague and War?[24]

The bard of Avon several times mentions them as stars of ill-omen. In the first act of "Hamlet"[25] Horatio says:

In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets:
As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,
Disasters in the sun.

And Henry VI. laments the death of Henry V. in this wise:

Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars
That have consented unto Henry's death![26]

The words of Calpurnia in "Julius Cæsar,"

When beggars die there are no comets seen;
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes,[27]

have been quoted so often that they have become proverbial. Crashaw in his "Steps to the Temple"[28] compares Herod's angry countenance to

the fatal light
Of starring comets, that look kingdoms dead.

It is the poet Thomson, however, who goes a step farther and mentions several known facts about these "forget-me-nots" of the heavens besides the fear which they are said to produce. In his beautiful description of summer occurs this vivid passage:

Lo! from the dread immensity of space
Returning, with accelerated course,
The rushing comet to the sun descends;
And as he sinks below the shading earth,
With awful train projected o'er the heavens,
The guilty nations tremble.

And Young, after him, in his "Night Thoughts,"[29] likens the fickleness of fortune to these mysterious bodies in those expressive lines:

Oh, how portentous in prosperity!
How comet-like, it threatens while it shines.

But probably the most quoted lines on this subject in English verse are from Milton's "Paradise Lost,"[30] wherein he describes the

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[24] "Weeks," I., 2.
[25] Scene 1, lines 113-118.
[26] "Henry VI.," 1, act 1., scene 1, lines 2-5.
[27] Act ii., scene 2. line 30.
[28] "Sospetto d'Herod," Bk. I., stanza 7, lines 3-4.
[29] Night V., lines 915-916.
[30] Bk. II., lines 706-711.

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voyage of Satan to the Gates of Hell. First comes the description of the guardian of the gates, and then he goes on to say:

> On th' other side,
> Incensed with indignation, Satan stood
> Unterrified, and like a comet burned,
> That fires the length of Opiuchus huge
> In th' artick sky, and from his horrid hair
> Shakes pestilence and war.

But, to go back to the historians, Josephus, commenting on the obstinacy of the Jews in their disbelief in heavenly portents, says:

> When they were at any time premonished from the lips of truth itself, by prodigies and other premonitory signs of their approaching ruin, they had neither eyes nor ears nor understanding to make a right use of them, but passed them over without heeding or so much as thinking of them.[31]

And Nicephorus Callistus quoting the above words of Josephus continues:

> But what then were these signs? A hairy star, very much like a sword, was seen shining above the city for a whole year. On the ninth of April, at the ninth hour of the night, the brightness of the light so illuminated the altar and the temple itself, that it appeared to be clear day; and this brightness lasted for a half-hour. The city gate facing east, made of solid brass, which on account of its tremendous weight was with difficulty closed by twenty men at twilight and then only with the aid of iron bars and long stakes planted in the ground, seemed to be opened of its own accord at the sixth hour of the night.

And he goes on to say that before sunset brilliantly shining clouds hovered above the city; and as the priests according to their custom were offering their nightly sacrifice, a loud voice told them of the coming ruin of their city. Jerusalem was captured the next year by Titus, the son of Vespasian. This was probably the comet described by Dio Cassius in speaking of the carefree enjoyment of pleasure by Vitellius. These are the words of his chronicle:

> While he was behaving in this way, evil omens occurred. A comet star was seen, and the moon contrary to precedent appeared to have had two eclipses, being obscured by shadows on the fourth and on the seventh day. Also, people saw two suns at once, one in the west weak and pale, one in the east brilliant and powerful. On the Capitol many huge footprints were seen, presumably of some spirits that had descended that hill. The soldiers who had slept there the night in question said that the temple of Jupiter had opened of itself with great clangor and some of the guards were so terrified that they expired. . . . Vespasian's soldiers on ascertaining all these facts surrounded his tent and hailed him as emperor.

[31] "Histories," Bk. VI.

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The latter, when they talked to him about the comet which appeared during his sickness, replied that it referred to the king of the Persians, who had longer hair, as Aurelius Victor relates, or to the king of the Parthians, as Dio Cassius tells:

> Portents had occurred in his career indicating his approaching end, such as the comet star which was seen for a considerable period and the opening of the monument of Augustus of its own accord. When the sick man's physician chided him for continuing his usual course of living and attending to all the duties that belonged to his office, he answered: "The emperor ought to die on his feet." To those who said anything to him about the comet he responded: "This is an omen not for me but for the Parthian king. He has flowing hair like the comet, whereas I am bald-headed." When at length he came to die, he said only: "Now I shall become a god."[32]

Anna Comnenus ventures even beyond Josephus. He only rebuked other men for not believing so strongly as he did himself in the significance. But the judicious daughter of Alexis was good enough to approve of the wisdom which provided these portents. Speaking of a remarkable comet which appeared before the irruption of the Gauls into the Roman Empire, she says:

> This happened by the usual administration of Providence in such cases; for it is not fit that so great and so strange an alteration of things as was brought to pass by that irruption of theirs should be without some previous denunciation and admonishment from heaven.

And Socrates the historian, speaking of the same subject, writes:

> The tyrant (Gaïnas the Goth), simulating dissatisfaction, advanced to Chalcedon, whither the emperor Arcadius also went to meet him. Both then entered the church where the body of the martyr Euphemius is deposited, and there entered into a mutual pledge on oath, that neither would plot against the other. The emperor indeed kept his engagement, having a religious regard for an oath, and being on that account beloved of God. But Gaïnas soon violated it, and instead of abandoning his purpose, was intent on carnage, plunder and conflagration, not only at Constantinople, but also throughout the whole extent of the Roman Empire, if he could by any means carry it into effect. The city was quite inundated by the barbarians, and the citizens were reduced to a condition almost like that of captives. Moreover, a comet of prodigious magnitude, reaching from heaven even to earth, such as was never before seen, presaged the danger that was impending over it.

St. Augustine likewise gives a glowing account of the effects of this same comet.[33] He explains its appearance thus:

[32] "History of the Romans," Bk. LXV., ch. 8.
[33] De urbis excidio, ch. 6.

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> God, wishing to terrify the city and by doing so to improve, purify and completely change its moral standard, came in a revelation to one of His faithful servants, to a soldier it is said, and told him that the city would perish by fire that would come from heaven. At the beginning of night, just as the earth was growing dark, a cloud of fire from the east was seen, at first small, and then little by little as it came up over the city it increased until the fire dangerously threatened the whole city. The dreadful flame seemed to hang there giving off a sulphurous odor. All fled to church, the place did not hold many; every one did his best to obtain baptism from whomsoever he could. Not only in the church, but even in the houses and in the streets, the safety of the sacrament was demanded; so that the future wrath, surely not the present, might be appeased.

Claudian supposes[84] the comet of 405, which he calls *audax stella* because it shone as bright at noon as Boötes does at night, to be a sign of the conquering of the Gauls by Stilicho.

Comets are said to have appeared at the deaths of Constantine, Attila, Valentinian and Mahomet. The list might very easily be extended to include many other celebrities, kings and Popes. In fact, so confidently did men believe that comets indicated the approaching death of great men, that they did not believe a very great man could die without a comet first appearing. So they inferred that the death of a very great man indicated the arrival, even if the comet chanced not to be visible. "A comet of this kind," says Pingré, "was that of the year 814, presaging the death of Charlemagne." He should have said, such was the comet whose arrival was announced by Charlemagne's death. It must be observed that some of the dates assigned to comets do not accord with the dates of the events associated with them. Thus, Louis le Debonnaire did not die in 837 when the comet appeared, but in 840. This, forsooth, is a matter of very little importance (!). If some men, after their comet has called for them, are "an unconscionable time in dying," as Charles II. said of himself, it surely must not be considered the fault of the comet. Louis himself regarded the comet of 837 as his death warrant; the astrologers admitted as much; what more could be desired? An anonymous writer of that time named "The Astronomer" gave the following details of its appearance, relative to the influence of it upon the imperial imagination:

> During the holy days of the solemnization of Easter, a phenomenon ever fatal, and of gloomy foreboding, appeared in the heavens. As soon as the Emperor, who paid attention to these phenomena, received the first announcement of it, he gave himself no rest until he had called a certain learned man and my-

[84] "Fourth Consulship of Honorius," line 388.

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self before him. As soon as I arrived, he anxiously asked me what I thought of such a sign; I asked time of him, in order to consider the aspect of the stars, and to discover the truth by their means, promising to acquaint him on the morrow. But the Emperor, persuaded that I wished to gain time, which was true, in order not to be obliged to announce anything fatal to him, said to me:

"Go on the terrace of the palace and return at once to tell me what you have seen, for I did not see this star last evening, and you did not point it out to me."

Then scarcely allowing me time to say a word, he added:

"There is still another thing you keep back; it is that a change of reign and the death of a prince are announced by this sign."

And as I advanced the testimony of the prophet who said, "Fear not the signs of the heavens as the nations fear them," the prince with his grand nature and the wisdom which never forsook him said:

"We must only fear Him Who has created both us and this star. But as this phenomenon may refer to us, let us acknowledge it as a warning from heaven."

Accordingly Louis gave himself up to fasting and prayer, and built churches and monasteries. But all was of no avail. He died three years later, in 840.

The year 1000 A. D. was by all but common consent regarded as the date assigned for the end of the world. For a thousand years Satan had been chained, and now he was to be loosened for awhile. So that when a comet made its appearance, and, terrible to relate, continued visible for nine days, the phenomenon was regarded as something more than a nine days' wonder. It was considered very wicked to doubt that the end of all things was at hand, but somehow the world escaped that time.

In April, 1066, Halley's Comet is said to have appeared to announce to the Saxons the approaching conquest of England by William the Norman. The chroniclers unanimously write: "The Normans, guided by a comet, invaded England." *Nova stella, novus rex,* was a proverb of the time. It was pretended that it had the greatest influence on the battle of Hastings, which delivered over the country to the Normans. A contemporary poet, alluding probably to the English diadem with which William was crowned, had proclaimed in one place "that the comet had been more favorable to William than nature had been to Cæsar; the latter had no hair, but William had received some from the comet." A monk of Malmesbury apostrophized the comet in these terms:

Here thou art again, thou cause of the tears of many mothers! It is long since I have seen thee, but I see thee now, more terrible than ever; thou threatenest my country with complete ruin.

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The historian Nicetas describes the horrible aspect of the comet of 1182 thus:

> After the Latins had been driven from Constantinople, they saw a prognostication of the madness and crimes to which Andronicus was to deliver himself. A comet appeared in the sky; like a winding serpent, it soon extended, coiled on itself, and, to the great terror of the spectators, it opened a vast mouth; they might easily have said that, thirsty for human blood, it was about to satisfy itself.

In the year 1305 "a comet of terrific dimensions made its appearance about the time of the feast of the Passover, which was followed by a Great Plague." It may be interesting to quote here Babinet's description of the effects ascribed in 1455 to Halley's comet, often the terror of nations, but the triumph of mathematicians, as the first whose motions were brought into recognizable obedience to the laws of gravity.

> The Mussulmans, with Mahomet II. at their head, were besieging Belgrade, which was defended by Huniade, surnamed the "Exterminator of the Turks." Halley's comet appeared and the two armies were seized with equal fear.

Olmstead, in describing the same event, in his "Letters on Astronomy" says, as a bigot would say:

> Pope Callixtus levelled the thunders of the Church against the enemies of the faith, terrestrial and celestial, and in the same Bull excommunicated the Turks and the comet.[35]

Daru of the French Academy in his poem on astronomy tells us of this episode in terms which are none the less eloquent by reason of a similar slur on the Pope:

> Another Mahomet hath raised with arm of might
> The crescent banner o'er Constantinople's height:
> At clash of spears, the frightened Danube thunders by;
> Greece is in arms; all Europe hears the dread outcry;
> And, as dire horror's height, the star with glowing face
> And wings of fire across the western sky doth race.
> Callixtus, at his altars that he knows not how
> To guard, with tears in eyes and ashes on his brow,
> The fear-inspiring comet conjures from the skies:
> Look towards the heavens, Sovereign Pontiff, and arise!
> The star pursues its journey and Huniade's blade
> Arrests the conqueror, who falls before Belgrade.
> Meanwhile this globe high in the azure skies, fore'er
> By nature's universal law suspended there,
> Heeds not these fears, nor Rome's existence, nor the Earth
> Perchance nor name of man, who, credulous from birth,
> Ambitious atom, trembleth at a priest's decree
> And in the broad expanse of heaven his doom doth see.

[35] The authenticity of the alleged Bull is disproved in articles appearing in "The Month," February, 1907, and "Popular Astronomy," No. 148.

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The comet of 1528 must have struck terror to the hearts of the beholders. Ambroise Paré, one of the most learned men of that time, writes of it as follows:

> This comet was so horrible, so frightful, and it produced such great terror in the vulgar, that some died of fear and others fell sick. It appeared to be of excessive length and was of the color of blood. At the summit of it was seen the figure of a bent arm, holding in its hand a great sword, as if about to strike. At the end of the point there were three stars. On both sides of the rays of this comet were seen a great number of axes, knives, blood-colored swords, among which were a great number of hideous human faces, with beards and bristling hair.[36]

The great comet of 1556 has been regarded as the occasion of the Emperor Charles V.'s abdication of the imperial throne. It appeared about the end of February and in March presented a terrible appearance, according to Ripamonte. It is of this comet that Sir John Herschel remarked:

> Terrific indeed it might well have been to the mind of a prince prepared by the most abject superstition to receive its appearance as a warning of approaching death, and as specially sent, whether in anger or in mercy, to detach his thoughts from earthly things and fix them on his eternal interests. Such was its effect on the Emperor Charles V., whose abdication is distinctly ascribed by many historians to this cause, and whose words on the occasion of his first beholding it have even been recorded—*His ergo indiciis me mea fata vocant*—the language and the metrical form of which exclamation afford no ground for disputing the authenticity, when the habits and education of those times are fairly considered.

The comet of 1577 was remarkable for the strangeness of its aspect. It required only the terror with which such portentous objects were witnessed in the Middle Ages to transform the various streamers, curved and straight, extending from such an object, into swords and spears and other signs of war and trouble. Doubtless, we owe to the fear of the Middle Ages the strange pictures claiming to present the actual aspect of some of the larger comets. However, the astrological ideas began to be sharply attacked. "Yes," said Pierre Gassendi, at the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV., "the comets are really frightful, but through our own folly. We gratuitously fabricate for ourselves objects of panic, and, not satisfied with our real evils, we keep up imaginary ones." The learned Jacques Bernouilli himself was not free from prejudice in this regard, and he perpetuated it by saying that, if the body of the comet is not a visible sign of the wrath of God, the *tail* might well be.

In 1661 Madame Marie de Sévigné wrote to her daughter:

[36] The original is of course in French; the English rendering is my own.

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> We have here a comet which is of great extent; it has the most beautiful tail which it is possible to see. All the great personages are alarmed and believe that the sky, much occupied with their ruin, gives them warnings by this comet. They say that Cardinal Mazarin being despaired of by his physicians, his courtiers believed that it was necessary to honor his death agony by a prodigy, and told him that there appeared a great comet which made them fear. He had the strength to laugh at them, and told them pleasantly that the comet did him too much honor. Indeed, they should say it as much as he, and human pride did itself too much honor in believing that men may have business in the stars when they die.

The nobles in the court of Louis XIV. were not so wise as Mazarin. We read in the "Chroniques de l'Oeil de Boeuf," at the date of 1680:

> All the telescopes have been pointed for three days to the firmament, a comet such as has not been seen in modern times occupies day and night the learned men of our Academy of Sciences. The terror is great in the town; timorous minds see in this the sign of a new deluge, considering, say they, that water is always announced by fire, which will not appear to me a demonstrative reason unless M. Cassini takes the trouble of confirming it. While the timorous make their wills, and, foreseeing the end of the world, bequeath all their goods to the monks *(sic)*, the Court vigorously discusses the question whether the wandering star does not announce the death of some great personage, as it announced, they say, that of the Roman Dictator. Some free-thinking courtiers laughed yesterday at this opinion; the brother of Louis XIV., who apparently believes that he has become all at once a Cæsar, exclaimed with a very sharp voice: "Ah, sirs, you and others speak at your ease; you are not princes!"

It was to this comet that William Whiston attributed the Deluge. His theory was at first hypothetical, not applying to any particular comet; but when Halley determined the elliptical orbit of the famous comet of 1680, the theologian-astronomer no longer hesitated, but gave to the comet not only the part of destroying the human race by water, but, further, that of an incendiary in the future. When man had sinned, he said, a small comet passed very near the earth, and, cutting obliquely the plane of its orbit, gave it a motion of rotation. God had foreseen that man would sin, and that his crimes, reaching their consummation, would demand a terrible punishment; consequently, He had prepared from the moment of the Creation a comet which would be the instrument of His vengeance. This comet was that of 1680! Either on Friday, November 28, of the year of sin 2349, or on December 2, 2926, the comet cut the plane of the earth's orbit at a point from which our globe was distant but 9,000 miles. The conjunction happened when they reckon midnight at the meridian of Pekin, where Noah, it appears, lived before the

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Deluge. A stupendous tide was produced not only in the waters of the seas, but also in those which may be found below the solid crust. And thus "the fountains of the great deep were broken up." Now, how will this comet, which the first time drowned the human race, be able to set fire to the earth at a second encounter? Whiston had no difficulty in explaining this: It will arrive behind us, retard the motion of our globe, and change its orbit. "The earth will be brought nearer to the sun; it will experience a heat of great intensity; it will be consumed. Finally, after the saints shall have reigned a thousand years on earth, regenerated by fire, and rendered again inhabitable by the Divine Will, another comet will strike the earth, the terrestrial orbit will be excessively elongated, and the earth becoming a comet, will cease to be habitable," reasoning rather hard to follow, surely.

This comet of 1680 inspired such terror that a medal was struck upon the continent of Europe to quiet apprehension. On one side was a picture of a comet falling through a number of stars, under which was the inscription: "Ao. 1680. 16 Dec.," and underneath this was "1681. Jan." On the reverse was this inscription: "Der Stern Droht Boese Sachen. Trav. Nur! Gott Wirds VVol. Machen." "The star threatens evil things; trust only! God will turn them to good." It was fear such as this which gave rise to the quatrain which the peasants and school children used to recite:

Eight things there be a Comet brings,
When it on high doth horrid range:
Wind, Famine, Plague, and Death to Kings,
War, Earthquakes, Floods, and Direful Change.

However, the old superstitions were removed in a light degree by Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation. Taught as men were that it was wicked to question what seemed to be the teaching of the Scriptures, that the heavens warned mankind of approaching troubles, and having very little knowledge regarding comets and meteors other than that there were such things in existence, it was not so easy as we imagine to shake off a superstition which had ruled over men's minds for thousands of years. Defoe, indeed, speaking of the terror of men at the time of the Great Plague, says that they "were more addicted prophecies and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever there were before or since." The influence of strange appearances in the heavens on even thoughtful and reasoning minds, at such times of universal calamity, is well shown by Defoe's remarks on the comets of the years 1664 and 1666:

> The old women and the phlegmatic, hypochondriacal part of the other sex, whom I could almost call old women too, remarked

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that those two comets passed directly over the city and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone; and that the comet before the Pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid color, and its motion very heavy, solemn and slow; but that the comet before the Fire was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious; and that accordingly one foretold a heavy judgment, slow but severe, terrible and frightful, as was the Plague; but the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift and fiery, as was the conflagration. Nay, so particular some people were that, as they looked upon that comet preceding the Fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even that they heard it; that it made a mighty, rushing noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance and but just perceivable. I saw both these stars, and must confess that I had so much the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgment, and especially when, the Plague having followed the first, I yet saw another of the same kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

An old English writer, Leonard Digges by name, observes:

Cometes signifie corruptions of the ayre. They are signs of Earthquakes, of warres, of chaunging of kingdoms, great dearthe of corn, yea, a common death of man and beast.[37]

Another remarks:

Experience is an eminent evidence that a comet, like a sword, portendeth war; and an hairy comet, or a comet with a beard, denoteth the death of kings, as if God and nature intended by comets to ring the knells of princes, esteeming bells in churches upon earth not sacred enough for such illustrious and eminent performances.

Henry IV. well remarked, when he was told that astrologers predicted his death because a certain comet had been observed:

One of these days they will predict it truly, and people will remember better the single occasion when the prediction will be fulfilled than the many other occasions when it has been fasified by the event.

There is perhaps nothing more remarkable in the whole history of cometary superstition than the panic which spread over France in the year 1773 in consequence of a rumor that the mathematician Lalande had predicted the occurrence of a collision between a comet and the earth, and that disastrous effects would inevitably follow. The foundation of the rumor was slight enough. It had simply been announced that Lalande would read before the Academy of Science a paper entitled "Reflections on those Comets which can approach the Earth." That was all. Lalande himself says in a memoir that he

[37] "Prognostication Everlastinge" (2nd ed., London, 1576), folio 6.

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had only spoken of those which, in certain cases, might approach the earth; but people imagined that he had predicted an extraordinary comet, and that this comet would bring about the end of the world. From the highest ranks of society the panic descended to the multitude, and it was generally believed that the fatal comet was on its way, and that our globe would cease to exist. Voltaire, in his deservedly celebrated "Letter on the Pretended Comet," says:

> There is certainly no reason for laughing at M. Trissotin, triple idiot though he is, when he says to Madame Philaminte:
>
> Nous l'avons en dormant, madame, échappé belle;
> Un monde près de nous a passé tout du long,
> Est chu tout au travers de notre tourbillon;
> Et, s'il eût en chemin recontré notre terre,
> Elle eut été brisee en morceaux comme verre.[38]

We might easily find similar examples in the present century. An event happened in our time when the fear, so to say, seemed scientifically justified. In calculating the reappearance of Biela's comet, Damoiseau had found that the comet would, on October 29, 1832, before midnight, cross the plane of the earth's orbit at the only place where a comet would be likely to encounter the earth. These results, supported by all desirable scientific authority, were brought by the newspapers to the notice of the public. The end of time was near! The earth was about to be shattered, pulverized, annihilated by the shock of the comet! Such was the subject of all conversation. But it was calculated that the earth would not reach the same point until more than a month after the comet had passed it, so that the comet would pass at fifty millions of miles from the earth, as Arago wrote in the "Annuaire" for 1832.

The comet of 1861 occasioned more serious fears. It was held by many in Italy to presage a very great misfortune indeed, the restoration of Francis II. to the throne of the Two Sicilies. Others thought that the downfall of the temporal power of the Papacy and the death of Pius IX. were signified. The Civil War may be regarded by believers in this popular superstition as presignified by the great comet of 1861.

There was a considerable fright in November, 1872, when it was supposed that Biela's comet was about to strike the earth. The following dispatch from Atlanta, Ga., was printed in a daily paper:

> The fear which took possession of many citizens has not yet abated. The general expectation hereabouts was that the comet would be heard from on Saturday night. As one result, the confessionals of the two Catholic churches here were crowded yesterday evening. As the night advanced there were many who insisted that they could detect a slight change in the atmosphere.

[38] Molière, "Femmes Savantes," act iv., scene 3.

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> The air, they said, was stifling. It was wonderful to see how many persons gathered from different sections of the city around the newspaper offices with substantially the same statement. As a consequence, many families of the better class kept watch all night, in order that if the worst came they might be ready to meet it. The orgies around the colored churches would be laughable were it not for the seriousness with which the worshipers take the matter. To-night (Saturday) they are all full, and sermons suited to the terrible occasion are being delivered.

If the progress of just ideas respecting comets has been slow, it must nevertheless be regarded as on the whole satisfactory. When we remember that it was not a mere idle fancy which had to be opposed, not mere terrors which had to be calmed, but that the idea of the significance of changes in the heavens had come to be regarded by mankind as a part of their religion, it can not but be thought a hopeful sign that all reasoning men in our time have abandoned the idea that comets are sent to warn the inhabitants of this small earth. Not only are they no longer regarded as presaging the fortunes of men on this earth, but men on this earth are able to predict their erratic fortunes. In the words of Beattie:

> Fancy now no more
> Wantons on fickle pinions through the skies,
> But, fixed in aim, and conscious of her power,
> Sublime from cause to cause exults to rise,
> Creation's blended stores arranging as she flies.

HERBERT F. WRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

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EARLY RELIGIOUS DRAMA.

JUST as the earliest Greek plays were composed in honor of certain deities, so, too, was the earliest drama in England the product of the allegorical interpretation of nature sanctioned by Christian theology. The Romans had all the religious feelings required for the production of the drama, but lacked artistic imagination; and consequently their dramatic sense could be satisfied only with spectacles of materialism. All the orthodox representatives of Christianity were strong against *spectacula.* It is amusing to note that Arius alone went so far as pleading for even a Christian theatre. Christians were consoled by Tertullian for the loss of theatres in this world by the promise of a future spectacle of the exquisite and eternal bliss. The word "mystery" is doubtless derived from the Latin *ministerium,* and means "act." It is well known that the cradle of the mediæval drama was the Church. Its liturgy contains a multitude of germs for the formation of a drama; songs alternating between the priest and people; recitative reading in appointed parts, as in the story of the Passion, etc.

The contribution from the Middle Ages came largely from the religious drama. The folk games and plays and the performances of entertainers of various sorts contributed to the development of the drama principally on the side of comedy, and only incidentally to tragedy. Nor need the early centuries of the religious drama detain us. Its origin in the church service, its early liturgical forms, its growth and service in the hands of the Church, and its gradual secularization are of importance for us only as leading to its culmination in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in England, notably in the great cycles of vernacular plays performed by the guilds. "It should be remembered, however," writes Professor Thorndike, "that the miracle plays never felt the least influence from the drama of the Greeks and Romans. Knowledge of the classic drama was long confined mainly to the plays of Terence, and suggested even to the most learned no idea of relationship to the familiar miracle plays; and, on the other hand, the mediæval stage gave no clue to a conception of the classical theatre. As late as Erasmus the curious notion survived that the classic plays were read by the author or a 'recitator' from a pulpit above, while below the actors illustrated his lines by pantomime. Almost to the middle of the fifteenth century the miracle plays comprised all that was known of stage presentation in connection with serious drama. They were still performed through the sixteenth century; the boy Shakespeare may have been a spectator at a performance by the guilds; his father and grand-

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father and remoter forebears had seen them or perchance taken part in them."

The starting point of the modern drama is the Resurrection of Christ from the dead. The Waking of the Sepulchre anticipates some of the features of the miracle play, while the dialogue may have been suggested by the antiphonal elements in the church services, and specifically by the colloquy interpolated between the Third Lesson and the Te Deum at Matins, and repeated as part of the sequence *Victimae paschalis laudes,* in which two of the choir took the parts of St. Peter and St. John, and three others in albs those of the three Marys. In the York Missal, in which this colloquy appears at length, its use is prescribed for the Tuesday of Easter Week. While Christianity was busily disinfecting the front halls, the most dreadful smells were starting again in the scullery.

As early as the fourth century, before she was yet able to triumph completely in the defeat of the pagan theatre, the Church began to show forth part of the greatest drama in the universe. The popular taste for dramatic productions was fed by their Easter celebrations. The antiphon, of Eastern origin, introduced into Italy by St. Ambrose, was the germ from which the mediæval drama developed. The altars made an easy setting for *Quem quaeritis.* The basis, however, of most of the Christmas plays is not the Scriptural, but the apocryphal narrative. In general, the plays were written to please as well as to edify; and, as they are preserved to us, the mysteries are true to the intention not to let a pleasantry pass without a modest burst of merriment. Nearly all the old plays hide under their archaic dress the human interest that all dramatic art, no matter how crude, can claim when it is touched with our real emotions and sensations.

It may be observed at the outset that instruction in those days, when reading was the privilege of the few, was apt to take the form of an appeal to the imagination rather than the reasoning faculty, and of all the aids to imagination none has ever been so effective as the drama. The Boy-Bishop celebration was not only the occasion of plays which sometimes necessitated the strong hand of authority for their suppression—it was distinctly dramatic in itself. Miracle plays represent a further stage of development, in which a rude and popular art shook itself free from the trammels of ritual, outgrew the austere restrictions of sacred surroundings, and yet kept fast hold on the religious tradition on which it had been nourished, and which remained to the last its supreme attraction.

The inventories of parish churches and the church-wardens' accounts which have survived show how very common a feature these plays of religion formed in the parish life of old England; and

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they formed a powerful medium for teaching the simple and unlettered. For the religious drama was the handmaid of the Church, and was intended to instruct as well as to amuse.

The attitude of the clergy towards the dramatic performances which had arisen out of the elaboration of the services of the Church, but which soon admitted elements from other sources, was not, and could not be, uniform. As the plays grew longer, their paraphernalia more extensive, and their spectators more numerous, they began to be represented outside as well as inside the churches, and the use of the vulgar tongue came to be gradually preferred. Miracles were less dependent on this connection with the church services than mysteries proper; and lay associations, guilds, and schools in particular, soon began to act plays in honor of their patron saints in or near their own halls. The endeavor to sanctify the popular tastes to religious uses, which connects itself with the institution of the great festival of Corpus Christi (1264, confirmed 1311), when the symbol of the mystery of the Incarnation was borne in solemn procession, led to the closer union of the dramatic exhibitions (hence often called *processus)* with this and other religious feasts; but it neither limited their range, nor controlled their development.

Whatever we may think of the art of these literary works, they were dictated and presided over by a pious spirit. Says Cardinal Gasquet. "Any one who will take the trouble to read [such] plays . . . cannot fail to be impressed not only by the vivid picture of the special scene in the Old and the New Testament that is presented to the imagination, but by the extensive knowledge of the Bible which the production of those plays must have imparted to those who listened to them." And, even from the point of view alone, the plays cannot be regarded as worthless of Scriptural or moral teaching.

Another far-reaching inheritance from the miracle plays was derived from their treatment of tragic themes and situations and from their pervading seriousness of purpose. Their purpose was ethical and religious edification; their theme the tragedy of sin; their situations were derived from the stories of Cain, Lucifer, Judas, John the Baptist, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Crucifixion.

Now, it is evident that as the management of the plays fell more and more into secular hands, and as the "theatre" was removed from the church and its precincts to inn-yards and the public streets, the character of the compositions must become more profane and more human, and must at last cease to have any very definite religious value. The approach of the true drama began as soon as the representations were brought into the market-places and to the fairs.

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In such plays there is much life, much movement, but no growth and very little plot—no feeling of fitness in the grouping of the persons; but we recognize the gift for characterization, which is perhaps the highest natural literary gift found among our race. What had formed at first a part, or merely an episode, was later elaborated into an independent story, and soon the language was influenced. By degrees the dramatic desire of making the exhibition as real and lifelike as possible prevailed over the symbolical motive, and therefore could not be conveniently combined with a service in church.

The "Miracle," definite in scope, varied in setting, and not bound too narrowly by the cords of orthodox tradition, might conceivably have developed into a national tragedy, as it did in Spain. The mystery was not capable of such an evolution. But the favor it enjoyed in the fifteenth century was incredible. The mysteries, although still under Church control, became great civic functions. They were entrusted to special associations or brotherhoods, like the Passion players of St. Maur, near Paris. The age, in spite of the miseries of war, was fond of pompous display: the sacred dramas were performed even in beleaguered cities. Indeed, they were considered as "pious works" rather than as a recreation, and might help to avert an impending catastrophe. There was first a parade of the actors, in their hundreds, through the streets of the town. Then they reached the elaborate stage on the cathedral square. This was a veritable microcosm, setting forth heaven above, hell all agape and belching flames, and the earth in between. The earth was divided into many scenes or "mansions"—Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Egypt, the Golgotha—and the artists would move with the action from one part of the stage to another. Crude ingenuity was shown in the use of machines: angels were seen floating in mid-air, with means of support invisible to the eyes of faith. Such was the conscientious realism of the setting that the actor impersonating Christ had to suffer great hardship during the protracted Crucifixion scene, and that Judas was in personal danger at the hands of an uncritical populace. The plays were tremendous in duration as well as in scenery and personnel. The Passion of Arnoul Greban (c. 1450) contained no less than 35,000 lines, that is to say, the equivalent of ten to fifteen modern tragedies. Jean Michel, a few years later, recast parts of Greban's work, and expanded it to 50,000 lines.

The earliest "miracle play" mentioned in England was the work of Geoffrey Le Mans, afterwards Abbot of St. Albans, who composed it at Dunstable, in honor of St. Katherine, probably before the close of the eleventh century—so Matthew Paris tells us. A passage in Fitzstephen's "Life of Archbishop Becket" shows that such plays were common in London about 1180. These were evidently miracle

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plays, though in England the distinction between miracles and mysteries was not made. Of the former class, in the strict meaning of the word, nothing is preserved in English literature. The oldest extant miracle play in English is the "Harrowing of Hell" (thirteenth century). This poem was intended to be delivered by a professional wandering *jongleur*. If, however, Ten Brink's date is correct, the earliest purely English drama was a play about "Jacob and Esau." Until quite a late period the authorship of the several dramas was unknown, though there are several remarkable coincidences between the Chester plays and the French "Mystère du Vieil Testament."

"The manner of these plays," we read in a description of those at Chester, dating from the close of the sixteenth century, "were: Every company had his pageant, which pageants were a high scaffold with two rooms, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they appareled themselves, and in the higher room they played, being all open at the top, that all beholders might hear and see them. The places where they played them was in every street. They began first at the abbey gates, and when the first pageant was played, it was wheeled to the high cross before the mayor, and so to every street, and so every street had a pageant playing before them at one time till all the pageants appointed for the day were played; and when one pageant was near ended, word was brought from street to street, that so they might come in place thereof, exceedingly orderly, and all the streets have their pageants afore them all at one time playing together; to see which plays was great resort, and also scaffolds and stages made in the streets in those places where they determined to play their pageants."

There is no probability that the stage was, as in France, divided into three platforms with a dark cavern at the side of the lowest, appropriated respectively to the Heavenly Father and His angels, to saints and glorified men, to mere men, and to souls in hell. But the last-named locality was frequently displayed in the English miracles, with or without fire in its mouth. The costumes were in part conventional—divine and saintly personages being distinguished by gilt hair and beards, Herod being clad as a Saracen, the demons wearing hideous heads, the souls black and white coats according to their kind, and the angels gold skins and wings.

Doubtless these performances abounded in what seem to us ludicrous features, and though their main purpose was serious, they were not in England at least intended to be devoid of fun. But many of these features are in truth only homely and *naif*, and the simplicity of feeling they exhibit is at times not without its pathos. The occasional excessive grossness is due to an absence of refinement of

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taste rather than to an obliquity of moral sentiment. In this, as in other respects, the Coventry Plays, which were possibly written by clerical hands, show an advance upon the others. In the same plays is already to be observed an element of abstract figures, which connects them with a different species of the mediæval drama.

The oldest extant "morality plays" belong to the time of Henry VI.; although we have a record of one, called the "Play of Paternoster," probably performed first of all in the reign of Edward III., at York. The performance of the York miracle plays went on until 1579. The Newcastle celebration outlasted them by about ten years. The Chester Plays were acted until the end of the sixteenth century, and those of Beverly till 1604. What killed the miracle play? This is a deeply interesting speculation, but one with regard to which it is difficult to form a conclusion owing to the coexistence of rival influences, the relative strength of which cannot well be estimated. We have seen that Puritan opinion suspended the miracle play at Ashburton during the reign of Edward VI., and it would be natural to look for the same result from the accession of Elizabeth, whereas, at Beverly, it was maintained all through the period of her rule. The oldest vernacular dramas written in England belong not to English but to French; the play of "Adam" and that of the "Resurrection," though the oldest dramatic poems in the French language, were, according to general opinion, composed in England in the twelfth century.

The "Manuscript 617" of the library belonging to the Condé Museum at Chantilly, was written in the fifteenth century by the hand (at least in part) of "Soeur Katherine Bourlet," a nun of the convent of St. Michel at Huy. From a close study of the text Professor Cohen assumes that the plays were composed in the district northeast of Liège. These plays, which we now have probably in the form they were represented before the "Dames Blanches," are as follows: (The conjectured dates are those given by M. Cohen.) (1) "Jeux d la Nativité Jhesuschrist," originally composed in the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, but almost certainly altered for the nuns and played before them between 1466 and 1469. (2) A fragment of another Nativity, composed in the second half of the fourteenth century, but altered as above. (3) "Jeux des VII. Pechié Morteil et des VII. Vertus," a long and wearisome production, dated between 1380 and 1420. (4) "Une jeux à VI. personage," a short morality, introducing Faith, Prudence, Loyalty, Love, Honor and Peace." (5) "Jeux de Pèlerinage Humaine," a long morality, abridged from the still longer work of Guillaume de Deguileville, written in 1331, altered in 1350, and copied after 1484, though the present version dates from the second half of the fourteenth century.

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Its chief interest for us is its position as a far-off predecessor of Bunyan's allegory.

Certain districts gained celebrity for the zeal and efficiency of their performances. York (Towneley), Wakefield, and Chester in the North, and Coventry in the Midlands, were the chief centres of attraction. The plays began at an earl hour, after Mass; and the chief day seems to have been the feast of Corpus Christi (the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday).

Intimately connected with the social side of the mercers' fraternity was the pageant play, which on Corpus Christi day was enacted in various parts of York. Originally the mercers themselves took part in the representations, but their civic and social importance forbade such diversions in the fifteenth century, and professionals were introduced to take their place. The first reference to this annual merrymaking in the merchants' records is in the account roll for 1437. The pageant, that is the movable stage similar to the Punch and Judy erection of modern times, needed a new curtain; whether the 6s. paid for the making included also the tapestry of which it is made is not clear. Seventeen shillings and eightpence is also paid for torches to be carried in the procession of Corpus Christi, possibly by the chaplains, for the procession was under the management of the clergy, the pageant of the trades of York. "Payd for the makyng of the awrres of the pagent hous, vjs. Item, payd to Margret Chaundeler for makyng of vj torchys and the wax to them, xiiijs. Item, for vj castylls to them, iijs. viijd. Item, payd to David Paynter for xxiiij baners wyth canvas hangyng thereto, and peyntyng of vj castyls, xs." But in 1453 the mercers concluded local talent was not sufficient to bring out the play. An agreement was made with Robert Hewyk, parish clerk of Leeds, Thomas Fitt, tapiter, and Henry Clayton, weaver, to bring out the pageant of "Domysday," for which they were to receive a payment of ten pounds. Doubtless this covered all the expenses, such as fees to players, expenses of representation, repairs and renewal of properties, otherwise the payment would seem excessive. The first definite list of the stage properties of the mercers belongs to the same period; "kakkeys and ale" cost 4½s. A cryptic entry, "v yerddes of now canways to j now pagand that was mayd for the sollys to ryse out of," seems to mean that new canvas had to be bought for making clouds out of which the redeemed souls could rise to heaven, while the unredeemed were thrust into the lowest compartment, with the dramatic condemnation:

"Ye cursed kaitiffs from me ye flee,
In helle to dwelle withouten ende,
There ye shall nevere butt sorowe see
And sitte by Satanas the feinde."

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Nails, laths, ropes, rushes, ironwork, sacks mending, angels' wings, chaplets, are all entered, but the largest item is fees to the players, "to the players thorow the tone iiijd. payd for playing, xviijs. ijd." The entry, where the first appointment of pageant masters is mentioned, is of uncertain date.

There is, however, a complete list of pageant masters of York from 1526 to 1642, four for each year, but their duties changed as Catholicism waned, for Purtianism turned a stern face on such frivolities. Whatever ambiguity there may be about the date of the episode, the fact that the mercers either in addition to their play of Doomsday or instead of it took over all the ornaments and produced the play of "Paternoster," is clear. As in 1399 this play had belonged to a gild of more than one hundred members and their wives, and was so well known that its renown had reached Wycliff's ears, it would be interesting to find out why it was suddenly appropriated by the mercers. It continued to be played at intervals; the final attempt at a revival in 1580 was unsuccessful owing to the opposition of the Archbishop. There are no further allusions to the pageant until 1502, when Thomas Drawswerd was admitted into "the broderheid of the fraternitie of the Holy Trinity" without paying a fee, on condition that he "shall mak the pagiant of the Dome belonging to the merchaunts of new substancialie in everything thereunto belonging, having for the workmanship and stuff of the same, vij marces in money and his entrie fre, with also the old pagiant." The family of Drawswerd had for three generations been engaged in working alabaster and marble, as imagers in York. The new pageant probably had images of angels placed in the interior, otherwise it is difficult to understand why Drawswerd should have been asked or consented to undertake the work. For his workshops had more than local fame; he was requested to compete for the figures on the tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster. It has been suggested that the figures on the quire screen at York were his work, or rather his design, carried out under his supervision in his workshops; for the days has passed when designer was executor. He carved the screen at Newark about 1508. In 1526 another list of properties is given, but it does not leave the impression that the mercers were keenly interested in their pageant: "ij dewells cotte, ij devell hedde, j wesseren, j chartt the cloud, ij grett angells wants j wing, ij trompets, hell dure, iiij angelli, pagand dure, iiij wendows, the iren set with iiij ropps, the wheels with j rope, the trenettie hus, ij lyttell angelles, the viij chyffs, ix nailes, the trenitte wants j chartt, iij wessezons, j rope, j angell. Wants j lyttel angell and ij nalls." This list certainly lends color to the suggestion that the pageant made by Drawswerd was decorated with figures, whether of wood

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or alabaster it is impossible to say. It is a dreary picture of dilapidation, the great angels which want one wing is pathetic, the absence of one little angel heartrending. The cloud would probably be the painted representation of the clouds and great glory in which the Judge would sit, forming a background to the upper part of the pageant.

As early as Lent, the best actors the town could furnish were selected. A first rehearsal would be held in Easter week, and a second in Whitsun week. No player was allowed to take more than three parts.

The earlier English moralities—from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Henry VII.—usually allegorize the conflict between good and evil in the mind and life of man, without any side intention of theological controversy; such also is still essentially the purpose of the morality we possess by Henry VIII.'s poet, the witty Skelton, and even of another, perhaps the most perfect example of its class, which in date is already later than the Reformation. But if such theology as "Everyman" teaches is the orthodox doctrine of Rome, its successor, R. Wever's "Lusty Juventus," breathes the spirit of the dogmatic reformation of the reign of Edward VI. Theological controversy largely occupies the moralities of the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, and connects itself with political feelings in a famous morality. Sir David Lyndsay's "Satire of the Three Estaitis," written on the other side of the border, where such efforts as the religious drama proper had made had been extinguished by the Reformation. Only a single English political morality remains to us, which belongs to the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. Yet another series connects itself with the ideas of the Renaissance rather than the Reformation, treating of intellectual progress rather than of moral conduct; this extends from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of his younger daughter.

The costumes were more magnificent than appropriate. The players condemned themselves to labors to which few of our contemporaries would care to submit. In some "Passions" the person who represented the Christus had to recite nearly four thousand lines. Moreover, the scene of the Crucifixion had to last as long as it did in reality. It is related that in 1437 the Curé Nicolls, who was playing the part of Our Lord, at Metz, was on the point of dying, and had to be taken down from the cross in haste; while another, who was playing the part of Judas, remained hanging so long that his heart failed.

At Canterbury the chief play was naturally "The Martyrdom of St. Thomas." The cost is carefully entered in the municipal account books—charges for carts and wheels, flooring, hundreds of nails, a

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mitre, two bags of leather containing blood which was made to spout out at the murder, linen cloth for St. Thomas' clothes, tin foil and gold foil for the armor, packthread and glue, coal to melt the glue, alb and amys, knights' armor, the hire of a sword, the painting of St. Thomas' head, an angel which cost 22d. and flapped his wings as he turned every way on a hidden winch with wheels oiled with soap. When all was over the properties of the pageant were put away in the barn at St. Sepulchre's nunnery, and kept safely till the next year at a charge of 16d. The Canterbury players also acted in the "Three Kings of Cologne" at the Town Hall, where the kings, attended by their henchmen, appeared decorated with strips of silver and gold paper and wearing monks' frocks. The three "beasts" for the Magi were made out of twelve ells of canvas distended with hoops and laths, and "painted after nature"; and there was a castle of painted canvas which cost 3s. 4d. The artist and his helpers worked for six days and nights at these preparations, and charged three shillings for their labor, food, fire and candle.

The writers of these plays recalled not only the events of this world, but depicted before their audience the terrors and hopes of the next. The greatest celebration in which a city could indulge on a solemn occasion was to play the Passion. When this took place, nearly all the inhabitants crowded into a large theatre (for a play occupied anything from two to five hundred people); the city was deserted, and it was necessary to organize bands of armed citizens to protect the deserted houses against robbery. In Paris, this custom endured to 1548, when the authorities forbade the Confrères de la Passion to play. Incidentally, we may say that the best-known modern survival is that of Ober-Ammergau; and the earliest idea of it seems to have come from Siena (1200) and Padua (1240).

Miracle plays died out in France and England in the sixteenth century, but in Cornwall, as we have seen, they continued to be played down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in Brittany almost down to our own time. "The Great Mystery of Jesus," modernized and otherwise altered, was in great repute in the eighteenth century. One of the widest known and most popular mysteries which have come down to modern times is that of St. Tryphine and King Arthur. The language is more modern than in the two plays above mentioned, and is largely mixed with French expressions, hence we did not include it among Middle-Breton documents. The Breton miracle plays, as well as the Cornish ones, are free to a great extent from the disgusting realism, coarse expressions and indecent buffooneries of the English and French plays of the fifteenth century.

Towards the commencement of the twelfth century, French play-

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wrights fastened on the miracles of the saints as their special themes, and, by force of habit, the English public in ensuing generations retained the description, though subjects had come to be chosen other than the marvels of martyrology. Dr. Ward would limit the term "miracle play" to those dramas based on the legends of the saints, and would describe those drawn from the Old and New Testaments as "mysteries" in conformity with Continental usage. The distinction is logical, but its acceptance would practically involve the sacrifice of the former term, since the Dunstable play of St. Catherine, the plays founded on the lives of St. Fabyan, St. Sebastian and St. Botolph, which were performed in London, and those on St. George, acted at Windsor and Bassingbourn—no others are recorded—have all perished.

Like the modern musical drama of Wagner, "Der Ring," some of those curious old productions lasted for days. For instance, in the reign of Richard II., in 1384, the "clerks" of London gave "a very sumptuous play" at Skinnerwell. In nearly all the plays in England, as also in Germany, the chief interest was tragic; and this was in accordance with the temperament of the nation, which was as yet untouched by the gayety of France, which is the gayety of Chaucer. And, in a less restricted sense, pageants received a fresh impulse in the Renaissance age; and in the time of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth they enjoyed a popularity essentially secular in theme.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the dramatic representations of the chief mysteries of religion and of scenes in the life of Our Lord and of His saints served to impress the truths and events upon the imaginations of the audiences that witnessed them, and to make them vivid realities. The plays were generally acted on a Sunday or feast-day. "Spectacles, plays and dramas that are used on great feasts," says the author of "Dives et Pauper," "as they are done principally for devotion and honest mirth, and to teach men to love God the more, are lawful if the people be not thereby hindered from God's service or from hearing God's word, and provided that in such spectacles and plays there is mingled no error against the faith of Holy Church and good living."

Both the literary and the professional element had thus survived to become tributaries to the main stream of the early Christian drama, which had its source in the liturgy of the church itself. The service of the Mass contains in itself dramatic elements, and combines with the reading out of portions of Scriptures by the priest, its epical part, a lyrical one in the anthems and responses of the congregation. At a very early period—certainly already in the fifth century—it was usual to increase the attractions of public worship on special occasions by living pictures illustrating the Gospel narra-

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tive and accompanied by songs; and thus a certain amount of action gradually introduced itself into the service. When the epical part of the liturgy was connected with its spectacular and to some degree mimical adjuncts, the lyrical accompaniment being of course retained, the liturgical mystery—the earliest form of the Christian drama—was in existence. This had certainly been accomplished as early as the tenth century, when on great ecclesiastical festivals it was customary for the priests to perform in the churches the offices (as they were called) of the Shepherds, the Innocents, the Holy Sepulchre, etc., in connection with the Gospel of the day. In France in the twelfth, or perhaps already in the eleventh century, short Latin texts were written for these liurgical mysteries; these included passages from the popular legend of St. Nicholas as well as from Scriptural story. In the same century the further step was taken of composing these texts in the vernacular—the earliest example being the mystery of the Resurrection. In time a whole series of mysteries was joined together; a process which was at first roughly and then more elaborately pursued in France and elsewhere.

The theory of Copernicus had been in print since 1543, but the drama clings to the Ptolemaic theory.

Nash speaks in 1596 of the theory of Copernicus as of a paradox fallen into disrepute, and the Devil in Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus," when questioned by the Doctor on several matters connected with astronomy, shows that his conception of them is still based on the Ptolemaic system. . . . Shakespeare, especially, never fails to show himself an adherent of the old theory of the universe, and all attempts to prove any connection between his plays and Giordano Bruno's world of thought are beside the mark. These attempts are the work of German scholars who assumed, perhaps involuntarily and certainly unhistorically, that the intimate connection between poetry and contemporary science which characterized the great period of German literature was also characteristic of the Elizabethan dramatists.

Of the skepticism of Montaigne, well known though he was to English playwrights, not a trace appears in their drama. If they laugh at alchemy and astrology, which were not protected by the Church, they accept ghosts and devils, and especially witches. England officially believed in witches; and, especially after the accession of James I., such protests as those of Wier and Reginald Scot were likely to be of little weight against the official view. And Shakespeare, gentle Shakespeare, in order to flatter his sovereign, lends his countenance to the belief that had caused so much abominable cruelty. Whether he held that belief is another matter; he at least did not appreciate his responsibility in lending it his support.

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Any dramatist bold enough to take liberty with Christian dogma, in the way ventured by Euripedes in his treatment of the Greek national faith, would have caused both Church and State to repress him sternly. Although devoid of any sense of historical perspective, the dramatist had no qualms about representing the Deity on the stage. Certain characters appear frequently in a stereotyped mould; thus Noah's wife is always the typical scold, and the amenities of the Ark are but reflections upon the social life of the day, shrill-voiced wives and long-enduring husbands. Herod, again, is always represented as a roaring, ranting potentate. Scenes of comedy were provided at the devil's expense. While to us some of the provisions and situations may seem grotesque enough, and at times even approach to irreverence, there is no doubt whatever that the people for whom they were designed received them at first with pious enthusiasm and seriousness. Horse-play and buffoonery or racy comedy often contrasted incongruously with events of momentous importance. This mixture of the comic and tragic survived in the popular drama despite the opposition of the humanists. It was indeed characteristic of mediæval and Elizabethan manners and taste, and marks another important departure from classical precedent. We to-day are perhaps as near to the Athenians as to the Elizabethans in this respect.

The labor of production and the services of the actors were for the most part voluntary, and the proceeds went to help the common parish purse in providing for the poor. The "pageants were organized," says Bishop Stubbs, in his "Constitutional History of England," "for the relief of distress as well as for conjoint and mutual prayer. It was with this idea that men gave large estates in land to the guilds, which down to the Reformation formed an organized administration of relief." The plays were allotted as much as possible to the work of the guilds; thus we find that the shipwrights presented the scene of the building of the Ark; the fishmongers and mariners were responsible for the play of Noah in the Ark; the goldsmiths and money-lenders stage the visit of the Kings of the East with their presents to the Infant Christ. No expense was spared in making the plays successful, and the gilds vied with one another in their respective shares of the production.

The whole town was made to serve as a huge theatre, and the many pageants proceeded in due order from station to station. "The place," says Archdeacon Rogers—he is speaking of Chester—"the place where they played was in every streete. They begane first at the abay gates and when the first pagiant was played, it was wheeled to the highe crosse before the mayor, and so to every streete; and soe every streete had a pagiant playinge before them at one time,

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till all the pagiantes for the daye appoynted weare played; and when one pagiant was neere ended word was broughte from streete to streete, that soe they might come in place thereof excedinge orderlye, and all the streetes have their pagiantes afore them all at one time playeing togeather to see which playe was greate resorte, and also scafoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places where they determined to playe their pagiantes."

Should the supply of pageants be limited, different scenes were acted in different parts of the same stage; and actors who were awaiting or had ended their parts, stood on the stage unconcealed by a curtain. In more elaborate performances a scene like the "Trial of Jesus" involved the employment of two scaffolds, displaying the judgment-halls of Pilate and Herod respectively; and between them passed messengers on horseback. The plays contain occasional stage directions—e. g. "Here Herod shall rage on the pagond." We find also rude attempts at scene-shifting, of which an illustration occurs in the Conventry Play of "The Last Supper":

"Here Cryst enteryth into the hous with his disciplis and ete the Paschal lomb; and in the mene tyme the cownsel hous beforn seyd al sodeynly onclose, shewynge the buschopys, prestys and jewgys.

The stages or "pageants" on which the acting took place are described as high "scaffolds," with two rooms, and occasionally a third. In the lower, the players apparelled themselves; on the top they acted. The word "pageant," which appears to be etymologically related to the Greek is technical in respect of Miracle Plays, and, in this connection, is thus defined by Archdeacon Rogers:

"A high scafolde with two rowmes, a high and a lower, upon four wheeles. In the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders might heare and see them."

The pageants were constructed of wood and iron, and so thoroughly, that it was seldom that they needed to be renewed. In the floor of the stage were trap-doors covered with rushes. The whole was supported on four or six wheels so as to facilitate movement from point to point; and as the Miracle Plays were essentially peripatetic—within, at least, the bounds of a particular town, and sometimes beyond—this was a very necessary provision.

Each pageant had its company. The word "company" here is not exactly synonymous with "gild," for several gilds might combine for the object of maintaining a pageant and training and entertaining actors, and the composition of the company varied according to the wealth or poverty, zeal or indifference, of different gilds. Thus it came to pass that the number of pageants, in the same city, was subject to change, companies being sometimes subdivided, and

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at other times amalgamated; and in the latter event the actors undertook the performance of more scenes than would otherwise have fallen to their share. Commonly speaking, there was probably no lack, whether of funds or players, at any rate as regards the principal centres. On the day of the performance, each pageant would be taken from its shed and dragged to the first of the "stations" at which the plays were acted. The first performance being over, the whole show would be taken to another place, and there repeated. At York, each play was acted twelve times; the choice of the stopping-places being determined by the liberality of the owners of the adjacent houses. As these performances were not under the immediate protection of the Church, contributions were much needed; since sums varying from fourpence to four shillings, according to the ability of the actors, were paid to them. The outlay on these plays was necessarily large, and the accounts of gilds and corporations prove that not only were considerable sums expended on the dresses of the actors, but the latter received fees for their services. The fund needed to meet these charges was raised by an annual rate levied on each craftsman—called "pageant money." The cost of housing and repairing the pageant, as well as the refreshment of the performers at rehearsals, would also come out of this fund. As the actors were paid, they were expected to be efficient, and the duty of testing their qualifications was delegated either to a pageant-master or to a committee of experienced actors. A York ordinance dated April 3, 1476, shows that four of "the most cunning, discreet and able players" were summoned before the Mayor during Lent for the purpose of making a thorough examination of plays, players and pageants, and "insufficient persons," in whatever requirement—skill, voice or personal appearance—their defect lay, were mercilessly "avoided." No single player was allowed to undertake more than two parts on pain of a fine of forty shillings. If the scenery was immovable, it was very rich with secrets of mechanism. Two or three trees would represent a forest; although the action sometimes changed from place to place, the scenery did not alter. From 1416 to 1591 there is not the slightest indication that the clergy in any way co-operated in the composition of the plays; however, if they are not of an ecclesiastical origin, they at least show a distinct influence of ecclesiastical minds.

The productions of the mediæval religious drama it is usual technically to divide into three classes. The mysteries proper deal with Scriptural events only, their purpose being to set forth, with the aid of the prophetic or preparatory history of the Old Testament, and more especially of the fulfilling events of the New, the central mystery of the Redemption of the world, as accomplished by the

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Nativity, the Passion and the Resurrection. But in fact these were not kept distinctly apart from the miracle plays or miracles, which are, strictly speaking, concerned with the legends of the saints of the Church; and in England the name mysteries was not in use. Of these species the miracles must more especially have been fed from the resources of the monastic literary drama. Thirdly, the moralities, or moral plays, teach and illustrate the same truths; not, however, by direct representation of scriptural or legendary events and personages, but allegorically, their characters being personified virtues or qualities. Of the moralities the Norman *trouvères* had been the inventors; and doubtless this innovation connects itself with the endeavor, which in France had almost proved victorious by the end of the thirteenth century, to emancipate dramatic performances from the control of the Church.

Perhaps the chief difference between the miracle and the morality plays was that the first merely exhibited a series of isolated scenes to illustrate a doctrinal thesis, while the latter worked out the purpose of their allegory by means of a continuous plot. This is particularly the case in the play called "Everyman": the dramatist no longer relied on the narrative of Scripture, but was forced to invent his own plot; and, looking to the plays of Plautus and Terence, learned, no doubt, how to make the story turn on the human interest of the situation. This fifteenth century morality play not only forms one of the completest and most compact allegories that have ever been written; its morality, besides being a masterpiece of clear and direct expression, at the same time remains open to challenge from remarkably few ideas that have arisen since. The overwhelming fear of hell that the minds of men dwelt upon in the Middle Ages is sharply outlined and accentuated; but the means suggested for avoiding that hell might equally well have been advocated by Shelley or by Tolstoy. In addition to this—and perhaps even more remarkable in view of the outward crudity of the situations and the irregularity of the verse—the play is capable of being given a completely satisfactory and even impressive performance by modern actors to a modern audience.

The Belgian monk who did all this undertook also to give a fairly comprehensive summary of the Catholic faith as interpreted by the fifteenth century, with the vanity of early power and riches, the doctrine of redemption by confession, and the value of good deeds. He made "Everyman" a symbol of the human race; he made God's voice proclaim His intentions towards "Everyman" from behind the stage; he brought all the virtues on to the stage as characters, Felawshyp, Dyscrecion, Beaute and so on; and he hit off his little

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problem in the inside of an hour and a half with a boldness and a simplicity that have kept the play fresh for centuries.

In the text as we have it there are still traces of great beauty in the poetry. Much of it is rough and crude and charms merely by the naïve appeal of its primitiveness, but in such moments as Everyman's acceptance of the scourge as a symbol of penance it rises to a height or real richness and passion.

The use of realistic details as a mode of vivification introduced a spirit of secularization; and the early drama was at last brought, through the interlude, to the very verge of the modern play. The most famous of all moralities is "Everyman," whose date of composition can not be defined exactly. It has been thought that the author got his idea of the play from the famous book published by Caxton in 1492, entitled "Ars Moriendi." As early as 1495, a Dutch translation was printed, "Elckerlijk." Whoever its author was, he was a man of profound imagination, with a tender, human soul.

Except for the Protestant moralities that carried out the spirit of the Reformation and for a few plays in the drama of the twentieth century, the English drama has always been conservative, reflecting the accepted and official views of morality and belief. The marvel of the Elizabethan drama is the riotous freedom with which the dramatists were able to create ebullient and infinitely various life within these limits. Shakespeare, and Shakespeare alone, shows some desire to present a philosophy of life. He goes so far, in "Hamlet" and "Lear," as to reject deliberately the "poetic justice" offered him by the original on which he was working, and to show the inevitable tragedy of character and circumstance. But Shakespeare always seems to be above the limits that he imposes on himself or accepts from convention and authority. Dr. Creizenach characteristically points out the significance of Sir Toby's words to Malvolio: "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" It is true that the contest between theatre and Puritan had not reached its bitterest when that line was written; but the gentleness of the complete reply, the proof of superiority that it bears within itself, are all Shakespeare's. In the same manner, however daring his speculations concerning life and fate, he could carry them on without running tilt against received opinions, because his mind worked on planes where it mattered not what people in general thought or did not think about forms of religion, science, or what not. That superiority is the other face of his power to tickle the groundlings with obscene jesting, yet to preserve throughout his plays a purity that is above incitement to vice.

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In Germany, on the other hand (the history of whose drama so widely differs from that of the Spanish), religious plays were performed probably as early as the twelfth century at the Christmas and Easter festivals. Other festivals were afterwards celebrated in the same way, but up to the Reformation Easter enjoyed the preference. About the fourteenth century miracle plays began to be frequently performed; and as these often treated subjects of historical interest, local or other, the transition to the barren beginnings of the German historical drama was afterwards easy. Though these early German plays often have an element of the moralities, they were not as in France blended with the drolleries of the professional strollers *(fahrende Leute)*, which, carried on chiefly in carnival time, gave rise to the Shrove-Tuesday plays *(Fastnachtsspiele)*, scenes from common life largely interspersed with practical fun. To these last a more enduring literary form was first given in the fifteenth century by Hans Rosenplüt, called Schnepperer — or Hans Schnepperer, called Rosenblüt—the predecessor of Hans Sachs. By this time a connection was establishing itself in Germany between the dramatic amusements of the people and the literary labors of the *mastersingers;* but the religious drama proper survived in Catholic Germany far beyond the times of the Reformation, and was not suppressed in Bavaria and Tyrol till the end of the eighteenth century.

No doubt the whole idea of enforcing truths and lessons which it is its object to convey was drawn from the stories and allegories of the Bible. A great part of the Testament depends on an interpretation proceeding on this assumption. Therefore, the moralities suggest the wings as proper names of the designations of abstract qualities. Parts of the vision concerning "Piers Plowman" and "The Pearl" illustrate these tendencies. It must be noted that the moralities concern themselves directly with the prevalent tone of the literature of the age which produced them; on the other hand, the mysteries had been out of touch, generally speaking, with the learning of the schools. "Everyman" was probably taken from the "Legenda Aurea," by Jacobus Voragine (d. 1298), and the eighth-century work of John of Damascus—"Barlaam and Jehoshaphat." The play is the production of Catholic piety, and reflects the efficacy of the mediating influence of the Blessed Virgin and the help of the Sacraments; and, by a consensus of opinion, is regarded as the flower and crown of the literary species to which it belongs.

CLAUDE C. H. WILLIAMSON.

London, England.

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VENERABLE DON BOSCO.

II.

THE new Oratory was inaugurated on Easter Sunday, April 12, 1846, when it was blessed and dedicated under the invocation of St. Francis de Sales by Don Bosco, who celebrated Mass, attended by many youths from the vicinity and other persons from the city; the Archbishop, to testify his satisfaction, renewing the faculties he had already given him. It was a very modest edifice, a sort of shed, about three feet high at one end and a little higher at the other. When he first entered it, he had to be very careful to avoid knocking his head against the low roof. The floor was damp ground, and when it rained it was filled with loughs of water. Rats infested it and bats fled around his head. Yet the good man was satisfied. "This shall be the chapel," he said. "It will be poor, like the stable at Bethlehem." It was transformed in a week. Workmen dug out the soil, the walls were strengthened, and lofts were erected. Don Bosco, his boys and the owner lent a hand. Two poor rooms behind the altar served as sacristy and repository. It was the second chapel of the Oratory and was used for divine worship for about six years. But his "dreams" were confirmed; he was established in the place reserved for him through the goodness of Our Lady.

More youths and little boys were attracted in various ways to the Oratory until their numbers increased to 700; and several ecclesiastics who had abandoned it returned. Lay helpers supported him with their money and personal service. The boys became more assiduous and orderly. "It was marvelous," relates Don Bosco, "the way in which a multitude of whom I knew little at first and of the greater portion of whom it might be truly said that they were *sicut equus et mubus quibus non est intellectus,* behaved. It should be added, however, that in the midst of that great ignorance I was struck with their great respect for the things of the Church, for its sacred ministers, and a great eagerness to learn the dogmas and precepts of religion."

Pinardi, in making some improvement, dug up a good deal of earth which formed a heap of a few paces from the chapel, upon which the boys used to play at soldiers. To some one who urged him to have it removed, Don Bosco answered: "It will be removed another time when in this very place will be built a large chapel." As a number of boys were chanting a solemn air, he imposed silence and said: "My dear children, listen to a thought that has come into

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my mind. Here where we now are some day or other will rise the high altar of our church, to which you will come to receive Holy Communion and sing the praises of the Lord." Five years afterward the church was begun, and the high altar erected in the very spot pointed out by Don Bosco, although the architect who designed it was unaware of this.

Nothwithstanding the order, discipline and tranquillity that reigned in the Oratory, the Marquis Cavour persisted in regarding this assemblage of boys dangerous and wanted to disperse them. He again sent for Don Bosco, to whom he said: "My dear Abbé, it is time to put an end to it; and, since you have not thought it convenient to take my advice, I am constrained, for your good, to put in force my authority and require the closing of your Oratory." "Pardon me, Marquis," replied Don Bosco, "but I think it my duty to respectfully repeat that if the Oratory should be closed it is to be feared that God's malediction would fall upon me and you." While the Marquis displayed great animosity, the priest displayed dignified courage. The former was resolved to carry his point, and, unable to get the Archbishop to forbid Don Bosco the exercise of his ministry, hoped to have the Oratory closed by a formal condemnation by the municipal authorities. In this he failed; but, still hostile, he sent again for Don Bosco, to whom he said: "You are working with a good intention, but the good you are doing is full of danger. On the other hand, I am obliged to safeguard public peace; henceforth I shall have yourself and your assemblies overlooked. At the first compromising act I shall have your rogues dispersed, and you shall be accountable to me for whatever may occur." It was the last time they met, for subsequently the Marquis was suddenly stricken with an attack of gout which, after much suffering, took him to his grave. Meanwhile every Sunday some civic guards spent the day at the Oratory, spying everything that was done within and without the church, but instead of hearing or seeing anything to find fault with, were much edified. Finally the Marquis was satisfied with the explanations given him, recognized the utility of these gatherings for the moral benefit of youth, and promised to let the Oratory alone.

Don Bosco fell ill. The Marchioness Barolo, fearing that his brain was weakening, wanted him to have some months of absolute rest in a salubrious atmosphere, and offered him a sum of 5,000 lire for the purpose. While thanking her for her charitable offer, he said: "I did not become a priest to take care of my health." She was not satisfied. She had seriously hoped that, going away from Turin for a long time, he would forget all about his boys, who had troubled her by the noise they made, and she decided, in her own mind, that he should only concern himself with her institutions.

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"Absorbed in her own works," comments Father Lemoyne, "she had not understood the spirit of Don Bosco, as she had not known how to understand that of the Venerable Giuseppe Benedetto Cottolengo. She put before him the alternative of giving up the Oratory or his chaplaincy of her hospital, giving him time to think of it before answering. "My answer is already thought out and I am ready to give it to you now," he replied. "You have much money and means, and you will find as many priests as you wish to take charge of your institutes. It is not so with the poor boys, and I cannot and ought not abandon them. If that was done the fruit of many years would be lost. Therefore henceforth I shall willingly do what I can for the Refuge, but shall give up my regular office to devote myself more to my work for the boys." "Then you prefer your vagabonds to my Institutes?" she exclaimed. "If so, you are dismissed from this moment. I shall procure your successor this very day." He observed that such a precipitate proceeding might give rise to suspicions, and it was agreed there should be a delay of three months, during which, through the medium of Silvio Pellico, her secretary, and Don Borel, she renewed her proposition; returning to the charge directly or indirectly. Once when she visited the humble chapel, it seemed to her still more inexplicable that he should refuse her generous offer. "What can you do here?" she said, "if I do not come to your aid? I know you haven't a penny! And with all that won't you accede to my proposal? So much the worse for you! Think well before deciding it: it concerns your whole future!" Another time she said to him: "You are in great straits, is it not true?" "Oh, no!" he replied affably, but looking grave and reserved. "I didn't come to talk to you of money! I know your intentions and I don't wish to disturb you, the more so as I don't need anything and—if you will permit me to say it without intending to offend you—I have no need of you either, Signora Marchesa!" "Really, eh?" she said. "Here's a proud man!" "No," he said quietly, "I don't seek your money and though you know I am necessarily straitened and don't make a move to help me, I am of quite a different mind towards you. So, making an inadmissable supposition, if the Signora Marchesa should fall into poverty and needed my help, I would take the mantle off my shoulders and the bread from my mouth to succor her." The lady was for a moment confused; but presently, with her customary vivacity, pursued: "I know it, I know it, that you persist in not having need of me and not wanting my favors! Canon Cottolengo, too, did the same, he did not want my money!"

It also grieved the Marchioness to see the failure of her pet project of forming a kind of congregation of priests to whom she wished

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to confide her establishments with Don Bosco, who possessed the necessary gifts to realize it, as its director; she, so powerfully supported by the King and all the authorities, her wealth, the nobility of her family, the popularity she acquired by her beneficence, could not but feel baffled at the insuperable resistance of Don Bosco. With all that, she was an eminently pious lady and really sincerely humble, for she always knelt and asked his blessing at his coming and going. He had, however, decided at the end of three months, to leave the hospital, which meant relinquishing his apartments at the Refuge.

In addition to his apostolate among youth, to which he was so self-sacrificingly devoted, he found another sphere for the exercise of his indefatigable zeal and ardent charity in ministering to prisoners under sentence of death, his exhortations being extraordinarily efficacious. In the midst of this very trying mission he was stricken with a grave illness which threatened to be fatal. The last sacraments were administered and the boys, divided into squadrons, alternately kept vigil from morning till night in the sanctuary of the Consolata, praying to Our Lady to preserve the life of their loving father and friend, in which they were joined by his mother and his brother Joseph, who hastened from Becchi to Turin. One night, which looked as if it would be his last, Don Borel prevailed upon him to pray for his own recovery. To console him, he said in a feeble voice: "Lord, if it be pleasing to You, cure me"; while, as he himself narrates, he mentally prayed thus: *"Non recuso laborem;* if I can be of service to some soul, O Lord, at the intercession of Your most holy Mother, be pleased to restore me to such health as may not be contrary to the good of my soul!" "That is enough," said Don Borel, "now I am certain she will cure you!" A short time afterwards he fell into a sleep from which he awoke out of danger, as if restored to a new life. Doctors Botta and Cafasso, on coming to pay their morning visit, not without fear of finding him dead, felt his pulse and said: "Dear Don Bosco, thank Our Lady of Consolation, who has taken good care of you." There was great rejoicing, particularly among the boys, at this unexpected recovery. They wept for joy, Don Bosco mingling his tears with theirs. When he reappeared in the Oratory he said to them: "I thank you for the proofs of love you have given me during my illness; I thank you for the prayers offered for my cure. I am persuaded that God has granted me life at your prayers; and, therefore, gratitude requires that I should spend it all to your advantage. I promise to do so as long as the Lord shall leave me on this earth, and do you on your part help me." There was exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and they chanted the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving. Then he went to Castelnuovo and Becchi

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to recuperate; until, warned in one of his "dreams" of the backsliding of two of his boys who relapsed into a disorderly life, he returned to Turin, accompanied by his mother, who he declared was a saint, and who said to him: "My dear son, you may imagine how much it affects me to leave this house, your brother and the other dear ones, but if it appears to you that such a thing may please the Lord, I am ready to follow you." They made the journey together on foot in the primitive manner, discoursing of God and divine things. It was November 3, 1846. The apostle of youth, destined to perform prodigies of charity for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, was at last free to carry out that admirable programme which to human eyes seemed daring, even impossible. "If rich, you shall not see me!" his mother had said. But now, seeing him sacrificing himself for the poorest, piously and generously she followed him. The holocaust of mother and son could not be more complete.

He next busied himself, *inter alia,* with the organization and coördination of his schools in which were taught Christian doctrine, sacred history, languages and music, the experiment being very successful, so that Professor Rayneri of the Royal University, said: "If you wish to see teaching admirably put in practice go to the Oratory of St. Francis de Sales and observe what Don Bosco is doing." The City Council, after sending a commission to investigate them, set aside an annual subsidy of 300 lire "for the schools of the poor children of the people,"[1] and the Cavaliere Gonella, director of the Mendicità istruita, was so impressed by the method of teaching that he obtained from the administrators of that pious institution 1,000 lire to be used by Don Bosco for the advantage of the schools and the benefit and encouragement of the pupils. It being the first time in Italy that were opened public schools of music and that singing was taught in classes to many pupils simultaneously, it excited much interest and curiosity. When the pupils were sufficiently instructed they formed choirs who sang in theatres and churches. This initial school produced musicians of notable ability, not a few clever organists, and a hundred other schools that enhanced its reputation; while the Turin local authorities voted Don Bosco a prize of 1,000 lire for his promotion of music. "The encouragements I received from the civic and ecclesiastical authorities—among whom King Charles Albert and Monsignor Fransoni continued to be in the first line—the zeal with which many persons came to my aid with temporal means and the coöperation, are an indubitable sign," he records, "of the blessings of the Lord and the public approbation of men."

[1] Regularly paid until 1878 when, without any reason assigned, it was stopped.

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But the teaching of Christian doctrine was uppermost in his mind and his *primum motor*. His zeal for its teaching was marvelous. He would roam the streets and squares, go into lodging houses, cafés, shops and ascend the scaffoldings of houses and mansions in process of construction to beg the contractors and foremen to send their boys to catechism. People would stop to look at this unusual sight, and while the one exclaimed, "Is that priest mad?" others would ask, "Whoever can he be?" to which some one would answer: "Oh, it's Don Bosco in search of boys!" Shortly after noon during the days of Lent a boy would get hold of a big bell and go ringing it round about the Oratory. Its sound, penetrating into the houses, would remind the occupants of the duty of sending the youngsters to catechism, and in a few minutes troops of boys would be crowding from all parts and inviting other boys to join them to the Oratory. To stabilize on an organic basis the discipline and administration of the Oratory, he instituted the Company of St. Louis, for the mutual edification of the boys, that by the frequentation of the Sacraments and giving each other good example they might become confirmed in virtuous living. The Archbishop, who approved of it by a rescript of April 12, 1847, wished his own name to be the first enrolled. Don Bosco compiled for them a pious manual called "Il Giovane Provveduto."

The enemy of all good could not behold so much being done in the way that saints do it without venting his rage, which he did by nightly noises, to the great detriment of poor Don Bosco's health; but when he prayed to the Blessed Virgin he was freed from this disturbance. His room was regarded by all the boys as a sanctuary in which Our Lady was pleased to make known to him her will. His mother, who was of the same opinion, had removed her bed into the room adjoining his, persuaded that he spent part of the night in prayer and suspecting that, then took place something surprising which she could not well define. She told the boy Giacomo Bellia that once, in the small hours before dawn, she heard her son talking in his room and some one answering; she listened, but could understand nothing. In the morning, although she was certain no one could have got in, she asked him who he was talking to, and he answered: "I talked with Luigi Comollo." "But Comollo is dead years ago!" she said.[2] "Still it was so," he replied, without giving any other explanation. His face was as red as fire, his eyes sparkled; it was evident that a great overmastering idea was in his mind, and he was agitated with an emotion that lasted for more than a day.

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[2] He died on April 2, 1839, aged 22.

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But more surprising was the fact he narrated himself for the first time, seventeen years after it took place. One evening, in 1864, after the conferences he was wont to give in his anteroom to members of his Pious Society, having spoken of detachment from the world and one's family to follow our Lord's example, he continued: "I have already told various things in the form of a dream from which we may conclude how much the most holy Madonna loves and helps us; but since we are here alone by ourselves, that every one of us may be assured that the Virgin Mary favors our Pious Society and that it may animate us to labor still more for the glory of God, I shall tell you not now the description of a dream, but what the Blessed Virgin herself was pleased to make visible to me. She wishes that we should put our trust in her. I am speaking to you in all confidence, but I wish that what I am going to tell you be not divulged to others of the house or outside the Oratory in order that it may not give malignant critics something to talk about. One day in the year 1847, having meditated much on the way of doing good, particularly to the advantage of youth, the Queen of Heaven appeared to me and led me into an enchanting garden. There was a rustic, but very beautiful and large portico in the form of a vestibule. Trailing plants adorned it and festooned the pilasters, and branches very rich in foliage and flowers stretching above the one towards the other their tops and interlacing, spread over it like a handsome veil. This portico led to a beautiful avenue, upon which one saw in the distance a bower charming to look upon, supported and covered with marvelous roses in full bloom. The ground was also completely covered with roses. The Blessed Virgin said to me: 'Take off your shoes!' And when I had taken them off, she added: 'Go forward to that bower, that is the way to reach it rapidly.' I was glad to have put off the shoes, for I would have been sorry to trample those roses, they were so lovely. I began to walk, but suddenly I felt that those roses concealed very sharp thorns, so that my feet bled. Then, having gone hardly a few paces, I was obliged to stop and retrace my steps. 'We want shoes here,' I said to my guide. 'Certainly,' I was answered, 'we want good shoes.' I put on my shoes, and resumed my way with a certain number of companions who made their appearance at that moment, asking to accompany me. They kept behind under the arbor, which was of incredible loveliness; but as I advanced it appeared narrow and low. Many branches arose lofty and remounted like festoons, others hung perpendicularly above the path. From the stems of the roses other branches spread out here and there at intervals horizontally; others formed sometimes a thicker hedge, obstructing a part of the way; others wound a little higher from the ground. They were, however, all covered with roses,

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and I saw nothing but roses at the sides; roses above and roses between my steps. While I felt acute pains in the feet and sometimes hesitated, I touched the roses here and there and felt that thorns still sharper were concealed under them. Nevertheless, I went forward. My feet got entangled in the branches resting on the ground and remained stuck there; I removed a transversal branch that obstructed my progress, but to get clear of it grazed the back and pricked myself and was bleeding not only in the hands, but over the whole body. The roses which hung above concealed a great quantity of thorns that stuck into my head. However, encouraged by the Blessed Virgin, I pursued my way; but, from time to time, was pierced with punctures more acute and penetrating, which gave me a still more painful spasm. Meanwhile all, and they were very numerous, who saw me walking through that garden, said: 'Oh! how Don Bosco is always walking over roses; he is advancing very quietly; all is going well with him.' But they did not see the thorns that lacerated my poor limbs. Many clerics, priests and laity whom I invited set about following me joyfully, allured by the loveliness of those flowers; but when they realized that they had to walk over prickly thorns and that these protruded everywhere, they began to cry out, saying: 'We have been deceived!' I answered, 'Whoever wants to walk pleasantly over roses, go back; let the others follow me.' Not a few went back. Having gone a good part of my way, I turned to glance at my companions. But what was my grief when I saw that a portion of these had disappeared and another had already turned their backs on me and withdrawn. I at once retraced my steps to call them back, but in vain, for they would not listen to me. Then I began to lament and complain excessively, saying: 'Is it possible that I must traverse all this weary way alone? But I was soon consoled. I saw advancing towards me a troop of priests, clericals and seculars, who said to me, 'Behold us; we are all yours, ready to follow you.' I preceded them, leading the way; only some lost courage and stopped, but a large portion went with me to the end. Having traversed the whole length of the garden, I found myself in another very pleasant one, where my few followers, all attenuated, ruffled and bleeding, surrounded me. Then a fresh wind arose, and by its breath all were cured; another breath of wind and as by enchantment I found myself encircled by an immense number of youths and clerics, lay helpers and also priests, who set to work along with me in guiding those youths. I recognized several by their features, many I did not yet know. Presently, having reached an elevated place in the garden, I saw before me a monumental edifice surprising in the magnificence of its architecture and, crossing its threshold, I entered a very spacious hall of such magnificence that

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no palace in the world could boast of its equal. It was all strewn and adorned with thornless roses in full bloom, from which emanated a most delightful fragrance. Then the Blessed Virgin, who was my guide, asked me, 'Dost thou know what all thou now seest and hast seen signifies?' 'No,' I replied, 'I pray you explain it to me." Then she said to me, 'Know that the way traversed by thee amid roses and thorns signifies the charge thou hast of taking care of youth; you must make your way with the sandals of mortification. The thorns on the earth represent sensible affections, the human sympathies or antipathies that distract the teacher from the true end, injure him, stop him in his mission, hinder him from proceeding and attaining the crown of eternal life. The roses are the symbol of the ardent charity that should distinguish thee and all thy helpers. The other thorns signify the obstacles, sufferings and unpleasantnesses that you encounter. But do not lose courage. With charity and mortification thou wilt overcome everything and reach the thornless roses!' The Mother of God had hardly finished speaking, when I came to myself and found myself in my room."

The servant of God concluded by affirming that after that he clearly saw the path he was to tread; the opposition and artifices with which they would try to stop him were revealed to him, and that though he would have to walk through many thorns, he was certain of the will of God and of the success of the great undertaking confided to him.

He next addressed his attention to a phase of rescue work which strongly appealed to him and to his mother, called by his boys "Mamma Margherita." Many little Turin boys and strangers to the city, well disposed to lead moral and industrious lives, were in want of food, clothing and temporary shelter. For one of these, a homeless orphan, who had come from Valesia in search of work and was penniless, and had nowhere to go, they improvised a bed in the kitchen. "This," writes Father Lemoyne, "was the first bed and the first dormitory of the Salesian Hospice in Turin, which was to reach and contain more than a thousand rescued ones." Mamma Margherita, who had a homely talk with this first orphan boy on the necessity of work, fidelity and religion, introduced the very useful practice maintained in the Oratory and extended to all the Salesian houses, that of impressing every night before they retired to rest some good word or thought on the minds of the inmates.

At the close of 1847 a new Oratory was opened in the vicinity of the Porto Nuova and was dedicated to St. Louis Gonzaga, the angelic patron of youth, who was also the name saint of Archbishop Fransoni, a tower of strength to Don Bosco's work, which he upheld through good and evil report. The new Oratory had to encounter

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snares and difficulties, but from the first feast days there was a marvelous rush of boys.

At this time Don Bosco's mind was sadly preoccupied. One day as he was celebrating Mass at the Institute of the Good Shepherd, and was at the elevation, a Sister gave a loud cry which disturbed the whole community. He, too, was very much impressed, and the Sister came to ask him to excuse her for the disturbance she caused. "What did you see?" he inquired. "Jesus in the host in the form of an infant dripping with blood," she answered. "And what would that mean?" he queried. "I don't know," she said. "Know," said he, "that it indicates that a great persecution of the Church is being organized."

Troubled times were near. They were on the eve of a revolutionary epoch. The next year, 1848, was to be signalized by insurrections in Ireland, France, Prussia, Austria and Italy. Pius IX. in Rome and Charles Albert in Sardinia thought to stem the torrent by concessions to the liberal movement which had begun to transform Europe; but it broke down every breakwater, every barrier. The Supreme Pontiff, more saint than statesman—who stood at the parting of the ways, when the receding old order was about to give place to the new—saw his benevolent efforts foiled and had to flee to Gaeta. Mazzini and Garibaldi set up their short-lived Roman Republic in the City of the Popes, which was desecrated and demoralized. Don Bosco, by his tact and firmness, avoided being drawn into the whirlpool and vortex of politics, as he continued to do all through his life, and had his reward in his relations with the civil power which, though at first it put obstacles in his way, ended by recognizing the great public service he rendered the State by his social reforms. Faithful to the Papacy, he taught the boys when, in the beginning of his Pontificate, the name of Pius IX. was greeted with tumultuous applause, not to cry *Viva Pio Nono!* but *Viva il Papa!* for certain people wished to separate the Sovereign of Rome from the Pontiff, the man from his divinely bestowed dignity. Again, when on February 8 Charles Albert promulgated his promise of a measure to give effect to civil reform, and the Turin authorities proposed to celebrate it with a public function, and the Marquis Roberto d'Azeglio invited Don Bosco to participate along with his boys. He refused, saying that he resolved to keep aloof from everything that had reference to politics. Urged by some members of the Council to manifest his own opinions and to do something that would please the liberal party, he gave a non-committal reply. To refuse would be construed into a declaration of enmity to Italy, to agree would imply the acceptance of principles which he judged fraught with disastrous consequences; therefore, he neither approved nor disapproved.

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Though they said, "Don't you know that your existence is in our hands?" he remained firm.

Soon after there were hostile demonstrations against some religious orders and cries of "Death!" were heard under the windows of the refectory of St. Francis of Assisi and of the Marchioness of Barolo's. From the Pinardi house they heard the indecent clamors of drunken men, ready for mischief, and of abandoned women who poured out all sorts of insults against the Refuge, threatening to drive the inmates out and burn it. Don Bosco then ran the greatest risks. A shot, aimed at his heart, was actually fired at him from a wall one Sunday when he was catechizing the boys, but it failed to hit its mark. A universal outcry followed the detonation; then profound silence. With pallid faces all the boys fixed their eyes on the servant of God. The bullet had torn his cassock and sleeve and spent itself against the chapel wall. With great composure and presence of mind, to quell the indescribable terror this sacrilegious outrage had aroused among the boys, he smilingly remarked: "What! are you afraid of a bad joke? It is a jest and nothing more. Certain ill-instructed people never know how to make a joke without offering offense. Look! they have torn my cassock and spoiled the wall! But let us turn to our catechism."

He got to know who his would-be assassin was. Meeting him one day he reflected that, if he showed he knew all about him—and he was a scoundrel guilty of other misdeeds—he would not have the courage to approach him, fearing denunciation. He asked him what motive impelled him to play such an ugly joke. Surprised, but not humiliated, the wretch replied: "I wanted to see if the gun would make a good shot . . . against the wall of your house." "You're an unfortunate fellow!" said Don Bosco, "however, I forgive you from my heart and wish to be your friend!' '

The political tumult outside had its reverberation within the Oratory. Piedmont had declared war on Austria, and between enthusiasm for war aroused by its proclamation and enthusiasm for liberty evoked by the new statute minds were everywhere in a whirl of excitement. The boys, particularly the grown lads, caught the contagion which was fostered in every *borgo* by Associations of Youth, called in the local dialect *Cocche*. Every one who was for the war took sides against those who were opposed to it, with the result that the two factions had often pitched battles. In one of these near the Oratory Don Bosco intervened; but, finding words unavailing to quell the clamor and separate the combatants, determined to stop it at any cost. Endowed with strength of muscle as well as strength of will, he threw himself into their midst, while projectiles of all kinds were flying about, and put both the bellig-

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erents to flight; thus putting an end to the disorder. "I remained master of those fields," he says, "and no one ventured to return." Then he pondered: "What have I done? I might have been hit by one of those stones and stricken to earth. But neither in this or in similar cases has any evil consequence befallen me, except once when I received a blow of a wooden shoe in the face and bore the mark of it for some months. When one relies on the goodness of his cause, he need fear nothing. I am made like that; when I see God offended, to hinder it I would not retire or yield, even if I had to face an army against me."

They invaded the region of Valdocco, and he often went into the midst of the tumult, the stones sometimes striking him on the shoulders or the limbs; but the cry, "Here's Don Bosco, here's Don Bosco!" was enough for the greater portion to disperse and for the others to gather round him. While he spoke to them, the already open blades of knives, were concealed in sleeves, and the stones dropped silently down from the hand. The Waldenses, abusing the liberty accorded to them by the edict of June 19, sought to make proselytes. The first to taste the bitter fruits of this emancipation were Don Bosco and the Oratory of St. Louis, not far from which the heretics spread their snares. On the first Sunday fifty of the five hundred boys who frequented the Oratory fell away, enticed into the enemy's camp; on the second Sunday the biggest boys made themselves the guardian angels of the younger; and on the third Sunday only thirty or forty made their appearance in that camp. The boys obediently returned like lambs into their own fold. The enraged heretics besieged with volleys of stones the Oratory, which looked like a fortresss they wanted to take by assault. The eldest boys lost patience and, despite every danger, sallied out and drove the assailants off with the same missiles. This scene was renewed for months.

A far different scene was witnessed at the Oratory of St. Francis de Sales on the celebration of the feast of St. Louis when the procession was headed by a young artisan carrying a banner, the tassels being held by two youths of the noblest families, while at either side of the statue were seen two notable personages, one of whom held in his hand a lighted taper, and the other the *Giovane Provveduto,* and both sang, along with the sacred ministers, the hymn, "Infensus hostis gloria," in honor of St. Louis. They were the Marquis Gustavus and Count Camillus Cavour. The Marquis wished to be enrolled in the Company of St. Louis and, kneeling before the altar in the midst of the boys, read in a loud voice the formula of aggregation. The two brothers, seeing how Don Bosco had the ability and constancy to overcome so much opposition, became his

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admirers. They often visited him, and there was no feast of any importance at the Oratory in which they did not take part. They delighted to see so many boys playing peaceably, well instructed and well treated, rescued from evil ways, and at such a sight Camillus often exclaimed: "What a grand and useful work is this! It would truly be desirable that there was one at least in every city; thus many boys would escape imprisonment; and Government would not have to spend so much money in keeping them in jail, and would have instead many well trained citizens, who, with a handicraft or trade, would lead honest lives."

The work of the Oratories, which gained such high recognition, had then triumphed. It was in full bloom, but there were still thorns beneath the rose leaves. All his associates did not think as he did. One day two priests, attached to the Oratory of St. Louis, where the boys had resisted the allurements of the proselytizers with such constancy in the faith, asked for permission to lead these very boys with banners and the tricolor cockade through the streets. He refused. Joined by others, they declared themselves openly against Don Bosco, and the next Sunday led out the boys of the Oratory of the Porta Nuova. Afterwards an effort was made at the Valdocco Oratory to get the boys to drop the Catholic paper, the *Armonia,* for the liberal *Opinione.* When he was addressing his juvenile auditors, he was interrupted for half an hour with shouts of "Emancipation, independence, liberty!" A rebellious squadron of about a hundred boys were led into revolt, Don Bosco having dispensed with the aid of the hitherto co-workers, who made all this trouble. The latter detached all the big boys from his. Priests and clerics for one motive or another abandoned him, with one or two exceptions, notably Don Borel. Censorious tongues criticized his conduct with unsparing hostility. Carlo Gastini, an orphan in the Valdocco Hospice, heard him say: "All are abandoning me, but I have God with me, and whom should I fear? The work is His and not mine, and He will think of carrying it on." He did. All the boys, little by little, returned. He had the patience and faith of the saints and he had their reward. In the midst of all these trials he remained heroically tranquil. His "dreams" and the vision of the garden of roses had prepared him for them. After the return of the young prodigals, the number of boys increased.

While perfect peace prevailed at Valdocco, some of his coöperators, fearing that renewal of the recent disturbances would ruin a work so well begun, proposed that the existing Oratories and those that might be founded should be formed into a confederation governed by a kind of assembly; but Don Bosco, who had other views, would not approve of it. "Then," observed Durando, a learned priest of the

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mission, "you mean to found an ecclesiastical congregation." "Be it a congregation, be it what you like, I want to erect Oratories, chapels, churches, catechism classes and schools, and without a person to help me I can do nothing." "But how can you undertake such a thing? You will want sites and money in abundance." "Not merely wanting! We desire them. And they shall be ours." Durando went away, saying there was no reasoning with him.

It was among the boys he sought and found the first collaborators and continuators of his work. In 1849 he selected seventy out of the hundred who frequented the Valdocco Oratory and got them to make the spiritual exercises to see if any of them would show signs of a vocation to the priesthood. He took four, to whom he said: "I want to collect boys who are willing to take up the work of the Oratory along with me. Will you consent to be my assistants?" "In what way can we help you?" they asked. "We will begin to form a little elementary school," he answered. "I will there teach you the first rudiments of the Latin language, and if such be the will of God, who knows but in time you may become priests." When a third Oratory was added, that of Valdocco became like the Seminary of the archdiocese and of Piedmont, and was such for twenty years, so that a large number of these boys, through the zeal and at the expense of Don Bosco, were enabled to pursue the usual course of studies, receive ordination, and become priests in various dioceses.

The work went bravely on. The Minister of the Interior was petitioned to subsidize it. A commission of three Senators was sent to Valdocco in January, 1850, to report on it. They found more than five hundred boys on the playground. "What a beautiful sight!" exclaimed Count Sclopio. "Beautiful indeed!" responded the Marquis Pallavicini. "Fortunate Turin!" added Count Collegno, "if several such institutes should be raised within it!" "Then pursued Sclopio, "our eyes would not so often be confronted with the disagreeable sight of so many wretched youths scouring the streets and squares on festive days, growing up in ignorance and evil ways." The greatest praise was given to Don Bosco. "His work," exclaimed Sclopio, "is truly philanthropic and of great social importance. The government ought to promote and support such works; and for his comfort I tell him that the Intendant and all the royal family appreciate this work and will give it their protection." "These are miracles of Catholic charity," declared Palavicini. "Signor Don Bosco," said Count Sclopio, as he was taking his departure, "I am not wont to use flattery, but with all the sincerity of my heart, and in the name of of my colleagues, I confess to you that we are leaving, highly satisfied; and as Catholics and citizens and Senators of the Kingdom we applaud your work and wish it may prosper and extend." The

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proposal received the approval of the Senate; and from that day the Oratory and Hospice were favorably regarded by the government, which sent them subsidies. During a local disturbance arising out of the Constitutional Charter, when the populace were about to make a descent upon Valdocco, one of the demonstrators, who had had experience of Don Bosco's benevolence, harangued them, saying: "Hear me, my friends! Some would wish to go down to Valdocco to groan Don Bosco. Take my advice and don't go. Being a working day, you'll only find with him his old mother and some poor rescued boys. In place of crying out, 'Death to him!' we should cry out, 'Long life to him!' for Don Bosco loves and helps the children of the people!" Another added: "Don Bosco is not a partisan of any one! He is a philanthropist! He is a man of the people! Let us leave him in peace! Let us not go to him to cry out 'viva!' or 'morte!' and let us go elsewhere." These words stopped the tumultuous crowd which went to deafen the ears of the Dominicans and Barnabites.

Count Camillus Cavour was then all for the Oratory, and it was wonderful to see how the servant of God had the support of personages otherwise seemingly adversaries of the Church, or rather of the temporal power of the Papacy. At first sight it might seem that their large promises of help for his pious undertakings, their proffers of signal honors, their granting of many of his requests would dangerously put to the test his piety, fidelity to the Holy See and his religious principles. But Don Bosco, with heroic fortitude and without a shadow of human respect, always remained the most faithful supporter of the Church's cause, which is the cause of God. Count Camillus not only often visited him, but had him frequently at his table as an honored guest. "I was not too easily induced to take my seat at the Count's table, notwithstanding his pressing invitations: but as I sometimes had to treat with him on important affairs, it was necessary that I should go to his house or that of the Minister," he notes. "But often, when he was already Minister, he told me resolutely that he did not wish to give me audience at dinner or lunch hour, and that when I needed some favor from him there was always a place for me at his table." This was because they could there converse with greater freedom than in the official residence or offices, where there were too many people. His brother, the Marquis Gustavus, fixed the same time for his receptions.

Don Bosco founded in Turin the first conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society on the model of the parent establishment in France, begun in 1833 by Frederic Ozanam. It was a charitable work in harmony with his own, particularly that phase of it which found visible expression in the Hospice, in which he sheltered so many

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orphaned and destitute stray waifs. On July 1, 1850, he inaugurated the Society of Mutual Help, the genesis of those innumerable societies or Union of Catholic Works which then flourished in Italy. The main object was to counteract the various associations inspired by Freemasonry, which under the guise of charity and philanthropy, tended to sap or undermine the faith of the people and withdraw them from the influence of the Church. One day two elegantly dressed gentlemen approached Giuseppe Brosio, of the Society of Mutual Help, and offered him about 600 lire, and promised to secure him an important position, if he would give up the Oratory and draw away his companions, but he indignantly refused, saying: "Don Bosco is my father and I would not abandon or betray him for all the gold in the world!" At intervals they renewed the offer, which was always rejected.

In 1851 was completed the first decade of the foundation of the work of the Oratories when, as they carried the founder on their shoulders in triumph, a young student exclaimed: "O Don Bosco, if one could see every part of the world and in each of them so many Oratories!" He answered: "Who knows if a day will not come when the sons of the Oratory will be scattered over the whole world!" He was already preparing to bring about that consummation. On February 2 his four first clerics were habited when, auspiciously, they kept the feast of St. Francis de Sales, under whose patronage the work had been placed. On the 19th of that month another important step forward was taken, when he agreed to purchase the Pinardi house for 30,000 lire without a penny in his pocket! Rosmini came to his aid by lending him 20,000 lire, the Countess Casazza-Riccardi gave 10,000 lire and Giuseppe Cotta, a banker, added 3,500 lire to cover incidental expenses. In a materialistic and commercial age, in which the science of economics and monopolies with the accumulation of millions ranked first; in the midst of so many speculators, egoists, indifferentists and proud contemners of Divine Providence, God, observes Father Lemoyne, raised up a man who, without capital and unknown in the spheres of commerce, was to carry on his works to colossal proportions, handling huge sums offered through charity and entirely spent for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

The acquisition of the Pinardi house was only the prelude to bigger enterprises. A month afterwards he said to his mother: "Now I wish that we should erect a handsome church in honor of St. Francis de Sales." "But where will you get the money?" she asked. "You know we have none of our own; everything was spent to provide food and clothing for these poor boys; so, before undertaking the expenses of a church, you ought to think twice, and take counsel

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with the Lord." "That's exactly what we shall do. If you had the money, would you not give it to me?" "You may imagine with what pleasure." "Now," concluded her son, "God who is so good, is more generous than you. He has funds all over the world, and for a work that should tend to His glory, I hope He will send me wherewithal in time and place."

He got an architect to draw a design and put the contract into the hands of Federico Bocca, warning him that sometimes he might not have the money to pay him. "Then we shall proceed more slowly with the work," said the cautious contractor. "Oh, no!" he replied, "I want you to get on with it as quickly as possible, and to have the church built within a year." "Very well," said Bocca, "we shall hurry matters on." "Then begin," said Don Bosco. "Here is some money already to go on with; Divine Providence will send us the rest in time." The Bishops, one of whom thanked the Lord "for having in such perverse times raised up in him a priest full of His Spirit and of holy zeal for the salvation of souls," wrote him encouraging letters; the King, who contributed 11,000 lire, laid the first stone; when the funds in hand were exhausted he raised more by that time-honored expedient on such occasions—a lottery, organized by a mixed committee which had the enthusiastic concurrence of all classes from royalty downwards. An earthquake that occurred at this time and did great damage throughout the city failed to shake the walls of the new edifice, which was regarded as a special favor from heaven. A very pious boy of thirteen, Gabriel Fassio, one of the *ricoverati* or rescued waifs sheltered in the Hospice, whose death Don Bosco predicted, after he had received the last sacraments, being *in extremis* about a year before that, foretold this disaster, repeating: "Woe to Turin! woe to Turin!" Some of his companions asked: "Why woe?" "Because," he said, "it is threatened with a great disaster." "What?" "A horrible earthquake." "When will it be?" "Another year. Oh, woe to Turin on the 26th of April!" "What should we do?" "Pray to St. Louis that he may protect the Oratory and those who inhabit it." Shortly after he died holily in the Cottolengo Hospital. Witnessing his rare virtues and struck by the apparently inspired tone in which he uttered the word "woe!" the boys were profoundly impressed and respected his advice. It was for this reason, at their request, were added to the prayers said in common morning and night, a *Pater, Ave* and *Gloria* to St. Louis with the invocation: *Ab omni malo libera nos, Domine,* a custom always observed in Salesian houses. Out of gratitude for the providential preservation of the Church, Don Bosco allocated half of the proceeds of the lottery to the Cottolengo Hospital. The first conference of Salesian coöperators, who were to be the chief lay promoters of his numerous works,

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took place on the day of the inauguration of the sacred edifice, for which he wrote an ode, set to music and sung by the boys.

The same unbounded confidence in Divine Providence, the same unfaltering faith, the same splendid audacity, to use a phrase in which a panegyrist extolled an English Bishop,[3] characterized the erection of the magnificent church of Our Lady Help of Christians in Turin, his *magnum opus* as a church-builder. Although very ill in Holy Week, 1863, and ordered by the physicians to remain in his room to take some needful rest, he would not do so, but kept revolving in his mind the erection of a large church in honor of her who, in repeated visions, had foreshown to him churches and houses in large numbers. He said to the cleric Paul Albera (now Don Albera, superior-general of the Salesian Congregation): "To-day I have been hearing confessions for a long time, but I hardly know what I said or did, for there was one idea which distracted me so powerfully as to take me almost out of myself. I kept on thinking over the small size of our church and how the boys are almost on top of each other. We shall build another handsomer, larger, magnificent, and will give it the title, Church of 'Most Holy Mary Help of Christians.' I haven't a halfpenny, nor do I know where to get the money; but that does not matter; if God wills it, it shall be done. I shall make the attempt, and if it fails, the shame will be wholly mine. They may then say: *coepit aedificare et non potuit consummare.*" When he again broached the subject, some one said to him: "To build a church without any means in an age so covetous and so self-interested! That would be tempting Providence." To this counsel of human prudence he replied: "When we are about to do anything, we should consider first if it is for the greater glory of God; if it is known to be so, let us go ahead and not hesitate, and success will follow." To Don Cagliero he said: "The present times are so sad that we have special need that the Blessed Virgin should help us to preserve and defend the faith. Do you know another reason?" Don Cagliero answered: "I believe it will be the mother church of your future society and the centre from whence will emanate our other works in favor of youth." "You have divined it," emphasized Don Bosco. "Most Holy Mary is the foundress and will be the supporter of our works!" Asked where it would be built, he indicated the site in a field opposite that of St. Francis de Sales' and with a gesture which signified its large proportions; it was the very spot where had taken place the martyrdom of SS. Salutorius, Adventorius and Octavius, of the Theban Legion. Although he had not yet acquired this site, he was enabled to do so on February 11, 1863, when he at once sent for the distinguished architect, Antonio Spezia, whom he

[3] Dr. Butt, Bishop of Southwark.

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commissioned to draw out designs for a church of vast dimensions. When this was done he sent the plan with the title, "Church of Our Lady Help of Christians," to the municipal authorities for their sanction, but, though they at first demurred to the title as "unpopular, inopportune and savoring of bigotry," by an adroit manœuvre he overcame the objection and had his way. He would not on any account change the title, for Pius IX. had sent him a first donation of 500 francs, which inspired the hope that such a title would be pleasing to the Queen of Heaven. Our Lady was not slow to show that the hope was well founded. An initial expenditure of 4,000 lire was involved in the purchase of the field, which exhausted the exchequer of the Oratory. The economer demurred. "What shall we do?" he asked aghast. "This morning there was not in the house wherewith to pay the postage on a letter." "Begin to dig the foundations," said Don Bosco. "When did we ever begin anything with the money ready beforehand? We must leave something to Providence."

Called to the bedside of a man who was seriously ill, he counseled him to make a novena to Our Lady for his cure, which was granted, and the grateful recipient of this favor gave him a promised gift of 1,000 francs for the church, just the sum he then needed to pay the workmen who were preparing the site. After that, money poured in from all parts of the world to the extent of over £40,000, almost all of it in thanksgiving for favors obtained through the intercession of Our Lady Help of Christians. The corner-stone was laid on April 27, 1865, by Prince Amadeus of Savoy, and the church was consecrated in 1868; the second of the churches the founder erected, models of very many since built by the Salesians. The first Mass was celebrated by the Archbishop of Turin at the high altar, Don Bosco immediately saying a Mass of thanksgiving to Our Lady. On his return to the sacristy he was surrounded by a multitude representative of every class, who congratulated him on the completion of this great undertaking. The sick were brought to him to be healed; devout people came to kiss his hands, the curious to see a man so much talked of, who did wonderful things. A man who had been blind for years had his sight restored and a paralytic recovered the use of his arm; preludes to many marvels wrought by Mary Help of Christians through the intermediary of her fervent and faithful disciple. It was an event of more than local interest; it was of national importance; and during the solemnities that signalized the octave crowds came from a distance, from Milan, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Rome and Naples to this new sanctuary of Our Lady Auxilium Christianorum.

R. F. O'Connor.

Dublin, Ireland.

(To be concluded.)

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FOUR FAMOUS SONS OF CERES.

"Here the heavy oats in a tangle spread;
And, ripening, closely neighbored by
Fields of barley and pale white rye,
The yellow wheat grows strong and high."
—Phœbe Cary ("Dovecote Mill")

SO LARGELY is our wealth and well-being a matter of oats, barley, rye and wheat, that if we were a more imaginative people, we might revive, in an innocent form, the ancient festivals held by the Greeks and Romans at harvest time in honor of the goddess of grain, variously known as Ceres, Rhea, Hera, Demeter, Cybelle, Tellus, Isis, Magna Mater, Great Mother, Earth Mother. In fact, all primitive peoples have had their lore of grain, which in the north was under the protection of Hulda, or Bertha, benevolent earth mother, who in her anxiety that the fields should have a plentiful crop of seed, protected them against damaging visitors by stationing were-wolves at the boundaries. Loki, the mischievous fire god, would sometimes steal past the wolves and sow his wild oats; and so, when heat simmers over his farm, the Jutlander says, "Loki is sowing his wild oats," from whence originated one of our most popular phrases.

Indeed, many primitive ideas and harvest customs can be traced to the ancient prevalence of a belief in Corn-Spirits, which haunted and protected the green or yellow fields. They were often pictured in human form, representative of the vegetative energy of growing grain, with which it flourishes and dies. But popular fancy also symbolized them as wolves or "buckmen"—goat-legged creatures similar to the classic Satyrs. Field-spirits figure largely at the present day in the superstitions of the Russian peasantry. In Iceland, the farmer guards the grass around his field, lest the elves abiding in it invade his crops. When the wind blows the long grass or waving grain, German peasants still say "the Grass-wolf," or "the Corn-wolf" is abroad. In many places the last sheaf of rye is left in the field as a shelter for the *Roggenwolf*, or "Rye-wolf," during the winter's cold, and in many a summer or autumn festive rite that being is represented by a rustic who assumes a wolf-like disguise; it is also believed that by leaving this last sheaf for the "Rye-wolves" to quarrel over assures the harvester sufficient time to hurry the rest of his crop into the barn and out of danger from those malignant spirits, who protect the grain so formidably that children are warned not to go into a field where it is growing, for fear the "Wehr-wolf" should seize them.

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In the word "cereal," we have a record of the relation of Ceres to the grain. Ears of grain were her emblem, such as barley or bearded wheat, and her statues were commonly adorned with garlands of grain, with corn poppies added on account of these flowers being so frequently found in the fields:

"Sleep-bringing poppy, by the plowmen late,
Not without cause, to Ceres consecrate."

The harvest month, September, was represented by a maiden holding ears of grain. Bertha, being the Ceres of Norse mythology, was supposed to arrange all winds and clouds affecting the crops, and in some places she was supposed to come forth from nearby rocky haunts during harvest, particularly if the farmer be behind time, and cut and bind the grain with astonishing celerity. Quite appropriately many coins, ancient and modern, are ornamented with wreaths of grain; it was Egypt's wealth, and in many tongues is found the parable of the man who bade his son search diligently, for there was buried treasure in his field; the son plowed and dug for years, and discovered no buried coin, but his plowing resulted in splendid crops, from which he earned much money; and when he had become rich, and had earned the right to rest, he understood at last that the treasure was the earth's fatness, and that in increasing its yield of yellow grain he had lived more happily and usefully than if he had uncovered gold. Perhaps Francis, Duke of Bretaigne, had read this parable, for in 1450 he instituted the Order of the Ears of Corn, with a golden collar made in this form, "to signifie that Princes should be careful to preserve husbandry."

The grains have always played a prominent part in religious rites, particularly those relating to marriage. The time-honored practice of showering grain over a newly married couple is without doubt a survival of the Roman custom of making such offerings to the bride. In India, the bride is crowned with grain as a symbol of fertility. An old Polish custom consisted of the visitors throwing wheat, rye, oats, barley, rice and beans at the door of the bride's house, a symbol that she would never want any of these grains so long as she did her duty. In England, wheat was of old the chosen grain; Brand in his "Popular Antiquities" quotes more than one authority for the custom of sprinkling wheat upon the head of the bride, to which Herrick, in "A Nuptial Song," refers:

"While some repeat
Your praise, and bless you, sprinkling you with wheat."

When Henry VII. brought his bride to Bristol on the se'nnight following Whitsunday, 1486, a baker's wife cast out of a window a great quantity of wheat, crying "Welcome! and good luck!" In the

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time of Henry VIII., a bride usually wore a garland of corn-ears; sometimes these wreaths were made of ears of wheat finely gilded if the family's finances would permit.

"locks that love no cornet like
Their native field-buds and the green wheat-spike."
—Browning ("Sordello")

In "Frithiof's Saga" we read that "Frey round the Chieftain's crown plaiteth corn-ears. Frigga binds bright-hued blue flow'rs among." In this same *Saga,* there occurs a curious old design intended to represent the seasons figuratively, and May is indicated by an ear of grain, this being the time when the winter-rye begins to shoot into ear.

The weather-lore of cereals is far-reaching. For instance, it is a popular notion among European peasantry that if a drop of rain hang on an oat at the midsummer season, there will be a good crop. Another agricultural adage says, "No tempest, good July, lest corn come off bluely." According to another saying, "The broom having plenty of blossoms is a sign of a fruitful year of corn." Another is "When the bramble blooms early in June an early harvest may be expected." The weather of certain seasons of the year is supposed to influence the vegetable world mightily, and in Rutlandshire they say that "a green Christmas brings a heavy harvest," but a full moon about Christmas is unlucky, hence the adage:

"Light Christmas, light wheatsheaf,
Dark Christmas, heavy wheatsheaf."

If the weather be clear on Candlemas Day "corn and fruits will then be dear," and "whoever doth plant or sow on Shrove Tuesday, it will always be green." Rain on Easter Day foretells a good harvest, but a poor hay crop, while thunder on All Fools' Day "brings good crops of corn and hay," while an old proverb reminds us that

"March dry, good rye;
April wet, good wheat."

Husbandmen have long been accustomed to arrange their farming schedule from the indications given them by certain trees and plants:

"When the sloe tree is as white as a sheet,
Sow your barley whether it be dry or wet."

"When the oak puts on his goslings gray,
'Tis time to sow barley night or day."

"When the elmen leaf is as big as a mouse's ear,
Then to sow barley never fear.
When the elmen leaf is as big as an ox's eye,
Then say I, 'Hie, boys, hie!'"

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In bygone times, the appearance of the berries on the elder was held to indicate the proper season for sowing winter wheat:

"With purple fruit when elder branches bend,
And their high hues the hips and cornels lend,
Ere yet chill hoar-frost comes, or sleety rain,
Sow with choice wheat the neatly furrowed plain."

Another old rule bids the farmer

"Upon St. David's Day
Put oats and barley in the clay."

In connection with the inclement weather that often prevails throughout the spring months it is commonly said, "They that go to their corn in May may come weeping away," but "They that go in June come back with a merry tune." Also, "He that sows oats in May gets little that way," since, as they say in Corsica, "A rainy May brings little barley and no wheat." A further admonition advises the farmer to "Sow wheat in dirt, and rye in dust," while according to a piece of folklore current in East Anglia, "Wheat well sown is half grown," leaving the manner of the sowing to the knowledge and experience of the sower. But the Scotch have a proverb warning the farmer against premature sowing:

"Nae hurry wi' your corns,
Nae hurry wi' your harrows;
Snaw lies ahint the dyke,
Mair may come and fill the furrows."

while

"Calm weather in June
Sets corn in tune."

As the cuckoo returns to England at certain well regulated times, it has been customary to predict, from his appearance, what kind of season will follow:

"Well, here's the cuckoo come again, after the barley sowing."
—Robert Buchanan ("An English Eclogue—Timothy")

Hesiod tells us that "if it should happen to rain three days together, when the cuckoo sings among the oak trees, then late sowing will be good as early sowing. Even in Egypt the cuckoo's return was taken to be the correct time for wheat and barley harvesting. In Berwickshire those oats which are sown after the first of April are called "Gowk's Oats," or "Cuckoo's Oats"; so that if March weather admits of the farm work being got forward it is remarked that "there will be no Gowk Oats this year." The following proverb is much quoted in some places:

"Cuckoo Oats and Woodcock Hay
Make a farmer run away,"

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by which we understand that if the spring is backward and oats cannot be sown until the cuckoo is heard, or the autumn so wet that the hay cannot be gathered in till the woodchucks come over, the farmer is sure to suffer great loss.

Aside from the common proverb, "He hath sown his wild oats," there are others in which the European "corn" appears. For instance, the inclination of evil to override good is embodied in "The weeds overgrow the corn." Those who contrive to get a good return for their meagre work or money are said to "have made a long harvest for a little corn"; those who reap advantage from another man's labor "put their sickle into another man's corn"; while in spite of the disagreeable features of fame and power "the king's chaff is better than other people's corn." And things that are slow but sure in their progress are the subject of a well-known Gloucestershire saying, "It is as long in coming as Cotswold barley," which is explained thus: "The corn in this cold country exposed to the winds, bleak and shelterless, is very backward at first, but afterward overtakes the forwardest in the country, if not in the barn, in the bushel, both for the quantity and goodness thereof." According to the Italians, "every grain hath its bran," implying that nothing is without certain imperfections.

In dreams, plucking ears of corn signifies the existence of secret enemies. But "If ye cannot slepe, but slumber, geve Otes unto Saint Uncumber." In Scotland, the knots from the stalks of wheat, oats, or barley may be used to cure warts, as follows: "Find a straw with *nine knees,* and cut the knots that form the joints of every one of them. If there are any more knots throw them away. Then bury the nine knots in a midden or dung-heap; as the joints rot so will the warts." The reason for choosing these knots is probably due to the Roman god Nodinus, who presided over the *nodi* or knots of the grain stalks, on which account they may possibly have been accounted sacred. Perhaps this is why, in the neighborhood of Oldenburg, it is said that cornstalks should be strewn about the house in which a corpse is lying, to prevent further misfortune to the family.

So much for the folklore of these four cereals, which, by the way, are all proud to wear their good old Anglo-Saxon names. Their history is a long one, and their use by the poets frequent.

Barley is more widely distributed and more generally used than any other one of the four brothers, and from the most remote times an important article of the food of man. Pliny speaks of it as the first grain cultivated for nourishment. As it can be raised under widely varying climatic conditions, it is found where other grains are not available. Where it originated is not known, but the plant

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grows wild in Sicily and the interior of Asia, and it is generally believed that *Hordeum vulgare,* or commonly cultivated barley, is but a form of this wild species, *Hordeum spontaneum. Hordeum* is the Latin word for the grain; *barley* is from the Anglo-Saxon *bere,* traceable through the Icelandic and Gothic names to the Latin *far,* or spelt. Originally applied to barley of any variety, *bere,* according to the Oxford Encyclopædic Dictionary, now "includes the six-rowed and four-rowed kinds; *bigg* the four-rowed only. But bere interchanges in local use, now with barley, now with bigg."

Hordeum vulgare has appealed to the poet. To him it is "tufted barley yellow with the sun," he observes, "on tilted barley-stalks the dewdrops' glint in webs of gossamer." He admires "the white-bearding bending barley-ears that nod in the soft south breeze," and even notices that "the barley's beard is rough, O"; and

> "down to the moist
> Dale's silken barley-spikes sullied with rain,
> Swayed earthwards, heavily to rise again."
> —Robert Browning ("Sordello")

"The yellow sea of a barley-field" when "the barley is glossy as silk, bowing to every cloud," and the "barley bows from the west before a delicate breeze," has caught the eye of the poet and caused him to note its beauty:

> "There the barley, silvery green
> Vests the vale with rippling sheen."
> —Katherine Cooper ("The Drift—Lincolnshire")

"A plenteous place is Ireland for hospitable cheer,
Where the wholesome fruit is bursting from the yellow barley ear."
—From the Irish

> "Staid amid the hanging barley,
> Blue upon the golden barley."
> —William Renton ("Corn-Bluebottles")

> "The grain stands bonny where the cliffs are sheer,
> And the blue North Sea is sleeping;
> The stooks are yellow in a golden ear,
> With their shadows onward creeping."
> —Violet Jacob ("The Barley")

> "The barley harvest was nodding white
> When my children died on the rocky height,
> And the reapers were singing on hill and plain
> When I came to my task of sorrow and pain."
> —Bryant ("Mizpah")

As for the grain itself, it is mentioned in the dramatic picture Browning gives in "The Pied Piper of Hamelin":

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"Little hands clapping, and little tongues chattering,
And, like fowls in a farm-yard when barley is scattering,
Out came the children running."

There are about fifty known species of *Avena,* the genus of grasses, in which the oat is classed; *Avena sativa* is the one commonly cultivated. Its native country is in doubt, but probably it is Mesopotamia, where it was known before the Christian era. Because the climate of Scotland is peculiarly suited to the profitable raising of oats, which will flourish there when wheat and barley will not, it has become the national food of Scotland, as the potato is claimed by Ireland, though neither is indigenous to the country claiming them.

In the language of flowers, Oats means "The witching soul of music," and it is in motion that they have appealed to the poets; "the quivering oats rustle their waving pennons,"—"the taiper woats da bend ther heads"—"where waters shine there runs a whisper as of wind-swept oats"—and

"In fancy he sees his trembling oats uprun."
—Robert Bloomfield ("The Farmer's Boy")

"Two sister nymphs, the fair Avenas, lead
Their fleecy squadrons on the lawns of Tweed;
Pass with light step his wave-worn banks along,
And wake his echoes with their silver tongue."
—Erasmus Darwin ("The Loves of the Plants")

"This tapering shaft of oat, that knows
To grow erect as the great pine grows,
And to sway in the wind as well as he."
—Edward B. Sill ("Field Notes")

Strange to say, it is the wild oats *(Avena fatua),* which the farmer considers a pest, that has more often attracted the attention of the American poet; and it, too, usually is in motion: "rank wild oats waving in wild strength" (Joaquin Miller); "he saw the wild oats wrestle on the hill" (Bret Harte); "where the wild oats wrapped thy knees in gold, the ploughman drives his share" (Bayard Taylor); and

"Onward I ride in the blowing oats,
Checking the field-lark's rippling notes."
—C. E. Markham ("The Joy of the Hills")

"Thing of earth, yet seemingly of air!
A silvery wand, thy slim, seductive grace,
With which the winds their mystic symbols trace
Elusive sprites agleam, now dark, now fair,
Athwart the blue in sheen of fairy lace.
Coquette of wood and field! In thy embrace
Full many wiles the straying zephyrs dare."
—Mildred Tingle ("California Wild Oats")

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"The wild oats swirl along the plain,
I feel their dash against my knees,
Like rapid splash of running seas."
—Hamlin Garland ("Prairie Memories")

"I'll lead you where the wild oat shines
And swift clouds dapple the wheat with rain."
—Hamlin Garland ("An Apology")

It is *Avena fatua*, or some other uncultivated member of the genus, which Loki sows among the good seed, and which in Jutland is called "Loki's hair, probably through confusion of *haver* or *hafra* (oats) with *haar* (hair). In that country they say of a careless scapegrace that "Loki is sowing his seed in him," rather than the English wording which makes the scapegrace himself the sower.

The Animated Oats, vulgarly known as "animal oats," or "the walking oats," is a curious form of *Avena* (it is the *A. sterilis* of the botanists). The seeds are enclosed in stiff, hairy husks, having each a long and remarkably gifted awn, which when dry is twisted closely upon itself, but when moistened with dew or rain slowly uncoils, causing the seeds to sprawl about upon the ground,—a sort of "touch-me-not" device—for self-sowing. When two of these become linked together, the shape of the seeds and their hairy glumes and their united awns take the form of an insect, and the motion, which is purely mechanical, seems to be of an animated and voluntary nature. This species is sometimes cultivated as a curiosity. Jugglers were wont in former times to predict events and tell fortunes by means of these seeds. Since the awns are very susceptible of change of temperature or moisture, the dry seeds were merely placed on a damp hand, or breathed upon, when they would commence to wriggle and move about. To cover the cheat, the magician called his magic plant the leg of an Arabian spider, or the leg of an enchanted fly, and many people were deceived into consulting the wonderful clairvoyant.

The origin of Rye is likewise involved in the greatest uncertainty. Distinct species of grain are now known to have been the subjects of cultivation where rye is mentioned by the ancient writers, especially those of the sacred Scriptures and of the east. It is also inferred that it was little used as an agricultural cereal in ancient Greece or Italy. According to Pliny, however, it was cultivated as a fodder and for grain by the Taurini, who occupied that part of Gaul now known as Piedmont. In Britain, as appears from ancient rents, rye was cultivated at an early period, and a practice long prevailed of sowing rye and wheat together, or even rye and barley.

"Here, the bright golden wheat-fields vie
With the rich tawny of the rye."
—A. B. Street ("The Freshet")

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"The waves of wheat and rye
Higher and higher flood on every side
Where in the hedges lie
Like sunken reefs washed by a golden tide."
—Anon. ("After Summer")

" 'Twas 'Little Jerry, come grind my rye,'
And, 'Little Jerry, come grind my wheat.' "
—J. G. Saxe ("Little Jerry, the Miller")

"On either side the river lie
Long fields of barley and of rye
That clothe the wold and meet the sky."
—Tennyson ("The Lady of Shalott")

From early April, when "the rye-fields show a tender hue of fresh'ning green amid the brown," to October, when "the stolid oaktree's smould'ring fire is sullen against emerald rye," a field of this grain is a joy and a delight. The "lakes of rye that wave and flow," whether it be "the dusky green of the rye as it ripples and shades in the breeze," or "the green-and-gold of summer on the rye," they never fail to please:

"I know it is August, for the fields of rye
No longer wave in shining, billowy ranks;
But have, like armies, pitched their tawny tents;
Beside the stream's low, shrunken banks."
—Belle A. Hitchcock ("August")

"When rye begins to bend its head
Fearing the coming reaper's tread
That ruthless o'er it soon shall pass."
—Lloyd Mifflin ("In the Fields")

"The summer grains were harvested; the stubble-fields lay dry
Where June winds rolled, in light and shade, the pale green waves of rye." —John G. Whittier ("The Huskers")

"I wished the drooping heads of rye
Set full of silver dews
Were silken tassels all to tie
The ribbons of his shoes."
—Alice Cary ("Tricksey's Ring")

"You must remember the long rippling ridge
Of rye, that cut the level land in two,
And changed from blue to green, from green to blue,
Summer after Summer." —Alice Cary ("Damaris")

In "The Tempest," occurs a reference to another popular use for the grass:

"You sunburn'd sicklemen, of August weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry,
Make holy-day your rye-straw hats put on."
—(Act. IV., Scene I.)

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George Crabbe, in "The Village," notes that peculiar blight known as ergot to which the seeds of *Secale cereale* is subject:

"Rank weeds that every art and care defy,
Reign o'er the land, and rob the blighted rye."

And this is the grain which Longfellow names in his poem to Robert Burns:

"For him the ploughing of those fields
A more ethereal harvest yields
Than sheaves of grain;
Songs flush with purple bloom the rye,
The plover's call, the curlew's cry,
Sing in his brain."

The last of the four brothers is *Triticum sativa,* whose Latin name shows its great antiquity as a bread-making grain, since it comes from *tritum,* to grind,—which we know by the modernized form of its Anglo-Saxon name *hwæte.* The original country of the common wheat is unknown, and it no longer occurs in an uncultivated state, but its cultivation has been the employment of men from the remotest antiquity, being found connected with ancient history, both sacred and profane, and ever accompanying the human race in its most primitive or most advanced condition of civilization. It was an important food crop in ancient Egypt and in Palestine, also among the lake dwellers in Switzerland, where wheat grains are found in archæological remains.

Who, 'mid the grasses of the field
That spring beneath our careless feet,
First found the shining stems that yield
The grains of life-sustaining wheat,
Who first upon the furrowed land
Strewed the bright grains to sprout, and grow,
And ripen for the reaper's hand,—
We know not, and we cannot know."

—William Cullen Bryant ("Dante")

This grain, in the language of flowers, speaks of "riches," and is most fittingly assigned that symbol, whether considered in color,—"the golden ears from the wheat harvest of Bacchylides" (Meleager's Anthology), in its rich food value:

"Shot up from broad rank blades that droop below,
The nodding wheat-ear forms a graceful bow,
With milky kernels starting full, weight'd down,
Ere yet the sun hath ting'd its head with brown."

—Robert Bloomfield ("The Farmer's Boy")

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or its wonderful yield; as: "where the wheat spreads far and wide, plenty laughs from side to side"; or

"Acres of gold wheat,
Astir in the sunshine,
Rounding the hill-top,
Crested with plenty
Filling the valley,
Brimmed with abundance;
Wind in the wheat-field,
Eddying and settling,
Swaying it, sweeping it,
Lifting the rich heads
Tossing them soothingly."
—Duncan Scott ("The Harvest")

That it came to America with the Pilgrims is indicated by these lines from "The Courtship of Miles Standish"; proving that the gentle art of camouflage was practiced even by these upright men:

"Yonder there, on the hill by the sea, lies buried Rose Standish;
Green above her is growing the field of wheat we have sown there
Better to hide from the Indian scouts the graves of our people
Lest they should count them and see how many already have perished."

A wheat-field is one of the glories of the growing season, both as an object of beauty and for the promise it holds forth of food in abundance, regardless of the stage of its growth, from the time the "resurrection of the wheat appears with pale visage out of its graves," and "the yellow-speared wheat with every grain from its shroud in the dark-brown fields uprising," both Walt Whitman's description of its first appearance, through the summer until "steeped in yellow, still lie fields where wheat was reaped." This use of "steeped" occurs twice in poetical references to this grain, Bryant also applying it in

"The sun of May was bright in middle heaven,
And steeped the sprouting forests, the green hills,
And emerald wheat-fields, in his yellow light."
—("The Old Man's Counsel")

The rapid growth this grain makes after a favorable shower is implied in the lines "The emerald wheat leapt gaily to meet the welcome kiss of the rain." Its appearance in the early summer is described as

"Blue-necked the wheat sways, yellowing to the sheaf,"
—George Meredith ("Love in the Valley")

"Soft amid the crisping wheat,
Blue upon the silver wheat."
—William Renton ("Corn-Bluebottles")

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"And on the wide-stretched fields the sea-green corn
Stands motionless—no jointed stem vibrates
No bloom-tipped head, unfilled, aslant is borne,
No pendant blade a breath now agitates";
—R. Cooper ("The Wheat in Blossom")

In motion, these fields are sketched in such vivid word-pictures as:

"I note the fingers of the lazy breeze
Play symphonies upon the languid ferns,
And on the bearded wheat wake mimic seas."
—Richard K. Munkittrick ("In Midsummer")

"And bright, where summer breezes break,
The green wheat crinkles like a lake."
—John T. Trowbridge ("Midsummer")

"And the waving wheat-fields seemed to me
The gleaming waves of a summer sea."
—G. B. Wallace ("May-Day at Manassas, 1861")

"Like liquid gold the wheat field lies,
A marvel of yellow and green
That ripples and runs, that floats and flies."
—Hamlin Garland ("Color in the Wheat")

"A glittering host with fringed spears of gold
All slowly swaying as the breezes rolled
Above the poppies in the ripened wheat."
—Lloyd Mifflin ("The Fields of Dawn")

"wheat-fields rolled
Beneath the warm wind waves of green and gold";
—Whittier ("The Pennsylvania Pilgrim")

"A tropic tide of air with ebb and flow
Bathes all the fields of wheat until they glow
Like flashing seas of green."
—Helen Hunt Jackson ("Poppies on the Wheat")

"When summer's hourly-mellowing change
May breathe, with many roses sweet,
Upon the thousand waves of wheat,
That ripple round the lonely grange."
—Tennyson ("In Memoriam")

And the sound of these waves is also described: "The swash of the wheat runs high," says Hamlin Garland in "Moods of the Plain," and others have made such musical comparisons as:

"Oft have I seen thee, in some sensuous air,
Bewitch the broad wheat-acres everywhere
To imitate the gold of thy deep hair."
—Madison Cawein ("Music of Summer")

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"You ask me for the sweetest sound mine ears have ever heard?
A sweeter than the ripples' plash, or trilling of a bird;
Than tapping of the raindrops upon the roof at night,
Than the sighing of the pine trees on yonder mountain height?
And I tell you, these are tender, yet never quite so sweet
As the murmur and the cadence of the wind across the wheat."
—Margaret E. Sangster ("The Wind Across the Wheat")

When about ready for the harvest, "broad on either hand the golden wheat-fields glimmer in the sun" (Whittier) and

"But I look down upon the groun'
O' wheat a turnen yoller."
—William Barnes ("Carn a-Turnen Yoller")

"The pale tints of the twilight fields
Have turned into burnished gold,
For waves of yellow light have rolled
From the open'd east across the wealds,
While 'mid the wheat spires far behind
Stirs lazily the awaken'd wind."
—William Sharp ("Sunrise Above the Broad Wheatfields")

To two poets, the color of gold takes on a deeper tinge, for Owen Meredith says that "each year the red wheat gleams near the river-banks," and Edwin Arnold tells us that "the red wheat rustles, and the vines are purple to the root." Walt Whitman, in "A Carol of Harvest," names three of the wheat growing States when he commands "Harvest the wheat of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin,"—but he by no means names the chief wheat-growing States, since he omits the Dakotas, Kansas and Nebraska. Alice Cary makes the following apt comparison:

"The wheat stocks stood
Along the fields like little fairy men."
—("The Shadow")

In a didactic sense, this grain has appealed to the following:

"He that
will have a cake out of the wheat must tarry the grinding."
—"Troilus and Cressida" (Act I., Scene I.)

"But now the wheat is green and high
On clods that hid the warrior's breast."
—Bryant

while Phœbe Cary has incorporated in verse the practice among Scandinavian peasants of placing a sheaf of wheat on a pole in front of the house to provide the birds with a Christmas treat:

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"'And bid the children fetch,' he said,
'The last ripe sheaf of wheat,
And set it on the roof overhead,
That the birds may come and eat.'"
—Phœbe Cary ("The Christmas Sheaf")

And it is to these four brothers, with the help of their youngest and New World brother, *Zea mays*, that the world now looks with anxious care, for never perhaps in the history of civilization were they more needed in bountiful supplies than this present crop season.

HARRIETTE WILBUR.

Duluth, Minn.

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EVANGELINE IN A NEW LIGHT.

THE delicate figure of Longfellow's "Evangeline"—so remote from modern ideals—is tragically set in the poem. Into its sombre atmosphere, indeed, she fades and blends, standing out with only enough of actuality to deepen the gloom, much as a silver birch, scarcely observed, makes visible the ashen evening. For the tragedy of "Evangeline" is the tragedy of a whole community. The dark-eyed girl herself, "Benedict Bellefontaine, the wealthiest farmer of Grand-Pré," Gabriel Lajeunesse, all seem to us but slightly drawn. The true protagonist of the drama is the village—with its sweet Norman homesteads set among the flowering orchards and pastures for black cattle—Grand-Pré itself. It is the village that suffers red ruin, the wailing ghost of the village that is driven like smoke from the familiar shore. The story has been told often enough, but, I think, not truly, because material was lacking, if not for a history of events, at least for a satisfactory estimate of their causes and results. The present writer, having been led to make some study of the subject, believes that there is room for an amended account of "Evangeline."

Longfellow's version is well known. A pastoral people, the French settlers in Acadia, are suddenly and harshly summoned to come together and hear the King's pleasure. That King is George II., a remote, to them unknown, King. The anxious people gather in the church, and when its doors have been made fast, the King's officer reads a proclamation declaring that, since they have ill repaid His Majesty's clemency, their lands and goods are all confiscate to the Crown, and they themselves sentenced to deportation. There follow the terrible scenes of forced embarkation, the despair of the people—anger of men, fruitless weeping of women—the last night in Acadia is lit by the intolerable flames that pierce and crumble their dwellings. With the dawn the ships launch out into the deep, and the exiles are borne seaward, to be scattered hereafter like chaff, on all the shores of America.

"Friendless, homeless, helpless, they wandered from city to city,
From the cold lakes of the north to sultry southern savannas,
From the bleak shores of the sea to the land where the Father of Waters
Seizes the hills in his hands and drags them down to the ocean."
—("Evangeline," Pt. II.)

Now the only explanation suggested by the poet for this vengeance of the English Crown on the farmers and peasants of Acadia is

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inadequate, and, I am convinced, untrue. He hints that these French settlers had joined the French of Canada in arms against the English:

"Louisberg is not forgotten, nor Beau Séjour, nor Port Royal."
—("Evan.," Pt. I.)

But, whatever may have been the conduct of individuals, the Acadians as a whole had shown a singular steadiness in maintaining themselves as the "French Neutrals." They would take up arms, neither for King George, nor yet against him. Nevertheless, in the autumn and winter of 1755, some 9,000 of them were deported, and their farms were given to English colonists. How did this come about?

The most recent material on the subject is to be found in the fine "History of the Society of Jesus in North America" (Vol. II., 1917), by the Rev. Thomas Hughes, S. J., whose scholarly researches in the archives of Europe have made clear so much that was formerly unknown or obscure. Père Rochemonteix, "Histoire des Jésuites de la Nouvelle France au 18me Siècle," gives a spirited account of many of the events we are concerned with, and the article "Acadia," in the Catholic Encyclopedia, based on the histories of Murdoch, Richard, Haliburton, etc., is of course valuable. Bancroft's history and Shea's, as well as Akin's volume of selections from the public documents of Nova Scotia, have also been used by the present writer.

Acadia, a beautiful and fruitful country, had a checkered history from the beginning of the seventeenth century till near the end of the eighteenth. Henry IV. of France, in the easy fashion of kings, gave leave in 1603 to the Seigneur de Monts to colonize "La Cadie, Canada, and other places in New France from 40 to 46 degrees north." Unfortunately, however, James I. of England, in 1606, when giving leave to a London and Plymouth Company lands from 35 to 45 degrees north, omitted to explain how they were to deal with the pre-existing French claim. Hence a long conflict for the possession of Acadia. By treaty and by conquest, it passed three times to France, and three times to England before 1713, when the famous treaty of Utrecht ceded—this time finally to England—the entire Province of Nova Scotia. Père Rochemonteix (Vol. II., 113) gives a highly colored account of the position he conceives to have been created in Acadia, pouring out his wrath upon the English, "a treacherous and brutal race," and giving ardent sympathy to the simple, honest, unlettered peasants, now subject to them. Perhaps it is excessive to identify politicians and adventurers with the race to which they happen to belong, but it is true that the new situation in the Province can be understood only by some study of the conflicting personalities who came at this time to stand to each other in so close a relationship.

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The Acadians were, without doubt, a faithful Catholic people. "What you seem to think most precious—your religion," was a phrase used to them by one of their Governors. They had an ineradicable respect for "Roamish Priests." "A people who will neither believe nor harken to reason unless it comes out of the mouths of their priests," wrote Governor Phillips. The Board of Trade fears that "while their priests retain so great an influence over them, they will never become good subjects of His Majesty." The good French blood ran strongly in their veins, so that they loved the language and usages of their ancestors. Living as they did, in great simplicity, it was always the parish priest who made their records, settled their successions, and, when disputes arose, administered a primitive kind of justice. Besides being farmers, they were hunters and fishermen, trappers, too, with all the woodcraft of Indians. "We are well aware of your industry and your temperance," wrote Governor Cornwallis,[1] "and that you are not addicted to any kind of vice or debauchery." But they had, of course, the astuteness, the grasping self-interest of the genuine peasant. In a sense, no one less "simple" than a peasant can be imagined. The treaty of Utrecht, then, put this people into the power of the first Hanoverian King. It would be idle to suppose that either the first or the second George concerned himself, personally, with such things as colonies and plantations; it fell to ministers—Newcastle, Bedford, the Lords of Trade, to colonial governors and colonial adventurers, to control the fate of French and Catholic Acadia. Of what temper were these men? They were men of the eighteenth century, and especially of that Orange Revolution which affected England so profoundly, whose effects have scarcely ceased, even to-day. But the Orange Revolution was, itself, an anti-Catholic movement. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries treated the Catholic faith with hot hostility and violence, but with the eighteenth century, as has been so well said:

> A new era began in Catholic life, political, civil and domestic. The new legislation penetrated everywhere—it was like a slow file—wearing away the power of resistance, and evoking no spirit of heroism.[2]
>
> One law in particular, that of the Session of 1698-99 . . . was treated during the following century as a kind of Imperial Magna Charta against Catholicism. It was entitled "An act for the further preventing the growth of Popery."[3]

This act provided that any person apprehending or prosecuting unto conviction a Bishop, priest or Jesuit, should receive the sum of £100. The statutory crime was saying Mass or exercising any priestly

[1] N. S. R., 189.
[2] Hughes: Vol. II., p. 162.
[3] Hughes: Vol. II., p. 162.

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function. Further, any Catholic coming to the age of eighteen must, within six months, acknowledge the King as supreme ecclesiastical authority, and in other ways blaspheme Catholic doctrine, or else be incapable of inheriting goods, honors, or titles. During such person's life, his next of kin, being a Protestant, should hold his lands; but the Catholic could obtain possession of them, at any time, by "conforming." No Catholic could purchase or acquire lands, domains or heriditaments. No Catholic might send his son abroad for Catholic education, but any child of Catholic parents, declaring himself a Protestant, was to be assigned a maintenance out of his parents' estate.

"The general status of Catholics was, that, ecclesiastically they were excommunicated, civilly they were interdicted, to some effects of law they were dead." Worst of all, perhaps, "While at every turn in the history of Catholics we run against a law, there was, outside the circuit of law, the pressure of a ubiquitous spirit, which, after inspiring the legislation, breathed freely in the atmosphere, above the letter of statutes, and independently of enactments. This spirit was like a new kind of chancery, the equity of which was the consciousness of anti-Popery in a man's bosom, in much the same way as all jurisprudence was conceived to lie in the King's bosom, *in scrinio pectoris sui,* so that he could do no wrong."[4]

Under George I. an act was passed extending "recusancy," a crime only committed hitherto by those who refused to attend the Protestant church, to those who refused Protestant oaths. The act concerned office-holders, civil and religious, educational, military and naval. Any two justices at their pleasure might tender the oaths of allegiance, abhorrency and abjuration (by the latter a man accepted the royal supremacy, and declared against Pope and Pretender) to any suspected persons, who on refusal of them became Popish recusants convict, with all the penalties attached to that position. Truly, if our "excellent and indispensable eighteenth century," as Matthew Arnold called it, laid aside the axe and the rope it was because it felt them to be no longer needed. The "slow file" of a minute and cruel legislation would do the work of extermination even better. And it was men of a temper formed by these laws who came, in 1713, to be rulers of a Catholic people who seemed to think their religion "most precious." The situation held the dark seed of tragedy.

Undoubtedly, the first thought of the Acadian French was to emigrate to the colonies of "Notre Bon Roi de France," and live under his protection. The treaty of Utrecht expressly secured their right to do this. Queen Anne wrote in the same sense to General

[4] Hughes: Vol. II., p. 172.

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Nicholson, adding that, should they wish, instead of emigrating, to become her subjects, they were to remain on their lands without any molestation. But the Governor wished nothing less than to see the French settlers quit the Province. He had no mind to rule over a land still and depopulated, swept of its flocks and herds, the impenetrable forest creeping over its fields; nor did he desire to see the French colonies strengthened with numbers of valuable settlers. He feared the Indians, who were on terms of excellent friendship with the Acadians, but were more or less hostile to the English. Therefore he opposed strenuously the proposed emigration, would have no English vessels employed for the purpose, and even went so far as to seize the settlers' boats, which they were preparing for the voyage.[5] Perforce they stayed, but they would take no oath of absolute allegiance to King George; they swore only to be faithful to the English Crown so long as they should be in Nova Scotia. Their French blood, their faith, forbade more.

The treaty of Utrecht had stipulated that Acadia should enjoy the free exercise of the Catholic religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain allowed, a concession which, considering the Act of 1698, does not seem an extensive privilege. No wonder that—as Governor Phillips wrote to Secretary Craggs—the people feared to be "reduced to the state of His Majesty's Popish subjects in Ireland, their priests denied them." "I endeavor all I can to undeceive them," he added. In fact, although the penal laws did not apply to Acadia, there ensued a state of things which could by no means be described as the "free exercise" of religion, but was rather the State supervision of a State Church. The Government wished to suppress the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec, so that his "insolent priests who come and go at pleasure" should, in future, come and go, be appointed to parishes and dismissed from them, only as the reigning Governor should ordain. No new churches could be built, or even old ones repaired, without the same secular approval.[6] Priests had to be licensed by the civil authority, before they might "presume to officiate," and even then, "No missionary priest shall possess himself of, or exercise, any part of his priestly function in any other parish than that for which he was petitioned, without the Governor's permission first had and obtained."[7] This was the interpretation of the promise, so often made, regarding free exercise of religion.

Moreover, they were, at times, under military law. If their goods were needed for public service, "they were not to be bargained with for the payment," says the Order in the Council Records at Halifax. They must comply "immediately," or the next courier would bring

[5] Rochemonteix: Vol. II., 115.
[6] Rochemonteix, I., 120.
[7] Nova Scotia Records, p. 125.

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an order for military execution upon the delinquents. If fuel was to be gathered, "should they not do it in proper time, the soldiers shall absolutely take their houses for fuel."[8] Meanwhile, the oath of allegiance was being pressed upon them.

About 1720, began that duel on the subject of the oath, between the Governors of Nova Scotia and their subjects, which makes amusing reading even to-day. So well do the "simple peasants" know what they are about, so skilfully do they argue with the Governors, that we are inclined to agree with Governor Phillips as to the "Jesuitical frame" of the letters betraying a "priest's composure." Briefly, the Acadians would not swear allegiance to the English Crown, unless a clause were added to the oath, exempting them from bearing arms against either the French of Canada or their "Indian brothers." On this point they were adamant. Matters dragged on till 1726. In September of that year, Armstrong, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, held a council to meet the Acadian deputies. He urged them to swear allegiance, promising them their lands in secure possession and the free practice of their faith. He pointed out to them that the exempting clause they asked for was unnecessary, since no Catholic was allowed to serve in His Majesty's army. Obstinately, they insisted on their point, and, in the end, the Governor, with the advice of his council, had the clause desired written on the document they were to sign. Whereupon, all the deputies swore.[9] Later, in the winter of 1730, Governor Phillips induced the whole Province, *i. e.*, every man between sixteen and sixty years of age, to take the oath of allegiance to George II.; it being allowed, however, that this did not include bearing arms.

In the years that followed, the Acadians seem to have accepted, by degrees, their condition of British subjects. When, in 1744, the French from Isle Royal under Duvivier invaded the Province, they refused the aid he demanded. "We live under a mild and tranquil government," they somewhat pathetically told him, "and we all have reason to be faithful to it."[10] The French invaders were driven out, and Mascarene, in a letter to the Acadian deputies, expresses his pleasure in learning "that the inhabitants in general have remained true to the allegiance which they owe to the King of Great Britain, notwithstanding the efforts made to cause them to disregard it."[11] Among other villages called upon for supplies, Grand-Pré, Evangeline's village, had been ordered to send "eight horses and two men to drive them," to Duvivier, but had refused.

The strange, eventful history of Acadia might seem to have

[8] Bancroft, IV., 196-7.
[9] N. S. R., 66-7.
[10] N. S. R., 135.
[11] N. S. R., 137.

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reached, now, the last scene of all. The French inhabitants had taken that oath which was to make safe to them the exercise of their religion, the possession of their lands, and all other privileges of British subjects; they had proved their loyalty to their sworn word. But any peace they enjoyed was but the ominous calm of slowly darkening skies; and, in fact, their minds were not, even now, at rest; they feared what their rulers might do. In 1746-47, however, General Shirley made and repeated in the King's name a Declaration that there was no intention of removing them from their lands. Copies of this document printed in French at Boston, were distributed among them. The Duke of Newcastle wrote to Shirley, promising, in His Majesty's name, "to protect and maintain all such of them as shall continue in their duty and allegiance to His Majesty in the quiet and peaceable possession of their respective habitations and settlements, and that they shall continue to enjoy the free exercise of their religion."[12] The King intended to send over a declaration to that effect, but the crisis of the moment made it seem better that Shirley himself should fix the precise terms. Shirley did so, but left out the clause as to free exercise of religion; and, since both Shirley and Mascarene assured the Duke of Bedford that the omission was of no moment, he benignly agreed with them. But Shirley knew well enough what he was about, and, while receiving deputations from the Acadians expressing their gratitude to the King for his Declaration, he was opening his soul to the Duke of Bedford in a series of remarkable letters.[13] He had sent a surveyor, Captain Charles Morris, to report on the land in Acadia. It seemed that the Acadians had actually "possest themselves of all that was valuable" in their own country, and the proposal was that they should be removed from their improved farms—dyked and tilled in the sweat of their brows—to the dry uplands, so that the said farms might be bestowed upon Protestant settlers. It was reckoned that 1,420 Protestant families might be provided for in this way. Shirley proposed also to proselytize the rightful owners—on their dry uplands. They should be bribed to apostatize, induced to marry New England intruders, or what he described as the "next best settlers"—North of Ireland Protestants. Shirley's brain teemed with projects of marriage and apostasy. There were Protestants in Jersey and Guernsey who might be imported for the purpose, Protestants from the Swiss cantons, from the Palatinate, from Prussia even—the point was to have plenty of eligible Protestants.[14] Letter followed letter to the Secretary of State. He proposed that the penal laws should be applied to Acadia, that Romish priests should be banished and Protestant missionaries

[12] H. II., 174.
[13] H. II., 175-6.
[14] H. II., 175.

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introduced; he urged that all titles of the Acadians to their lands should be declared void, or that, failing this outrageous measure, any lands still allowed them should be held by the tenure of "Knight's service."[15] The Assembly of Massachusetts became as eager as Shirley for land and souls, and even sent an address to George II., making suitable suggestions as to dealing with the Acadians.

In 1749, Cornwallis became Governor of Nova Scotia, and from that date until 1755, a fresh harassing of the Acadians on the subject of the oath began and was continued with increasing vigor. It was put to them plainly, that, either they must take the oath without any exemption as to bearing arms, or they must quit the country. But if they did leave the country it would be as beggars, since their whole possessions would be confiscated.[16] Now, we may very fairly ask why this people should have been harassed at all. They had sworn allegiance to King George in 1730, and had been faithful to their engagements. As Armstrong candidly admitted to them in 1726, it was contrary to the laws of Great Britain that a Roman Catholic should serve in His Majesty's army; all His Majesty required of them, he said, was to be faithful subjects, not to join with any enemy, but for their own sakes, to discover all traitorous and evil designs against His Majesty's subjects and Government, and so peaceably and quietly to enjoy and improve their estates.[17] As Cotterrell, the Provincial Secretary, wrote to Captain Scott in 1754, it was "unprecedented to trust our cause in the hands of people of that persuasion, and the nature of our constitution makes it unsafe."[18] Why, then, this ruthless forcing of them to engage to do what the laws of Great Britain, nay, the very "nature of our constitution" absolutely debarred them from doing? I think that we may find in Shirley's letters to the Duke of Bedford a very probable answer to this question. General Lawrence, too, writing to the Board of Trade in 1754, put the matter in a nutshell: "They possess the largest and best tracts of land in this Province. If they refuse the oaths, it would be much better that they were away."[19]

In 1754, General Charles Lawrence was made Governor of Nova Scotia. He was a man of hard and resolute temper who had risen, by his own exertions, to high rank in the army. His coming into the Province was the coming also of the bitter tragedy, so long delayed, so long threatening, which moved with such deadly swiftness when once it began. On July 3, 1755, the Acadian Deputies came

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[15] Knight's service, or tenure in chivalry, was a feudal tenure of land done away with for the future by 10 Chas. II., st. 24.
[16] N. S. R., 187.
[17] N. S. R., 267.
[18] N. S. R., 209.
[19] N. S. R., 213.

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before the Governor and Council at Halifax.[20] On being offered the oath of allegiance, in the common form, they replied that they had no power to take it, as Deputies, since the body of the people had not been consulted; they prayed leave, therefore, to go and consult them. The Governor refused this, and insisted that they should take the oath, at least personally. They replied that they were quite ready to repeat the oath of 1730, but must certainly consult the people as to any other. On being called before the Council on the following day, they repeated their refusal to take the oath, in the form required, without consulting the general body of the inhabitants. Upon this, they were informed that, since they had refused the oath directed by law, they could no longer be considered as subjects of His Britannic Majesty, but as having passed to the jurisdiction of the French King. Having made the Deputies withdraw, the Council now resolved that the general body of Acadians should be ordered to send fresh Deputies, with instructions as to taking the oath; that none of these, in future, should be admitted to take it after having once refused it; but that effectual measures must be taken to remove all such "recusants" out of the Province. The Deputies were now recalled, and informed of the brand new law which had just been passed by the Council. Naturally, they assumed that the choice of taking the oath, under the penalties of this new law, was now being offered to them. Dismayed, yielding to the pressure of a very stern necessity—for their refusal now seemed really to involve quitting the Province in beggary—they said, with what deep reluctance may be conceived, that they were, at last, willing to take the oath required. The Council, checkmated, devised, with admirable fertility, yet another new "law." The Deputies were told that for them to take the oath now would be absolutely contrary to a clause in an Act of Parliament, I. George, 2, c. 13, whereby persons who have once refused to take the oaths cannot afterwards to permitted to take them, but are to be considered as Popish recusants. Therefore they were ordered to prison.[21]

It is difficult to comment, temperately, upon these dishonest proceedings. The Deputies, who had become, according to the Council, French subjects, were, for refusing an oath impossible to French subjects, declared to be Popish recusants. Popish, undoubtedly, but how recusants? The very word restored to them their status as British subjects. But they were British subjects to whom the British Government had, over and over again, guaranteed the free exercise of the Catholic faith. What was this illegal introduction of the penal laws into Acadia? Nay, they were recusants for refusing to

[20] N. S. R., 247.

[21] No such statute exists. The entry in Council minutes is probably a misquotation of I. Geo. I., st. 2., c. 13.

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bear arms, which was precisely what the penal laws debarred them from doing.[22] Further, had they been, in truth, Popish recusants, under the Act of George I., that very act expressly provided that any person, being willing to take the oaths, was free to do so at any time, and should thus escape all the penalties he had incurred.[23] Lawrence may have had some misgivings as to his newly concocted "laws," for, on July 14, he decided to ask Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, who were in the neighborhood, to come and sit on the Council. As he naïvely explained, he was instructed, by His Majesty, to consult the commander-in-chief of the fleet upon any emergency that might concern the security of the Province. The resolution of the Acadian Deputies to abide by the oath of 1730, until they had consulted their constituents as to taking another, was evidently just such a dangerous emergency as His Majesty had contemplated. On July 15, theerefore, the Admirals sailed into the proceedings, and, sitting upon this improvised Imperial Council, were gracious enough to approve of what had been done regarding the Acadians. The Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Mr. Jonathan Belcher, also approved, and even favored the Council with his advice and encouragement. The Acadians were, he opined, rebels and, collectively, recusants. Moreover, they counted 8,000 couls against the English 3,000, and thus, undoubtedly, stood in the way of the "progress of the settlement." By their non-compliance with the conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, they had forfeited their possessions to the Crown, and, clearly, after the departure of the English fleet and troops, the Province would scarcely be in a position to turn them out; "just such a happy juncture might not occur again," so he advised "against receiving any of the French inhabitants to take the oath," and for the removing of them "all" from the Province.[24] This sapient advice was given on July 28, when the Council had received the Deputies from Annapolis River, Mines, Pisiquid and River Canard, all of whom refused the oath. They were imprisoned.

And now, Lawrence, the Chief Justice, the Council, all set to work to devise means for deporting the whole population under their rule. They did not go through the farce of discussing the law. In fact, no law existed which made the forfeiture of real estate absolute on the refusal of any oath, nor did any law make a community guilty of refusing oaths tendered merely to deputies.[25] To do the Lords of Trade justice, when they wrote to Lawrence on October 29, 1754, about removing the Acadians, they contemplated dispossessing them

[22] Under George I., a Papist who should dare to enlist as a soldier was liable to any punishment by court-martial, short of death. H. II., 170.

[23] The Act I., William and Mary, s. 1, cc. 9, 15, 18, as well as I. Geo. I., st. 2., c. 13, 14, 23, 26; 1714, provided for this. Hughes: II., 164, 173-4.

[24] Bancroft: IV., 201.

[25] Shea, 428.

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by "legal process," which would have meant process and execution in cases taken individually. But legal process is slow process, involving also rights of appeal, whereas Lawrence was greatly hurried—the English fleet and troops being so providentially at hand. It was decided that Colonel Monckton should be charged with the task of dealing with the "recusants": so he was ordered to get the whole male population into his hands by some stratagem, and then—to await transports. The "stratagem" seems to have consisted in getting the men into the churches, reading the sentence of the Council, which was represented to them as the King's, and keeping them prisoners. At Grand-Pré, the embarkation of 1,923 souls began on September 10, and it was December before the last were removed; the wretched people being kept, during the interval, prisoners on the shore, half starved, ill-clothed and ill-sheltered in the appalling Northern cold. In the same way, all over the Province, the families of some 9,000 persons were broken up, packed into sloops like cattle, with no regard for family ties, and shipped off. A few escaped their guards, before being driven on board the sloops, and fled into the forests. But Lawrence was ruthless. "If you find that fair means will not do with them," he wrote to Colonel Winslow, "you must proceed by the most vigorous measures possible—depriving those who escape of all means of shelter, by burning their houses, and destroying everything that may afford them the means of subsistence."[26] "Use every means to distress as much as can be, those who attempt to conceal themselves in the woods," were his words to Monckton. The orders were doubtless carried out efficiently upon the fugitives, for, as an officer wrote at this time, "Our soldiers hate them, and if they can but find a pretext to kill them, they will."[27] At any rate, the soldiers burned and destroyed. Grand-Pré went up in flames, and many another village. In the Mines district, alone, 250 houses and a greater number of barns were burnt. The fine flocks and herds became the spoils of the English officials. Thus was desolation made in Acadia—there was silence on the busy farms; the tilled fields lay unsown; wild and bitter growths choked the orchards; the sea crept through the neglected dykes, and lay cold upon the meadows; half-wild dogs howled about the deserted villages.

The exiles fared as exiles have mostly fared, finding neither welcome nor solace in the lands upon whose mercies they were thrown. Perhaps the Council at Halifax, with Lawrence and the Admirals, seemed to the other Governors in America to have some smack of imperial authority about it, or doubtless they would have hastened to ship the unwelcome Acadians back to Acadia. But let it

[26] N. S. R., 273.
[27] Bancroft: IV., 204.

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be recorded of them that they did what they could.[28] Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, misliking the presence of "biggotted Papists," to whom he refused all practice of their religion, managed to ship off 1,040 of them to England, and to drive off from his coasts a party of fifty refugees, who had been driven off already from South Carolina. Governor Lyttleton writes so early as 1756, to Fox, that of the 1,027 refugees who had been landed in South Carolina, 109 were already dead, he had "got rid of 273," and the rest, among whom were only 171 men, he had "distributed," binding them out in various parishes and districts—binding indeed with cords, handcuffing and fettering these "originally unwellcome" guests, whose "Roman Catholick Religion" was not tolerated. Massachusetts was deeply aggrieved that 1,000 Acadians, "in unsanitary conditions," had been thrown on its resources, for the Province not only found Roman Catholics in general "obnoxious," but had been so shocked at the "obstinacy" of these French parents, who objected to having their children torn from them, that it had passed a law to sanction their forcible abduction. Besides all this annoyance, it found itself compelled to spend two shillings sterling per head, each week, in order to keep alive aged refugees, and very young children—altogether an intolerable burden. The task of keeping the refugees alive, however, was, in some places, considerably lightened. For instance, when in November, 1755, only two months after the deportations began, three vessels entered the Delaware, bearing 454 of the exiles, these were so ill-clothed and so sickly, after the hardships they had undergone, that more than half died on landing."[29] Georgia refused to allow any Acadians at all to remain within its frontiers; and if Maryland fell short of this standard, at all events, it "did nothing whatever" to help the 900 cast upon its mercies—nay, it even forbade their fellow-Catholics to shelter any of the poor wanderers. For the exiles wandered, as exiles must always wander, and time brought little peace. They might have said, with a modern poet:

> "The years, like great black oxen, tread the world,
> And God, the herdsman, goads them on behind,
> And I am broken by their passing feet."[30]

They drank very deeply of the cup of sorrow. One Governor, more pitiful than the rest, even wrote: "If policy could acquiesce in any measure for their relief, humanity loudly calls for it." Humanity, however, was left—to call. But although, as one of the melancholy Acadian hymns has it:

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[28] H. 277, II., xxviii.
[29] Shea, 433.
[30] Yeats.

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"Tout passe
Sous le firmament,
Tout n'est que changement,
Tout passe—
Les champs, les rangs,
Les petits et les grands,
Tout passe."

They sang also with better hope, in the words of another:

"Vive Jésus!
Avec la Croix son cher partage,
Vive Jésus!
Dans les coeurs de tous ses élus!
Le Croix de son coeur est le gage,
Est-il plus bel partage?
Vive Jésus!
Portons la Croix!"[31]

Truly, this people seemed to think their religion "most precious." Meanwhile into Acadia, black still from the incendiary fires, poured the eager new settlers—from Massachusetts, from New York and the other Provinces, squatters legalized, adventurers all. The fine farms, the rich lands, what was left of the herds, fell straight into their hands. Many a "Protestant family" must have blessed Lawrence and the Admirals who had made this incredible thing possible. The settlers settled indeed, and entrenched themselves—even legally. In 1758, when they first met in Assembly—the Acadians had never been allowed to have an Assembly—they legislated to render any Papist incapable of holding land in the country, until he apostatized; and the old Salem law against Jesuits was reënacted against all priests in Nova Scotia. In 1759, grown bolder, they passed an "Act for the quieting of possession to the Protestant grantees of the land formerly occupied by the French inhabitants, and for preventing vexatious actions relating to the same." By this act, no Acadian owner could ever recover his property. In 1766, they legislated against Papist schools and schoolmasters. The Protestant succession being thus duly secured, the unhappy Province passed into the shadow of that "Magna Charta" against Catholicism, the Act of 1698, and the still blacker shade of the anti-Catholic spirit, which vitiated the whole spiritual and intellectual atmosphere of the eighteenth century. This, I believe to be the true history of "Evangeline." Further comment is, assuredly, not required.

NOTE—There has been some controversy as to the tenor of the oath taken by the Acadians to the English Crown. In 1715, the people of Port Royal signed the following: "Je promets et jure que je veux être fidèle et tenir une véritable allégiance a S. M. le Roi George tant que je serai a l'Acadie et Nouvelle Écosse." (Roche, II., 118). On September 25, 1726, the Acadian Deputies took the oath of allegiance, with a clause exempting them from bearing arms. (N. S. R., 67). In 1730 the whole population signed the

[31] H. II., 181.

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following: "Je promets et jure sincèrement en foi de Chrétien, que je serai entièrement fidèle et obeirai vraiment S. M. le roi George II. que je reconnoi pour le Souverain Seigneur de l'Acadie ou Nouvelle Écosse. Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide." (N. S. R., 84). But it was allowed that they were exempt from bearing arms. When, afterwards, the unconditional oath was pressed upon them, they always replied that they would swear as they had sworn in 1730, "with an exemption for us and our heirs from bearing arms." (N. S. R., 173). The oath demanded from them by Lawrence, on July 3, 1755, was "the oath of allegiance in the common form" (N. S. R., 254) or "the oath of allegiance to H. M. unqualified." (N. S. R., 259. Lawrence to Bd. of Trade, July 18, 1755). As we have seen, the Acadian Deputies to a man, refused it. Akin, in maintaining that the oath of 1730 was "unconditional" (N. S. R., 266, note); Shea, in insisting that the oaths demanded were anti-Catholic, seem to be equally wide of the mark.

M. G. CHADWICK.

Rome, Italy.

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THE GOLDEN AGE OF ENGLISH ELOQUENCE.

LIKE the Greek, and unlike the Latin, the climax of the oratorical literature of the English language is considerably antedated by the golden age of its poetry. English poetry, like the Greek, reached its zenith with the thrill of national exultation and activity produced by the overthrow of a mighty force which had menaced the national autonomy. The same cause which quickened the national spirit and heightened the national enthusiasm for military exploits and discovery gave to the national poetry the creative impulse which stamped the period as the Golden Age.

But, in both literatures, oratory comes later, when each nation is showing signs of military decadence. Upon each nation is exerted a pressure which appears to be the cause of the preeminence of the period in oratory, as it forms, explicitly or implicitly, the theme of most of the orations which have made that period great in the annals of eloquence. That force is the encroachment of despotism upon democracy. For Athens it was personified in Philip the Macedonian, for England in George the Third. In each instance a plant of foreign culture in the shape of monarchical absolutism was attempting to take root in a soil whence the essentials of its sustenance had long been expelled. In Athens a new fertility had been provided for the exotic growth and it found nourishment amid the corrupt wreakage of Athenian patriotism. In England the native forces of the soil combined and successfully accomplished the destruction of the intruding herb.

The pressure upon Athens came from without. The Athenian spirit of liberty, once so flourishing, had lost its power of resistance. "Where is the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?" might have been asked of the Athenians of Demosthenes' day as well as of those who aroused the rage and disgust of Lord Byron when he looked to them for examples of the spirit of Pericles. And so Athens fell, and Macedon rose upon her ruins.

With England it was an internal ailment which troubled the body politic. More than two hundred years before the period of which we write Henry the Eighth had been able to set back the progress of English democracy almost to the point from which it had begun. In the period between him and George the Third, the British Constitution, though more slowly and laboriously than before, had resumed its upward course. Long before it attained its goal the last strenuous resistance on the part of despotism was offered it in the person of George the Third. And

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who knows whether, like Philip, George might not have succeeded, or whether, like that of Demosthenes, the eloquence of Chatham, Burke and the rest might not have failed of its object, had not the transatlantic branch of the British nation, by force of arms, espoused the cause of British liberties and read to despotism in the unmistakable terms of fire and sword the lesson that all men are created free and equal?

While some of the greatest orations of the Golden Age of English Eloquence deal with the encroachments of despotism at home, others have for their theme equally menacing but opposite tendencies abroad. The latter half of the period is marked by the bitter opposition of Burke and the younger Pitt to the French Revolution. When the reaction against centralization came in France and the straitened spirit of freedom burst all bonds and madly overflowed the confines of France, threatening the established forms of government in other lands, conservative, sober thinkers in England were among the first to take alarm. The voice of Burke was raised against the "colleges of armed fanatics" who had succeeded in obtaining control of French affairs, and, while many Englishmen had at first sympathized with the French, from then on to Waterloo it was England who was the main figure in the struggle of Europe against the viper which had been nourished in her bosom. The French proffers of help to any nation that wished to change its form of government, the violent change in their own, the devouring ambition of Napoleon, all tended to create the most active resistance to the propagation of French revolutionary principles. Hence the British eloquence of the last twenty years of the period we are treating bears a deep impress of the influence of this mighty continental convulsion.

The great task, then, which was presented to British orators during the Golden Age of English Eloquence was to guide the national energies safely between the menace of despotism from within as the one extreme and the anarchy which threatened from without as the other. Their middle course was assisted and indicated by the American Revolution. In some measure the great English statesmen of the day perceived this. Fox spoke of an English victory over the Americans as "the terrible news from Long Island." Chatham, with characteristic vehemence, exclaimed, "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, I would never lay down my arms!" Burke summarized the case for the colonies when he said that "the feelings of the colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain."

The next step in the search for the influences which bore upon British oratory of the Golden Age takes us to the Far East, to the

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sacred banks of the Ganges, the mountains of Oude and the plains of the Carnatic. In the course of the fight against oppression of the Hindoos by minions of the East India Company the great men whose eloquence guided the British senate produced many of their noblest orations. No more glorious opportunity for disinterested service in the cause of the oppressed was ever presented to an orator, and it would be temerity indeed to state that any orator ever rose to an occasion more nobly and fearlessly than did Burke, Fox and Sheridan. Though they failed to attain the direct object of their labors, yet it was, as Burke himself expressed it, "for these services, in which for fourteen years they had shown the most industry and had the least success, namely, in the affairs of India, that they valued themselves the most." By the might of oratory and the force of personal appeal had the lesson been taught that "Asiatics have rights and Europeans obligations."

I am insisting so much upon these influences upon the Golden Age of English Eloquence because, while oratory is an art,—and perhaps the noblest,—like all other arts it does its best work when it is a "by-product of propaganda." "If you want art," says Mr. Chesterton, "you must go to the doctrinaires." The principle of art for art's sake is the source of a great deal of what is lifeless, insipid and jejune in art. Oratory, in all its highest flights, bears the universal hall-mark of having been produced for a purpose, practical, definite and earnest.

But while the mighty upheavals of society, and the conflict between the opposite forces of democracy and despotism filled men's minds with great ideas which called for great expression, and while stirring victories and crushing defeats on land and sea afforded that definiteness and concreteness which are the most fertile sources of oratorical power, nevertheless these alone could not have made men eloquent had they not been already prepared as fit and ready instruments to attack the mighty questions which presented a wealth of plastic material to the touch of their genius. Oratory is an art in which excellence is attained in proportion to the grandeur of the edifice of culture which is raised upon the foundation of natural gifts. The more solid the foundation, it is true, the better chance has the superstructure for permanence, and the greater splendor can it receive in the finishing processes, but, as a broad foundation does not make a beautiful or even a useful building, so natural gifts alone without a large measure of culture do not make an orator.

The eighteenth century in England was just the period to furnish the peculiar sort of culture which produces great oratory, and which in turn, is wielded by that art as its most effective instrument. The

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first throbbings of the scientific activity of the nineteenth century were yet to be felt, consequently the classic languages did not find their preëminence in academic curricula disputed by any of the so-called utilitarian branches. The aim of the study of literature and language is not the imparting of information, but the development of power. The most active power of his soul are brought into play in the orator's exercise of his art. The study of literature and languages is well adapted to the cultivation of these powers, in its "spiritual enlargement, clarification and discipline of young hearts and minds and will, which are to be touched to finer issues by its potent ministry."

The young men who were to mark the latter half of the eighteenth century as the Golden Era of British Eloquence gave themselves up with ardor to the influence of the classics. With the single exception of Erskine, whose knowledge of Greek extended to scarcely more than the alphabet, all the greatest orators of the period had derived from the masters of Greek and Roman thought that rich mental nutrition which their genius sought so earnestly and assimilated so thoroughly. Chatham, Pitt and Fox form the great triumvirate which furnishes proof of the potential energy stored up by the thinkers of Greece and Rome unto future ages. Chatham used the classics as an anvil on which to shape and give effective form to the molten masses of his mighty passions, which afterwards, like some Jove of eloquence, he was to hurl at the Titans who disputed his sway in the House of Commons. The lesson which the classics contained for him was one of style, of outward form. His own passion furnished the material. The classics kneaded and molded the glowing mass, trained and disciplined the gigantic force. He translated and retranslated Demosthenes, endeavoring to make each successive version both a fitter vehicle of the Greek orator's thought and passion and more conformable to the highest standards of his own native English.

Pitt and Fox gazed long into the depths of the Springs of Helicon and took copious draughts of their crystal waters of wisdom, assimilating them to their very substance and transforming them into the brawn and sinew of debate. Burke, too, was a great lover of the ancient classics. Among them Demosthenes was his favorite orator, although Cicero became to a greater extent his model. But Burke's genius had an element in it to which all the wealth of those ancient minds could but faintly respond. His ruling passion was not love of power nor love of pleasure, nor love of money, but "a passion for order and for justice." Moral sublimity was the nutriment which his mental appetite craved, and the store of this to be found in the classics was dry and impoverished beside

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the wealth of it which the literature of his own land could afford him. Shakespeare and Milton were his delight. For the latter especially he had an esteem amounting to reverence. In these poets he had "a richer fund of sweetness and light, more and better food for the intellectual soul, a larger provision of such thoughts as should dwell together with the spirit of a man and be twisted about his heart forever than in the collective poetry of the whole ancient heathen world." As, in their own field, were the great authors who were his inspiration, Burke is the most truly national and has also left the noblest legacy to English literature, of the orators whose careers make up the Golden Age of English Eloquence.

To the youth of England who were fortunate enough to obtain their education at one of the great universities,—and it was from this class that all the prominent orators of the day were recruited,—was presented in close and thrilling perspective the eagerly longed-for sphere of their future activity, the "favorite habitation, the chosen temple of the goddess Fame," the British House of Commons. The governing class of England, those, namely, who might hope for a voice in her legislative halls, was, in that day, smaller than it is now. The number of those who, by reason of exceptional talent, or family influence, could hope for real leadership and eminence there, was very small, indeed. The youth of the nation who might, ever so remotely, look forward to success in the struggle for civic prominence and power did not have to crane their necks over the heads of a vast multitude in order to see the destined arena of their future achievements. They felt as the aspiring young athlete feels who listens to the applause showered upon some hero of the diamond or gridiron, and who, from within his own sinews, draws the assurance that with the requisite expenditure of effort such a triumph may one day be his own. The field of battle was constantly before their eyes. The laurels won thereon adorned the brows of friends and relatives. They fought its conflicts over again in mimic warfare. They organized miniature Houses of Parliament in which the sham battles of Whig and Tory were waged with full as much zest as the genuine contests of their fathers. The result was that they entered public life with a sense of personal fitness and a self-confidence which gave them a rare power in wielding the weapons of eloquence. They had been to the manner born and bred.

The influence of the art entered even into the recreations of the men of those days. The Golden Age of English Oratory coincides with that of the English stage, with the era of David Garrick and Mrs. Siddons, and no one who accepts Demosthenes' opinion of the first requisite of an orator, especially if *hypokrisis* be translated

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not by "action," but by "acting," needs to be told how close is the connection between the eloquence of the stage and that of the rostrum.

Together with the theatre as a means of instruction, imaginative development and recreation, another institution contributed largely to the formation of men whose influence over the destinies of a great nation depended in large part upon their ability to sway the minds of others by the force of eloquent personal appeal. This was what, for want of a better name, we may call the intellectual circle, of which the club that centred about Doctor Johnson, and the brilliant assemblage of men who frequented the court of Prince Frederick at Leicester House are perhaps typical, each of a different variety of learned group. The former was scholarly first and social afterward. The latter reversed the order, but nevertheless its atmosphere of learning, created as it was by the brilliance, the wit, the knowledge, the dignity, the courtliness of Chesterfield, Carteret, Pulteney and Bolingbroke had "more effect in making Lord Chatham the orator that he was than all his rhetorical studies, prodigious and unexampled as the latter were."

If we consider the dictum of Daniel Webster that the three productive essentials of a great oration are "the man, the subject and the occasion," we find the explanation of the phenomenon that all the important speeches of the ten foremost English orators were delivered in the fifty years from 1760 to 1810. These men were nearly all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy which, curiously enough, formed the chief defense of English liberties when the King and the people, the latter blindly, had combined to overthrow them. They were the men who received the boon of a classical education, whose training was shaped with the one end in view of a political and oratorical career. The young aspirant for fame sniffed an atmosphere laden with the smoke of oratorical combat, and, like the smell of powder to a soldier chafing in inaction, it nerved him to the highest pitch of excitement for the fray. The mighty issues which followed close upon one another throughout the period, the American War, the struggle against East Indian oppression, the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the agitation against the slave-trade, the half hidden contest against royal usurpation of power, together with the great social upheaval which was just beginning its leavening process in society from the bottom upward,—all these provided ready and almost boundless material for the trained genius of the young orators who were to make the period unique in the annals of eloquence. The theatre of their activity was, for the most part, the British Parliament, which provided a fitting audience and a fitting occasion for nearly every

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speech that was delivered, by reason of its embodiment of the majesty of government. At times an even more august concourse was present to spur the orator on to his greatest efforts, as, for instance, the assemblage which attended the opening of the Begum trial, "an audience," says Macaulay, "such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulations of an orator." As in a vast alembic, the very best and most responsive material was treated by the most energetic of agents, the trained powers of mind and heart and body of the elite of British orators, and from the white heat developed in their contact emerged the magnificent product of eloquence bequeathed to us by a Chatham, a Burke, a Sheridan, a Fox, a Pitt, an Erskine. Of these the greatest were unquestionably Chatham and Burke.

The progress of the eighteenth century was leaving behind the period of dynastic struggles and wars of succession and was entering upon the most momentous era of modern history when Lord Chatham began his whirlwind career of activity in the British House of Commons. Although he had entered Parliament in 1735 and had made himself a power from the very first, setting his face against official corruption, incessantly championing the cause of "the popular part of the Constitution," this part of his career fades into insignificance beside that on which he entered in 1754.

It was a day of preparation and foreboding. The mightiest changes since the Reformation were about to come upon Europe, changes which cast their shadows before, even to our own day. The old issues were to fade and die. The old war-cries are to be forgotten, and new, unheard of maxims of "libertty, fraternity, equality" are to resound in their stead. The bugle blast that ushered in the Seven Years' War let loose upon Europe a gigantic tide of political change. As a prelude, the vast colonial empire of France was to pass under the sway of England. Then, in one breathless rush from change to change, from crisis to crisis, from upheaval to upheaval, amid tottering thrones, delirious peoples, warring nations, "England has to undergo the revolt of the American colonies; to submit to defeat and separation; to shake under the volcano of the French Revolution; to grapple and fight for her life with her gigantic enemy Napoleon; to gasp and rally after that momentous struggle"; to build up the mightiest of commercial empires; to renovate her parliamentary system throughout; and finally to settle down to a long era of comparative peace, contentment and material prosperity under the "Bourgeois Compromise."

It is certain that England, bereft of the results of Chatham's genius for guidance during the period from 1758 to 1762, would have entered upon the era which was to transform Europe hope-

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lessly beaten, outweighed and insignificant at the very beginning of the struggle. All through the course of these vicissitudes Englishmen could point back to Chatham and his victorious policy as the source of the vigor and vitality which upheld their country in times of social and political turmoil and upheaval. It was one of the greatest achievements of his genius that "commerce, for the first time, was united with and made to flourish by war." For such a triumph a united Parliament and a united nation were absolutely necessary. In proportion as dissension and jealousy reigned at home would the English arms abroad be weak and ineffective. Pitt's genius for leadership gave to the world the spectacle of a Nation of Shopkeepers "engaging in a costly war with a unanimity that was prodigious." During the time of his second ministry the House of Commons rejected no proposals, debated no measures, thwarted no schemes. This unparalleled ascendancy over a body of men notoriously dissentient and difficult to control was secured almost entirely by Chatham's masterly and triumphant eloquence. Such was his personal prestige that it was well said that at this time Pitt was Parliament.

Lord Chatham was a typical representative of that class of orators who are great through personal appeal, as distinguished from those who, like Burke, are more highly esteemed when read than when listened to. At the present day to place the printed works of Chatham beside those of Burke is to cast the former entirely into the shade. In depth of feeling, perhaps, they do not suffer so much by the comparison; in dignity they often gain by it, but in thought, in reasoning power, in the vision of profound principles, in the sublimity of the topic of genius, in word and phrase rhythm, in wealth of illustrative material, they appear puny. Yet it is doubtful whether one who had listened to both orators on the same day or on the same subject would have remembered that he had heard Burke speak at all. Chatham's mighty figure,—even in his days of decrepitude and disease the very personification of majesty,—the marvelous voice, the eloquent glance, the entire personal action, and, above all, the irresistible force of complete and passionate conviction, tempered, moulded, trained, developed, polished and organized by years of drudgery in the classics and in the art of delivery, would have so filled the listener's imaginative horizon as to blot out everything else. There was a chivalry about the Great Commoner that filled the mind's eye long after the tones of his voice had died upon the ear. His hearers felt that "the man was infinitely greater than the orator," that the mighty eloquence which captivated and enchained their senses was but an expression of an honor, a patriotism, an integrity of spirit to which they could afford

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to entrust their minds and feelings for guidance. This was the dominant note of his position in the English Parliament. He guided, ruled, held sway over men's minds. That is why his speeches are not models of careful reasoning. He spoke with the inspiration and exaltation of undoubted and admitted superiority, at times wit halmost the prescience of vision.

While, for the reasons we have given, the literary legacy of Lord Chatham is not nearly equal to that of some other orators, nevertheless his greatest orations, being at least equal to others as regards the subjects and the occasions, are so preëminent in fulfillment of Webster's third requisite, namely the man, that, in the sense that an orator is one who is listened to rather than read, we may safely, without fear of contradiction, term him the greatest of English orators.

Edmund Burke occupies to a certain extent the same place in English prose that Shakespeare does in English poetry. He is unique, a man apart, a source whence others may draw inspiration according to their several capacities, a fountain whose waters are endowed with animating and vivifying properties drawn from depths beyond the reach of ordinary human ken. For Burke was a seer, a high-priest, a prophet. The dominant notes of his genius were insight and penetration. To no question of politics, justice, morality or government were his powers applied, but clear down out of other men's sight, down to very first principles he went, to their relations with the laws of eternal truth and right; and there making his beginning and shaping his course, he built up his opinion step by step, giving to the world a pregnant philosophy in connection with each of the subjects to which he turned his hand. He looked over the heads of an assembly which, to the mere parliamentary debater, was all in all, out into the wide world. His audience was mankind, and mankind engaged in the highest and noblest and most beneficial of merely human pursuits, that of civil government. If the day ever comes when the English language retires from the marts and the highways and the senate-houses of men of action, to take its place beside the ancient tongues in the classroom and the closet, the fame of Chatham, Fox and the rest will be nothing more than a "nominis umbra," remembered as that of men who did somewhat in their day to contribute to the greatness of a once mighty nation, whose importance grows ever dimmer in the lenghening perspective of the years. But as long as men live in cities and towns; as long as they attempt to govern their monarchies, oligarchies, democracies, their republics, kingdoms and empires according to the principles of human nature and divine guidance, just so long will the voice of Burke sound trumpet-like

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from the study, from the campaign platform, from the parliamentary rostrum, an oracle of safe guidance both to those who are set in high places to govern and alike to those "that have but just enough of sense to know the master's voice."

It has been observed above that Burke belongs to the class of those who, if the actual spoken word be deemed the chief essential of oratory, may almost be denominated essayists as well as orators. The impression made by his performances in the House was never equal to that which the same orations created when printed and conned at leisure. People wondered how they could have been so thoroughly insensate to beauty and power as to meet his efforts with inattention or impatience. In a certain sense Burke was too great to be an orator. His usual audience was too emphatically ordinary to hitch its wagon to a star, and when Burke straddled his Pegasus for a meteor flight through the ethereal regions of fancy and imagery, they,—deliberately often—remained behind, and chose to walk on terra firma. They much preferred Chatham, with his champing, fire-breathing war-horse, or Fox, who stripped himself of all encumbrances and rode light, or Pitt, at whose every stride could be heard the increasing chink of the national money-bags which hung at his saddle. Burke brought to bear upon his raw material an imaginative fire which made it glow to a pitch far too bright to produce any but a blinding effect upon an audience which had picture after picture flashed before them with bewildering rapidity. But when transferred to paper and conned over at leisure, these very speeches are seen to be the productions of a mind that explored every nook and corner for material illustraing his subject, and laid the whole upon a foundation of logic and a true instinct for first principles that showed him to have the keenest insight into human nature and the workings of the human mind.

His work on the French Revoluion, in spite of the fact that his policy will find few defenders to-day, is, perhaps, greater than any of his speeches or all of them together. It is true he overlooked certain facts in French social life, the consideration of which was essential to the formation of a correct judgment of the great cataclysm, but he certainly did not overlook what every one else failed to see, that the method in which the Revolution was to be carried out would be such as would eventually alienate from it the sympathies of all decent men. If, as one of its supporters declares, "the gospel of the Revolution was the Contrat Social" then Burke merely judged the Revolutionaries out of their own mouths right at the beginning. As ever he went straight to first principles, and he arrived at them so fast that other men were left behind, stumbling over the obstacles which the complicated situation placed

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in the way of their reaching the same conclusions as he did, and which most of them eventually did reach. The principle which Burke grasped immediately was that whatever the need of a revolution, the men who were behind the Revolution in France, with their "Encyclopedie" and their "Ecrasez L'infame," their "Egalité, Humanité, Franternité" and the rest of their shibboleth and mummery, were certainly not the men to carry it through to a successful, moderate and beneficial conclusion. At least in this judgment has history concurred with him.

When English-speaking people are in quest of sound maxims of political and social morality it is to the eloquence of Burke and his contemporaries that they turn. In them "the ancient constitutional policy of the kingdom found its most lofty expression." They were the interpreters to mankind of the principles of equality and sound government as elaborated by the genius of the English people. Their influence has been felt in the government of the Dominion of Canada, and in the new-made constitution of the Australian Commonwealth. And if, at the present time, the name of England is become a reproach and a by-word among the nations for her treatment of Ireland, it is because a parcel of political blunderers have departed from the traditions and principles of Burke and Chatham.

While Burke stands head and shoulders above the rest in his contributions to posterity, both in the domain of political thought and that of literary effort, yet the other orators of the period have left monuments of eloquence not unworthy of the stirring times in which they lived. Chatham showed to students of the English language its capabilities for "all that was bold and commanding in eloquence." Fox gave splendid and unparalleled exhibitions of keenness in debate. Pitt set a model for lucidity of treatment and the happy amplification of a subject. Lord Mansfield gave an example of judicial dignity and unvarying loftiness in the handling of a theme. Junius, although defective in purpose and nobility of thought, showed the possibilities of orderly presentation of argument to a degree that has never been surpassed. Lord Erskine made most valuable contributions both to the art of forensic oratory and in the domain of legal opinion. These men had great things to say, and an audience stirred by great events to say them to. The day had not yet come when the fashion of saying everything in the language of the street or of the stock exchange precluded the possibility of the elegant or literary treatment of political or other subjects. Not that these great orators made the great issues which they debated an occasion for the wanton display of curious ingenuity or rhetorical facility. Far from it. Rather they brought to

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their tasks an elevated genius, shaped and trained by persevering study of their great masters, the ancients, with the result that the combination of thought and wisdom with fitting expression contained in their productions stamps the period of their activity as the Golden Age of British Eloquence.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF A GREAT METROPOLIS.

THE traveler in Italy must sooner or later become inured to signs of fallen greatness. If he is forced to submit to the tutelage of guides, details of it will soon pall on him, for this is their special field. They know the number of marble columns that stood in each villa on the ruined moles of Baii and tell the number of banquets that were served in the halls of the Cæsars on the Palatine, and they drive all sense of the picturesqueness of history from the mind of their victim. But even the sorely-tried traveler who turns aside from the beaten track of tourists, and wanders up the northern shore of the Adriatic to where the old Aemilian road skirted the sea under the shadow of the mountains, and, looking on the scattered houses grouped round the Basiiica of Aquileia, reflects that here stood once the second city in the Roman Empire, will have forced on him inevitably thought that say "Sic transit . . . "

Twenty-one centuries have just passed—as nearly as we can reckon—since P. Nasica. L. Flaminius and L. Manlius Accidinus founded the little colony on the northeastern frontier of Italy, not far from the place where legend said Antenor sailed up the mouth of the rushing Timavus towards its nine sources and founded a city for his Heneti, the ancestors of the Veneti of later years. Rome's power was steadily progressing northwards, but the war with Hannibal had interrupted the advance. When peace came with the battle of Zama, the Celts below the Alps knew the fate that was coming, and anticipated the expected onslaught by a widespread insurrection. The struggle lasted for many years, years of difficult guerilla warfare in the Maritime Alps and Upper Appennines, but one by one the tribes were defeated and the victorious Roman army steadily advanced the frontier of the Republic. This time it was no mere punitive expedition, for Rome had determined on a permanent conquest and would close forever the gates of the Alps against the Celtic nation. At the same time the conquest of the northern shore of the Adriatic was begun. The son of the great Marcellus led the Roman legions to Trieste and Istria, and the Illyrians were stirred in their coastal homes. To consolidate both these conquests an outpost was needed against threatened invasion. A colony was founded there where the Alps close down to the sea, across the bay from Trieste, facing the newly-conquered Istrian peninsula. Forces were placed there and the Roman eagle was planted facing the foe. The "Aquila" suggested the name and it was called Aquileia.

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Like many another of the Republic's outposts it was hardly built when it was sacked. A consular army marching near it was ambushed by the King of Epulia and his Istrian allies, and would have been annihilated but for the temptation of plunder that the new colony held out. The Romans had thus time to recover and drive out the invaders, but the first blood had been shed in the streets of Aquileia. Years of peace then followed in that corner of Italy, Macedonia and Carthage occupying the attention of the restless Republic. These years were spent in preparing for war, and the colony grew and the importance of its position ever increased. It came to be regarded as the link between Rome and the "near East," and was the starting-place of the roads to the neighboring Roman provinces and to the mountain passes of the Alpine ranges on the North and East. Julius Cæsar made it the headquarters of his forces in Cisalpine Gaul, and for many years it remained the winter quarters of the legions, whence they issued to tighten the Roman grip on the grand circle of the Alps.

With this increasing importance Aquileia gradually developed into a great city until, under Augustus, it became a rival of Rome itself. Temples and palaces had been built, it possessed a great amphitheatre and sumptuous baths, its monuments and statues were the product of the best art of the day. Augustus had an imperial palace built, and lived there for many years, and his successors continued to do so until the days of Theodosius. With the emperor came his court, and a brilliant suburb of palatial villas was soon added to the city. A mint, a manufactory of arms and looms for the production of linen and woolen cloths were set up. The harbor boasted a huge dockyard and naval arsenal, and it became one of the chief stations of the fleet. The splendor and luxury of the city and the beauty and health-giving qualities of the surrounding country were sung by the poets. Livia, the wife of Augustus, attributed her long life to her stay there and to the wine of the neighboring Pucinum (now Duino), which became famous throughout the Empire, and, as Livy tells us, found favor even with the fastidious Greeks.

Under the succeeding emperors the population and the wealth of the city increased. Five legions were stationed there to guard the half million inhabitants, and to its shores came ships laden with the rich merchandise of the East. Then in the midst of this pagan splendor was heard the first word of the doctrine of Christ. Legend has it that St. Mark, who accompanied SS. Peter and Paul to Rome, was sent to bring the faith to the northern metropolis, and a chapel marks the spot on the shore of the lagoon where local tradition says the Evangelist landed. There he is supposed to have worked with

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marked success for several years, until, desirous of seeing once again his chief, he returned to Rome, committing his community of the faithful to the charge of St. Hermagoras, who became its first Bishop. Persecution came to try the ever-increasing body of Christians, and the Bishop died with many of his flock. He was succeeded by his deacon, St. Fortunatus, who was in his turn also martyred, and these two first Bishops are now the joint patrons of the see. Still the Church flourished there, and in the middle of the second century it gave, in St. Pius I., a Pope to the Church..

Aquileia now rose to the highest point of its glory. It was styled by contemporary writers, "Roma secunda," "Maxima Italiae urbs," "Italiae emporium," "frequentissima," "praedives." For more than two centuries it was to remain with its glory undimmed, but its long period of peace would be broken by wars and the terrors of assault. From its position it was always liable to attack, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius had it strongly fortified, making it the principal fortress of the Empire against the barbarians of the North and East. Within a very few years its strength was tested, the Marcomanni came to its walls, and during the fierce civil wars of the Empire it was the scene of numerous battles. When the Thracian giant who ruled for three years as the Emperor Maximin found himself deposed he marched on the city before attacking Rome. Crossing the river, swollen by the melting snow, on a bridge of huge hogsheads, he rooted up the rich vineyards and laid low the splendid suburbs, using the timber beams of the houses to make engines with which to attack the city. An interval of peace had by that time allowed the walls to fall into decay, but they were quickly repaired, and the valor of the defenders made up for the poor quality of their defenses. Maximin, indignant at the slow conquest, vented his anger against the soldiers, and his cruelty aroused their enmity and hate. He was murdered by his own men and thus the city was spared. The pagan inhabitants attributed the victory to their deity Belenus, who, they declared, fought with them, and the Roman senate, identifying the Celtic God with Apollo, offered public thanksgiving to him. The women of Aquileia had their share, too, in the victory, for they had, following the Carthaginian example, sacrificed their hair to make ropes for the engines of defense, and in memory of this now rose the temple of Venus the Bald. This increase of pagan cult naturally hampered the spread of Christianity, persecution followed, and some years later we find another Bishop, St. Hilarius, dying a martyr for the faith.

The fourth century was a remarkable one in the history of the city. Constantine the Great chose it as the place of his marriage in the early years of the century, and the gorgeous festivities then

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celebrated greatly increased its fame. When it became clear that with the growing extent and importance of the Eastern Empire, Rome was no longer suited by its position to be the capital, the claims of Aquileia as the central capital became apparent. But sentiment forbade anything that would destroy the dignity of Old Rome. Constantine chose rather to build a New Rome in the East that would not supersede the historic capital but would merely be its Eastern counterpart, and so Byzantium was his choice. Aquileia was still, however, to be remembered by Constantine, for in its neighborhood a few years later his eldest son was murdered by his brother's soldiers.

The city lay near the line of march of Julian the Apostate, when, after being hailed Emperor by the revolting Gallic legions, he abjured the Christian faith and led his soldiers against Constantine. He had passed the city by and was continuing his march to the Eastern capital when two legions raised the banner of Constantine in Aquileia. The usurper could not leave a hostile force thus menacing what would be his only line of retreat if he were to fail in his purpose, and so the march was delayed and Jovinus was sent to take the city. A long siege seemed imminent, as the fortifications were deemed impregnable, but the city was spared the agony, for the timely death of Constantine ended the civil war and brought peace—though a pagan peace—to the Empire.

For the Christians, however, no peace came. The years that followed were troubled ones. Persecution broke loose upon them again under the rule of Julian and within the Church itself the heresy of Arianism caused dissension little less disastrous. Council after council was held, sincere men were misunderstood and saints tortured and exiled. Intrigue and violence were used and personal issues were forced under the guise of dogmatic zeal. Heretical emperors persecuted the faithful with all the bitterness of their pagan predecessors. But through it all the truth triumphed and gradually the tide of battle turned in favor of Catholic tradition. As an intellectual movement the heresy spent its force; there remained at length only local defenders and interested partisans. At Aquileia the last struggle was fought and the victory for the Church was finally won, when St. Ambrose, presiding at the famous Council held there in 381, secured the deposition of the last remaining Arianizing prelates of the West.

The city was at this time the chief ecclesiastical city of the district around the north of the Adriatic. When its Bishop had attended the Council held in Rome in 337, he took his place immediately after the Pope. During the reign of Constantine a church, the "magnificum templum" of a contemporary chronicler, was built. At the

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time of the Council of Aquileia, to which we have referred, St. Valerian was Bishop, and he then received the dignity of metropolitan of the churches of the district. The city had further importance in the Church at this time apart from its official position, for religious studies and rigorous ecclesiastical discipline flourished there, and it held a little knot of men who were the nucleus of an enterprise which from weak beginnings was to develop into a great and important movement. It was the capital of the province of St. Jerome, and the young Dalmatian went there from Rome not long after his baptism. His mind was still under the influence of the strong impression made on him by the dramatic flight of his friend St. Melania to the monastic silences of the East, and he soon fell in with some young men of his own age, many of them friends of his childhood, whose imaginations were all powerfully influenced by the wonderful example of the Fathers of the Desert, of whose extraordinary vocation and marvelous lives rumors were then reaching Europe. Jerome's arrival seemed to give the impetus required to convert these dreams into reality. Each acted according to his own inspiration, some, choosing to live in community, organized small convents, others elected to live as anchorites and hid themselves in Alpine caves or fled to some abandoned islet in the Adriatic, while Jerome retired to his wild native country of Stridon and gave himself up to austerity and prayer. Not all persevered, but thus to Aquileia we can trace the earliest monastic movement in Europe.

When towards the end of the same fourth century the Empire was in chaos and six Emperors ruled its wide territories, Maximus, the tyrant of Spain decided to wrest the throne of Italy from the feeble Valentinian by the help of his fierce Gauls and Germans. The young Emperor and his mother took refuge in Aquileia and thence sailed to beg the help of the great Theodosius, who ruled in the East. The march of the usurper was blocked by the bold stand of the little city of Armona on the confines of Italy, and when the army of Theodosius came against him he was no further than Pannonia, where he had fixed his camp near Siscia (the modern Sisek, in Croatia), strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save. Even this protection, however, was not enough against the rapid Tartar tactics of the army of the East. After their long march, made in the heat of summer, the cavalry of Theodosius spurred their horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who were guarding the high ground on the opposite side. Deserted by the surviving remnant of his army, Maximus fled south, and took refuge within the walls of Aquileia. Thither Theodosius followed him without delay, bringing his victorious army before the city

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with incredible speed. Defended with sincerity neither by army nor populace, Maximus was soon dragged from the throne he had assumed, stripped of his purple, and brought out of the city to the camp of the Emperor, where he was put to death by the soldiers. The young Valentinian was restored to the throne, and when he in his turn was murdered by the Frankish leader Arbogastes, this new tyrant put the rhetorician Eugenius on the throne as nominal ruler. Theodosius was once again drawn to the West o fight the new usurper, and once again the struggle was fought in the neighborhood of Aquileia. There, when victory seemed almost in the grasp of the barbarians, the disloyalty of their supporters, aided by a furious storm, which seemed a bad omen and weakened their confidence, snatched it from them and united East and West under the rule of Theodosius.

That one-day battle (September 5, 394) had profound effect on the history of Christianity in Europe, for a victory of Eugenius would have meant a restoration of the cult of the ancient gods. This upstart emperor had received Christian baptism, but ambition led him to join the powerful heathen party. He gave back to the temples the property confiscated from them, took part in idol worship, and set up again the altar of victory in the Senate Chamber, while his praetorian prefect Flavian had re-opened the Roman temples, restored the high mysteries of Cybele, led himself the procession of Isis, and dazzled the citizens by the Oriental splendor of the rites of Mithra. Only a few months of life remained to the great Emperor, but it was sufficient to accomplish his desire of leaving a Christian Empire behind him. As ruler of the East he had been given an inexorable enemy of heresy, and it was left to him to dethrone, too, the deadlier spectre of paganism in the Roman world. His predecessor, Gratian, had been the first emperor who refused the historic office of Pontifex Maximus, but the official religion of the State was still pagan. According, therefore, to the forms of the Republic, Theodosius proposed in a full meeting of the Senate the momentous question whether the worship of Jupiter or that of Christ should be the religion of the Romans. Though outwardly the religion of the majority of the senators was pagan, still the Emperor's influence and example were strong, and the prestige which his championship of the true faith bestowed on it enough to overcome the force of age-long traditions. A large majority won the official recognition of Christianity, and this was followed by a great number of conversions among the leading patrician families. The Bassi, the Paulini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion, the temples were defaced and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot wheels of Theodosius.

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With the victory of Christianity the importance of the See of Aquileia steadily increased. For many years now its occupants, acknowledged as the premier archbishops in the world, ruled a large and constantly extending body of faithful, and the position of the city in the Church was equal to its dignity in the Empire. But the glory of the city was soon to end. With the death of Theodosius the Roman Empire was again divided, and while disunion sapped the strength of the two divisions the barbarian nations established themselves on the frontier provinces of the East and West. One more usurper was to die in Aquileia before the glory of the ancient city should fade. While the throne of the Western Empire was as yet unoccupied after the death of the son of Theodosius, it was seized by a confidential secretary named John, to whom Italy readily submitted. The armies of the East advanced, and again Aquileia was chosen by the pretender for his place of defense. Here, however, his forces were conquered, and the usurper, led through the streets on an ass, exposed to the derision of those whom he aspired to rule, was then put to death in the arena.

The fall of the greatest Empire that the world has ever known was now in sight. The old Roman valor was dead, and the Emperor's armies had quailed before the might of the advancing hordes of Goths and Vandals. The Huns came in their turn and displaced these, and spread from the Volga to the Danube before discord weakened the power of their leaders. Then came Attila, who gloried in the name of the "Scourge of God," and the Huns once more became the terror of the world. Advancing into Italy by way of Dalmatia and Istria, Attila conquered and destroyed all the cities on his route, among them Spalatro, Salona, Trau, Sebenico, Zara, Pola, Parenzo, Capodistria, Trieste. Thousands of the inhabitants of these desolated cities fled before him and took refuge in Aquileia, in the strength of whose defenses they all trusted, and it was now the only barrier that delayed his conquest of Italy. Called upon to deliver up the fugitives, the city bravely refused and Attila advanced to the attack. For three months the siege continued, till the lack of provisions and the dissatisfaction of his army forced Attila to decide on retreat. However, the story goes that as he rode around the walls on the last night he saw a stork abandoning its nest in one of the towers and flying towards the country. Using, with the skill of a shrewd leader, this chance circumstance to play on the minds of his soldiers, he exclaimed that success was in sight, for so well domesticated a bird would not leave the city did she not feel the advent of ruin and solitude. Heartened by the omen a fresh attack was made and a breach forced in the wall near the point where the stork had been seen. "Then," says Gibbon, "the

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Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia."

Later writers find it hard to imagine how this huge city with its massive marble edifices should be so speedily destroyed utterly, while Rome was still magnificent even after the barbarians had more than once ravaged it, and preserved much of its splendor even to the days of Charlemagne. The truth is that the destruction of the city by the barbarians was only the beginning of Aquileia's decay, and successive invasions completed the ruin. In that attack more than 37,000 inhabitants are said to have lost their lives, and the rest scattered over the surrounding country far from their ruined homes. It was then that the islands of the lagoon became the resorts of fugitives from the shore. Gradus, or Grado, harbored many from Aquileia and the neighborhood, while many also mixed with the flying population from Padua, who took refuge in Rivus Altus, or Rialto, the chief island of the future Venice. To the trading traditions of these two parent cities many trace the phenomenal commercial success of the Venetians. Aquileia had had considerable commerce with Pannonia, and its merchandise went by the Danube as far as the Black Sea. Padua supplied Rome with manufactured stuffs. Together they received the productions of the whole Adriatic coast. They contributed, henceforth, to the growth of a great city and the development of a great state, but the glory of Aquileia was dead.

When some of the scattered citizens crept back to the desolated city it was no longer on the business of a great metropolis, but on a bare sustenance that their hopes were centred. With no shielding hand from Rome the city could not aspire again to its former position. Like Rome its situation was unhealthy, and now, with no large revenues to spend on the maintenance of its irrigatory canals, the fever-laden mists began to hang once more over the marshes, and the population dwindled rather than increased. Barbarian incursions came repeatedly, and no defenses could be erected, and none could cultivate in security the lands about the city. Gradually the abandoned buildings fell into decay and what remained were destroyed to supply materials for the rude houses of those who lingered.

The Church of Aquileia still struggled on. Its bishopric had, indeed, as years went by acquired a new importance, for the city, even in its decay, still commanded a certain amount of respect as a centre of Roman civilization among the Ostrogoths and Lombards who then held the North, and so the Bishops obtained from their barbarian rulers the honorary title of patriarch on the model of the great Christian cities of the East. It carried with it, how-

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ever, none of the power connected with the name, and was in fact merely personal to each titular of the see—nor was it ratified as yet by Rome. Soon, in fact, the title proved a real danger. Illyricum had long been a bone of contention in the quarrel about metropolitan jurisdiction between the patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople, and now Aquileia on the frontier, relying to a large extent on the fictitious importance of its assumed title, made a claim to complete independence of either Rome or Constantinople, a claim that of course the Popes refused to listen to in any form. The break, however, came at length, occasioned by the celebrated quarrel of "The Three Chapters." Various Bishops held different views regarding the condemnation of certain writings which the Emperor Justinian wished to have declared heretical, and when Pope Vigilius followed the Bishops of the East in condemning, then a number of Bishops of northern Italy, lead by Macedonius of Aquileia, withdrew from the Roman communion in 553. Thus began a long schism.

Within a few years the inhabitants of the city had to fly again, this time before Alboin, who sacked the city once more. During this time of stress the patriarch took refuge in the neighboring island of Grado, which still remained imperial territory, and here succeeding patriarchs continued to reside. For fifty years the schism continued, and then in the first years of the seventh century the metropolitan Candidian, with those of his suffragans whose sees were within the Empire, submitted to the Holy See. His suffragans, however, among the Lombards still refused to submit, and restored the old see at Aquileia as a schismatical patriarchate. This double line continued for almost a century, during which time the Popes seem to have recognized, or at least tolerated, the title of Patriarch of Aquileia as held by the metropolitans of Grado, as an offset to its assumption by the schismatic Bishops of "Old Aquileia." In 700 the synod of Old Aquileia closed the schism, but the two patriarchates continued.

The patriarch who resided at Grado now took his title from that city, and the patriarch of Old Aquileia saw his diocese gradually decreasing in importance. After years of rule by the Dukes of Friuli; the city once more came under imperial sway during the reign of Charlemagne, and this emperor was called upon to arbitrate when its Bishop made one of the periodical protests at a further reduction of his metropolitan area. It was during the reign of Charlemagne, too, that St. Paulinus occupied the see, and brought it fresh lustre by his sanctity and his learning.

In the eleventh century the city became a feudal possession of its patriarch, but this new power brought trouble and frequent con-

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flict to occupiers of the see. It was also in this century that there were consecrated two great cathedrals by the two patriarchs, that of Bamberg by John IV., with thirty Bishops, and in 1031 the Basilica of Aquileia, erected by one of the greatest of its patriarchs, Poppo. This great churchman did much to revive some of the former dignity of the see. A nobleman and a distinguished warrior before he entered the service of the Church, he was high in favor with the ruling Emperor, and his oratorical powers served him well in those councils in which the rights of his archdiocese were considered. His special aim was to force the rival patriarchate of Grado to submit to his metropolitan jurisdiction, and thus terminate the rivalry that existed between them. The means by which he secured his end seems to us questionable, for in open attack Grado was captured and its treasure brought to Aquileia. Still local historians, lay and ecclesiastical, have approved his action, and the result was confirmed by Pope John XIX, who subordinated the See of Grado to that of Aquileia. A few years later, however, we find this decision revoked and Grado declared once more independent.

As Lord of Aquileia, Poppo's interests were not solely confined to Church matters. He wished to make the city worthy of the patriarchal dignity, and did much to improve the lot of the inhabitants. He promoted commerce with the neighboring people, made new roads, and, to revive the appearance of a city as well as to strengthen the position, built new walls and fortifications. The Emperor Conrad II. gave him sovereign power over Friuli and Istria and jurisdiction over the marches of Verona, with permission to coin silver money and other favors that raised him to the level of a prince of the Empire. In return the Emperor demanded that he and his successors on the imperial throne should be made members of the Cathedral Chapter—an arrangement which secured that the Emperor would have considerable influence in the election of future patriarchs, the result in fact being that for two centuries the patriarchs with only one exception were all German.

Dependence of the Imperial power was further strengthened by the envy of Venice, which the extension of the patriarchal dominion aroused, and the consequent necessity of defense by the imperial patrons. During his lifetime Poppo combined in a singularly easy manner the dignities of ecclesiastical governor and feudal lord. We find him taking part in many military operations both offensive and defensive, and his fame extended far and wide. He brought the patriarchate to the highest point of its ecclesiastical and civil power, but is was largely through the force of his own personality and influence, so that after his death it soon began to diminish in importance once again.

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When the dignity of the old city could not be maintained the succeeding patriarchs several times changed their place of residence —to Cormons, to Cividale and Udine, in which last city they resided permanently after the destruction of Aquileia by an earthquake in 1348. From that time they were to all practical intents metropolitans of Udine. With the transfer in 1451 of the Patriarchate of Grado to the flourishing city of Venice, the rival see lost considerably in prestige. Its imperial tendencies, too, were not pleasing to the Venetians, and for many years the powerful republic rendered the occupancy of the neighboring patriarchate a position of extreme difficulty. When Venice and Hungary were at war in the early fifteenth century the Venetians found an excuse to seize on the lands of the patriarchate, and henceforth the see came entirely under the power of Venice, and was never occupied but by a Venetian. The patriarch's territory was extended after some years to include Austrian Friuli and consequently some Austrian dioceses.

So matters remained until the eighteenth century, when the Venetian claim to the nomination of Patriarch was met with equal plausibility by a claim of the same right by Austria. The matter was left to the arbitration of the Holy See, who merged the patriarchate in that of Venice and finally divided the whole territory of the Patriarch of Aquileia into two archdioceses, one at Udine with Venetian Friuli for its territory, the other at Görz with jurisdiction over Austrian Friuli. A few relics of the old patriarchate remain. The Archbishop of Udine has a right to the Cardinal's scarlet robes, the deacon in High Mass on the Feast of the Epiphany in Cividale wears a helmet and steel corselet and carries a sword to symbolize the ancient temporal power, and there remains the old patriarchal Basilica of Aquileia, which is now immediately subject to the Holy See and whose rector has a right to the episcopal insignia seven times a year.

The glory of Aquileia is therefore completely gone. A small unhealthy village of a few hundred inhabitants is all that remains of the once great city with its temples, its palaces and its theatres. The Empress Maria Theresa, to whom is chiefly due the settlement of the discord between the two patriarchates, extended her care also to the town and had fresh attempts begun to drain the marshes. These works were continued after her death until they were put an end to suddenly by the political events of 1790, and since then nothing had been done. During the French occupation Eugene Beauharnais interested himself in the city's past and encouraged the excavations which had begun, but no further attempt was made to give life to the shade of the ancient city. A few carved stones set here and there in the rough masonry of cottage walls remind us

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of the glory that once was there and a museum containing many memorials of the past serves only to accentuate the utter destruction of all its greatness. The one tie with the past is the Basilica. This links us back with the fourth century Church of St. Fortunatus, for it may be justly regarded as merely the old church restored. Excavations have brought to light several feet below the present surface the floor of the original building and now one descends several steps on entering the church and kneels again on the ancient mosaics where the early Christians knelt in the days of Aquileia's glory. The baptistery and the porch are also relics of the past, and the crypt with its old Roman lamps is, according to tradition, the actual cell in which the first Bishop, St. Hermagoras, was imprisoned before his martyrdom. No less remarkable a link is the campanile which rises solitary, a few yards distant from the church. It is as old as we reckon, but modern when we consider the ages that Aquileia knew. Still it connects us closely with far distant years, for it is built of stone blocks taken from the old amphitheatre. Nothing seemed more fitting to its builders than that the stones which were empurpled by the blood of countless martyrs of Aquileia should form part of the sacred edifice where its future sons would worship.

Looking at this venerable building, noble in its simplicity, standing almost alone amid desolation that is pathetic, the same thoughts come to the traveler as when he wanders through the streets of Rome and sees every monument of ancient glory stamped with the name of some Pope as its restorer. "Eterna città sei grande pei tuoi pontefici"—"Eternal city, thou art great through thy Pontiffs" is true in more than one sense. If the Popes had not preserved what remained of the ancient splendors of Rome, nothing but the memory of the greatest city in the olden world would now remain. In Aquileia it is the same. Were it not for the patriarchate and the city's importance as an ecclesiastical centre, every vestige of the city would have disappeared centuries ago. It was through the energies of its ecclesiastical lords that is was again and again rebuilt and that the little that had remained from former years was saved. Whatever now remains is preserved for us by the Church. The might of the Roman Republic, the splendor of the Empire passed away but the Church continues down the ages. Heir to what was best in its culture, it first purified the old Roman state from its worst horrors and then superseded it as, apart from its supernatural mission, the greatest force in the world of man. The Eternal City is with us still, the old Rome merged into the new. Aquileia is gone, but its church, the one link with the past, is symbolic. The tiny spark of faith that peered through the gloom of sin, the magnifi-

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cence, the debauchery, the utter worldliness of the old order of things grew into a great fire—from the ashes of paganism rose respendent the glorious City of God.

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MODERNISM IN THE LAW.

WHEN Rousseau first applied the term "modernist" to an atheistical philosopher of his own day, he could not have expected that it would later become the name for a whole school of thought—it can scarcely be called a system of philosophy—to be designated and denounced by Papal decree as "the synthesis of all heresies." It is true, however, that after more than a century of fluctuating definitions, the words "modernist" and "modernism" have reverted to the original meaning given them by the French radical, so that to-day they signify practically atheism in some one of its protean forms. After having fallen into disuse or been forgotten, these terms were revived by the Catholic publicist, Périn of Louvain, about the year 1878, and were used by him in the sense in which they are now understood by all Catholics. By whatever name modernity has been known in its varying manifestations—whether as liberalism, rationalism, materialism, intellectualism, secularism or paganism—it has embraced the same general teachings and tendencies, and always and everywhere it has met with the earnest opposition of the Church, finally receiving its definite denunciation by Pius X. in the Encyclical "Pascendi," in 1907. Its devastating doctrines have had certain beneficial reactions, compensating to some extent its evil effects. For instance, Newman, in his hostility to "liberalism," was led to inaugurate the movement that finally brought him back to Rome. Upon his induction into the Anglican ministry, in 1828, he conceived that his mission in life was to combat the modernist cult, and all through his work and writings this sentiment gave consistency and continuity to his thought and labor. It may confidently be asserted that the same sentiment that induced the great English convert and Cardinal to begin the inquiries that eventually made him a Catholic, has been responsible for a majority of the conversions to the faith in recent times, among the educated and thinking men of all countries. Sincere patriots, philosophers and reformers, the world over, like Newman, have witnessed with increasing fear "the tide of widespread infidelity rising like a deluge," and have beheld in prospect the time "when only the tops of the mountains will be seen like islands in the waste of waters."[1] Most of them, too, like him, have arrived at the conclusion that "there is no medium, in true philosophy, between atheism and Catholicity, and that a perfectly consistent mind, in those circumstances in which it finds itself here

[1] Ward's "Life of Newman," Vol. II., p. 416.

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below, must embrace either the one or the other."[2] Another great Catholic teacher of our day has forcibly delineated the origin and development of the modernist movement, and has clearly identified its doctrines and destined effects with the logical and ultimate consequences of the Protestant propaganda. Concluding his argument on the purely religious aspect of the subject, he says: "Left to itself and if it does react against its own principles, Protestantism cannot be other than an instrument of dissolution. . . . If you believe that dogma is subject to change; that religious knowledge is purely subjective or symbolical; that it is subject to every contingency, both present and future, of private interpretation; then you are no longer Christian."[3]

The foundation principle of modernism is the repudiation of all ultramundane or supernatural sources and standards of knowledge and authority in religion, morals and social ethics. By a perfectly natural and logical process of evolution, it leads to the repudiation of any sane and stable source and standard of truth and authority in whatsoever matter of human concern may enlist the effort and aspiration of mankind; and so it has demonstrated itself, with rapid and ruthless progress, during the last century and especially during the last fifty years. The manifestations of the movement are fairly well known to most observant laymen in their every-day lives and experiences, but, owing to the technical nature of the subject, the manner and degree in which modernistic teachings and tendencies have affected the law have escaped general notice and discussion. The divarication from sound and sacred precedents and principles has been as marked and menacing in the field of legal and judicial opinion as in any other domain, and the importance of this departure to society and government demands that greater heed be paid to its ravages.

In examining the illustrations of the modernistic tendency in the law, greater stress is to be placed upon the English than upon the American decisions, for obvious reasons. From the earliest times in Britain, Church and State, religion and law, have been intimately related. The whole fabric of her civilization was laid on Christian foundations, and for the first fourteen centuries of her national development it was the spirit and the genius of the Church, acting and speaking through illustrious Catholic warriors, statesmen, ecclesiastics, and lawyers, that won the liberties, framed the institutions, and moulded at once the intellect and the character of the English people. The English Constitution, so

[2] "Apologia pro Vita Sua," p. 198.

[3] Baudrillart, "The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism," pp. 325-326.

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vaunted for its wisdom and durability, was distinctly the fruitage of Catholicism in its full vigor and virtue; its symmetry was achieved under Catholic tutelage, and its growth ended with the destruction of Catholic dominion over the nation's mind and conscience. That magnificent structure of jurisprudence that justifies the pride of Britons everywhere and has been a model and inspiration to half the world, and especially its chief glory—the system of enlightened equity that tempers the harsh rigors of the law to the spirit of substantial justice—were the bright, particular product of the ecclesiastical tribunals under the rule of the Church. These facts of history may be read, "line upon line and precept upon precept," in the pages of every authentic writer of British annals—Hallam, Stubbs, Delolme, Freeman, Bagehot, May, Macaulay and Hume all bear witness to their truth. After the "Reformation," in the sixteenth century, British institutions passed into Protestant hands, with a close union of the secular and sacred jurisdictions, and thenceforth the British government presents, in concrete form and unrestrained operation, the new spirit that has animated the conscience and interpreted the laws of the realm.

In America the situation has been wholly different. Except for the irregular conditions of the Colonial period, this republic has always maintained a rigid separation of religion and law, both by federal and by State enactments, so that it is only rarely and incidentally that any question of religious rights and doctrines comes before the American courts. This is not to say, however, that the United States has escaped the influences that tend to sterilize the national sentiment of all religious feeling, and to banish from our institutions those Christian principles that gave them birth, and aforetime commanded the reverence and loyalty of American patriots. It is being done with us in a more subtle and sinister way than in the courts of the country. The attack is being made through legislative and social activities and "reforms"; through constitutional innovations; through the secularization of education; through the socialization of industry and enterprise, the multiplication of governmental functions, the extension of the police powers of the State, the invasion of individual and domestic rights; in short, through all the devices and usurpations of a mischievous materialism, originating and enforcing new forms of arbitrary and artificial tyranny by the domination of popular majorities. In time and insensibly the courts, too, will respond to the same insidious sophistry that latterly has won over the English judiciary to renounce its ancient decrees, and the genesis of the defection, here as there, will be found in the necessary implications of Protestantism.

The Treaty of Augsburg (1555) and that of Westphalia (1648)

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marked the beginning and the culmination of the politico-religious doctrine upon which European Protestantism based its system of belief and practice, namely, that "the religion of the ruler shall be the religion of the land" *(cujus regio, illius religio)*. Henry VIII. had put into actual operation the same ideal in the first half of the sixteenth century, and Elizabeth consummated the subordination of the Church to the State. Translated into general terms, this principle predicated its validity upon the right of the ruling power, whether a monarch or a mob, an autocracy or a democracy, to ordain and enforce whatever religious system might accord with the caprice or the fanaticism of the time and place, thus rendering the whole matter one of temporal and fluctuating contingencies, the sport or the spoil of social and political changes. Such a doctrine necessarily contains within itself the ultimate destruction of all religious order whatsoever, and this was recognized very early in the development of the doctrine in its practical application to the law. In 1601 a statute was enacted known as the law of "charitable uses," in which no mention was made of religion as such a use.[4] Commenting on this law, Sir Francis Moore, an eminent legal authority of that era, said that the omission was intentional, because, as he explained, gifts or grants of land to religious purposes might lead to escheats under the "chantries act,"[5] for, he says, "religion being variable, according to the pleasure of the prince, that which at one time is held for orthodox may at another be accounted superstitious, and then such lands would be confiscate."[6]

So well, however, had the Church done her work of piety and culture in England during the centuries before the Tudors rejected the ancient faith of the people, that not even the revolutionary tyranny of those sovereigns, nor the devious methods of subsequent proscriptions and persecutions, could eradicate from the popular mind or from the canons of English jurisprudence the fundamental dogmas of true Christianity. For the next three hundred years the old faith continued to write its holy precepts in the acts of Parliaments and the judgments of courts, while its sway was still dominant in the inner consciousness of the nation. Under the imported Puritanism of William of Orange it was enacted that it should be *blasphemy* and punishable as a felony for any person, educated as a Christian or professing Christianity, "to deny any One of the Persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or that there is only One God, or that the Christian religion is true, or that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are of divine authority."[7] That

[4] 43 Eliz., chap. 4.
[5] Edw. VI., chap. 14.
[6] Duke, "Charitable Uses," 131, 382.
[7] 9 and 10 Wm. III., chap. 32.

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was in 1698, and it is the statute law of England to-day, although overturned by the later decisions of the courts according to the latitudinous interpretation characteristic of the Protestant method. In 1813 an amendment of this law was adopted, excepting Unitarians from its penalties,[8] which legislation was in itself a recognition of the validity of the older statute. Blasphemy has always been a criminal offense under the common law of England and her colonies and dominions, as well as in the United States. It is treated as a libel against the Almighty, upon the same principle that obtained under the Mosaic code, by whose provisions it was also high treason against the Theocracy. The statute of 1698 was thus merely declaratory and confirmative of the *lex non scripta* that had prevailed since the advent of Christianity in Britain and the formation of the common law. Blackstone defines blasphemy as "denying the being or providence of God, contumelious reproaches of Our Saviour Christ, profane scoffing at the Holy Scripture or exposing it to ridicule."[9] Chancellor Kent, the American commentator, describes it as "maliciously reviling God and religion," [10] while the Supreme Court of Massachusetts has declared that it is "speaking evil of the Deity, with an impious purpose to derogate from the Divine Majesty and to alienate the minds of others from the love and reverence of God."[11]

In all of these definitions the gist and gravamen of the crime lie in the attack upon the Christian faith and the denial of those fundamental dogmas that are inculcated by the Church; as one writer says, its criminality consists in the fact that "it is *lése majesté* divine." There is no suggestion or implication that the offense derives its wrongful quality from any breach of individual rights or of the public peace. Of course the law regards the consequential evils of impiety and atheism as affecting those principles and institutions that have their sanction in the doctrines of Christianity, so that, as under the Jewish law, there is a species of treason in uttering blasphemous words against the Christian faith. There may also, in certain instances, be a grave affront to personal security and comfort in attacking the most sacred sentiments men can entertain. But these are secondary considerations. The logical and legal nature of blasphemy is its religious culpability as a libel against Christian dogmas and authority; its criminality postulates a belief in the truth and validity of the faith as it was delivered to the saints. If that aspect of the law be ignored or rejected and guilt is made to depend upon the time, place and circumstances of

[8] 53 Geo. III., chap. 160.
[9] 4 Bl. Com. 59.
[10] People v. Ruggles, 8 Johns. 293-8.
[11] Com. v. Kneeland, 20 Pick. 213, 220.

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the utterances, or upon the hurt done to the feelings of others, or as tending to provoke a breach of the peace, the offense becomes no graver than any other infraction of personal rights or violation of police regulations, such as legal nuisances in general.

There was never any serious question as to this being the correct view of the law until during the last century, and the English tribunals never advanced a contrary opinion until within the last fifty years. Prior to the "Reformation" such questions were cognizable in the ecclesiastical courts, where, of course, there could be but one view of the matter. The first reported case after the law courts assumed jurisdiction was that of Rex v. Taylor, in 1675, in which Lord Hale said that "although blasphemy is of ecclesiastical cognizance, it is not only an offense against God and religion, but a crime against the laws, State and government, because it tends to dissolve all those obligations whereby civil society is preserved."[12] This, which includes both the religious and the secular character of the crime, became the ruling principle of all subsequent decisions until recently denied.

In 1797 Paine's "Age of Reason" was adjudged to be a blasphemous publication, Lord Kenyon saying: "This publication is horrible to Christian ears."[13] It had already, in 1754, been held by Lord Hardwicke that a will bequeathing a fund to maintain the study and propagation of Judaism was invalid, as tending to attack Christianity, and this notwithstanding the Act of Toleration.[14] In 1819 Lord Eldon said: "I apprehend that it is the duty of every judge presiding in an English court of justice, when he is told that there is no difference between worshiping the Supreme Being in chapel, church or synagogue, to recollect that Christianity is a part of the law of England."[15] In 1822, as Lord Chancellor, he decided that certain lectures publised by the College of Surgeons, in which the immortality of the soul was questioned and the authority of the Scriptures denied, were contrary to Christianity and not entitled to protection in a court of equity.[16] Again Lord Eldon refused to protect the copyright in Byron's poem "Cain," for the same reason, namely, that it was an attack upon the Christian religion.[17] His decision appears in the preface to Byron's works published in 1846.

The poet Shelley likewise fell under the ban of the law against blasphemy. He was expelled from Oxford in 1811 for being the author of a pamphlet entitled "The Necessity of Atheism," and in 1840, nearly twenty years after his death, Edward Moxon, the pub-

12 1 Vert. 293.
13 Rex v. Williams, 26 How. St. Tr. 653.
14 De Costa v. De Paz, 2 Swanst. 487-8.
15 In re Bedford Charity, 2 Swanst. 479.
16 Lawrence v. Smith, 3 Jac. 471.
17 Murray v. Benbow, 3 Jac. 474, note.

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lisher of his works, was indicted and convicted of blasphemy in thus uttering and circulating "a scandalous, impious, profane and malicious libel of and concerning the Holy Scriptures, and of and concerning Almighty God."[18] Moxon was defended by Sir Thomas Talfourd, himself a poet of renown as the author of "Ion," as well as a brilliant orator. Talfourd's speech to the jury is a literary gem and a legal curiosity, containing as it does, clothed in every allurement of rhetoric, the sophistical plea for intellectual freedom and social progress that is the soul of modernism, and which has finally triumphed in the judicial tribunals.[19] A few years before this (1833) Lord Macaulay, in a speech in Parliament on the bill to remove Jewish disabilities, had voiced similar sentiments, saying: "I think it wrong to punish a man for selling Paine's 'Age of Reason' in a back shop to those who choose to buy, or for delivering a deistical lecture in a private room to those who choose to listen"; and he proceeds to argue that publicity and an offense against the private feelings of the religious, tending to a disturbance of the peace, are essential to the crime of blasphemy, likening it to a slaughter-house in a residential district, or to an indecent exposure of the person on the highway.[20] Thus we discover the insidious beginnings of that line of reasoning so popular among the "intellectuals" and recently characteristic of the Anglican aristocracy, that obliterates religious faith as being in itself valid, and transforms blasphemy into a secular nuisance, hurtful to persons or to the public, rather than a libel against God and a treason to Christian civilization. But it required some years yet before this view was adopted by the courts.

In 1850 the judges held invalid, as being intended to promote a blasphemous purpose, a legacy for "the best original essay on natural theology, treating it as a science and demonstrating it to be a true, perfect and philosophical system of universal religion, analogous to other universal systems of science, like astronomy, etc." The court did not even discuss the question, Sir Launcelot Shadwell, J., simply saying: "I cannot conceive that the bequest is at all consistent with Christianity."[21] The leading case of Cowan v. Milbourn was decided in 1867, in which it was held to be immoral and illegal to contract to rent a hall for the delivery of lectures by the Secular Society upon their advanced views of religion, especially to the effect that the Bible is no more inspired than any other book, and "The Teachings and Character of Christ; the Former Misleading and the Latter Defective." The court, by Kelly, C. B.,

[18] Reg. v. Moxon, 4 St. Tr. N. S. 693.
[19] Select "Orations," edited by Hazeltine. Vol. XI., pp. 5216-30.
[20] Speeches, Vol. I., pp. 114-125, (Vol. XVI., Complete Writings, 1900 Ed.)
[21] Briggs v. Hartley, 19 L. J. Ch. 416.

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said that "Christianity is a part and parcel of the common law of the land," and that the proposed lectures were a propaganda of a blasphemous and prohibited nature.[22]

The next few years witnessed a startling and radical change in the judicial attitude, due to the gradual growth of rationalism and of the agnosticism of such leaders as Spencer and Huxley, to say nothing of the rabid atheism of men like Charles Bradlaugh. In 1883, Bradlaugh, Ramsay and Foote were jointly indicted for publishing articles in "The Freethinker" asserting that God, as depicted in the Bible, is a cruel and heartless despot; that the whole tenor of the Scripture is improbable, irrational and false, disproving its own inspiration.[23] The defendant Foote took the bold ground that blasphemy is but a new name for the old offense of heresy, and ceased to be cognizable at law with the extinction of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, noted for his violent anti-Catholic prejudices, as was shown in the trial of Cardinal Newman in the famous Achilli libel case in 1853, held that no offense had been committed by these publications, unless they were in themselves or in the manner of their circulation indecent and calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. He said: "If the decencies of controversy are observed, even the fundamentals of religion may be attacked without the writer being guilty of blasphemy." This was equivalent to saying that the whole subject of religious belief or unbelief is open to controversy, placed Christianity upon the same footing as any other creed or no creed at all, and completely reversed the decisions of the law courts from the days of Lord Hale and of the ecclesiastical courts from the time of Edward the Confessor. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, than whom England has produced no abler law wrier in modern times, forcibly attacked Lord Coleridge's view, arguing that blasphemy consists in the matter and not in the manner of its utterance, which is obvious from the very nature of the crime.[24] In 1915, in the case of Re Bowman,[25] the new doctrine was carried to its full effect. Property had been devised to the Secular Society of London in trust, to promote the following named purposes: "That human conduct should be governed by natural knowledge and not by supernatural authority or belief; that human welfare on earth is the proper end of all thought and action; that all forms of religion should be denied recognition by the government and no support thereto ever be allowed; that all education should be strictly secular and no religious teaching ever be allowed in the public schools; that marriage

[22] 36 L. J. Exch. N. S. 124.
[23] Reg. v. Ramsay et al., 48 L. T. R. 733.
[24] "History of Criminal Law," Vol. II., pp. 449-476.
[25] 113 L. T. R., 1095.

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be made purely a civil contract; that Sunday be recognized only as a civil institution for rest and recreation; and to establish propaganda for these purposes, by lectures, books, pecuniary aid, and use of property granted or devised to the Society." This, it will be observed, is a fairly clear and comprehensive statement of the aims and doctrines of modernism, in whatever form it appears, and the British court held them to be legal, even commendable. Lord Cozens-Hardy, delivering the opinion, said: "It is to my mind almost shocking that the publications of positivists, who do not admit, and possibly deny, the existence of a God, are necessarily blasphemous. I think the older view must now be considered obsolete." Again: "This is one of the subjects on which there have undoubtedly been great changes of opinion with the last one hundred years, and I think within the last half century. It is really a question of public policy which varies from time to time." This was but to repeat the words of Sir Francis Moore in the sixteenth century, before quoted, when Protestantism was in its infancy and its essential implications were understood by the men who saw its birth. But what becomes of the long line of judicial and legislative precedents, from the inception of the law courts of the realm, sanctioned by such wisdom and piety as were illustrated in the utterances of Hale and Hardwicke, Kenyon and Eldon?

The Bowman case went to the House of Lords on appeal, in 1917, where the decision of the lower court as above cited was affirmed by a majority of the judges and approved by the House.[26] It is not recorded what view the "lords spiritual" of the "church by law established" entertained upon a subject so vital to their religious system, but some of them undoubtedly were present and there was no voice of protest from the worshipful bishops and archbishops. Lords Dunedin, Buckmaster and Sumner delivered the majority decision in separate opinions, while the lord chancellor, Lord Finlay, dissented in a remarkably able protest against the abandonment of England's historical attitude towards Christianity and religion. The cases of Briggs v. Hartley and Cowan v. Milbourn, supra, were expressly overruled, as they had been below, and blasphemy as a religious libel was abolished in favor of the general law of nuisances as applied to the subject, thus secularizing and paganizing the whole field of religious belief. Lord Dunedin said that the statements contained in the former decisions, to the effect that "Christianity is a part of the common law of England," were mere *dictá* and entitled to no serious consideration in this age; that to constitute blasphemy there must be "an element of vilification, ridicule or irreverence, likely to exasperate the feelings of

[26] 117 L. T. R., 161.

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others and lead to a breach of the peace;" and then he paradoxically remarks that "anti-Christian writings are all the more insidious and effective for being couched in decorous terms." He did not explain how, when all reverence for Christian truth is lost or repudiated, vilification or ridicule thereof can reasonably be held to constitute exasperation, or provocation to disorder. Lord Buckmaster gave expression to the ingenious, if amusing, generalization, that "natural religion, being arrived at by human reason, which is a faculty bestowed upon man by Divine power, is therefore *pro tanto* a Divine form of religion." *Ergo,* whatever may be said to be the result of any faculty bestowed upon man by the Creator, is *pro tanto* divine, although instigated by the basest of passions and issuing in the most diabolical consequences. He further said that in his opinion the common law did not render criminal the propagation of anti-Christian or irreligious doctrines, but that the criminality depends upon the manner in which the doctrines are disseminated.

In the trial of the case in the lower court, Pickford, J., had delivered the following *dictum,* which the House of Lords now approved: "I think there is no doubt that in former times such an object (that of the Secular Society) would have been held contrary to public policy, but the question is whether it is right to hold so now. I think that the doctrine of public policy cannot be considered as being always the same, and that many things would be and have been held contrary to public policy in the past which are not so held now;" a proposition not to be controverted, provided, that the truths and authority of the Christian religion are to be reduced to the level of mere public policy. All of the judges admitted that they were going "counter to what has been said by judges of great authority in past generations," but they did not therefore hesitate to declare the old faith dead and the old law obsolete in England. The arguments of the learned lords are labored and inconclusive, but as logical expositions of the results to which the Protestant theory of religion has led the English courts, nothing could be more admirable and convincing. To the same conclusion must the theory ever arrive, and the process was so long delayed in England solely because of the residuum of Catholic Faith that the "Reformation" was not able to obliterate from the minds and hearts of the English people. The American courts, for the reasons already stated, have not gone to the extent of repudiating Christianity as the foundation of our religious, social and political institutions, and it is not likely that they will soon have occasion to do so, under our present constitutional system of absolute neutrality towards all religious questions, so far as governmental recognition and support are concerned. The main prin-

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ciples that have been adopted by our courts, State and Federal, may be summarized as follows: that fundamentally this is a religious and a Christian nation, recognizing in all its traditions, institutions and practices the doctrines of Christianity as the basis of our social system and political order; that no law of State or nation will ever be interpreted to accomplish an irreligious or un-Christian purpose; that the only God known to American polity and law is the God of the Old and New Testaments; that to revile the Christian faith and its Divine Founder is a crime by the common law of the land; that while all religions or the lack of any religion at all are to be tolerated, Christianity alone commands the position of embodying the principles and policies to which the American people as a whole are committed.[27] Most of the decisions cited are comparatively old cases, and it is hard to say how far some of our modern judges would go in holding to the same doctrines. The doctrines themselves were largely inherited from England, and the influence of the recent English decisions no doubt will make itself felt here. Public opinion and policy in the United States are more volatile than in any other country, and the voice of the populace is all powerful. It is absolutely certain that the paganizing forces that are at work in the public schools and universities, in social organizations, in literature and amusements, and in the numberless secular movements for ostensibly worthy ends, will eventually develop a spirit politic that must control the body politic and exhibit itself in the laws and judicial decisions.

There is no other earthly interest that can be so profoundly and disastrously affected by the teachings of modernism as the domain of government, whether viewed as a symmetrical system of political organization framed upon the fundamental principles of constitutionalism, or as administered in the detailed provisions of civil codes for the protection of personal and social rights. The law, in this comprehensive sense, is essentially a dogmatic science, and, as has been often pointed out, "dogma and supernatural knowledge are correlative terms; one implies the other, as the action implies the object." The dogmas of spiritual truth and the dogmas of secular sovereignty have the same source and authority, and their qualities are the same—unity, universality and stability. It is literally true that "of the law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world."[28] If dethroned from that sacred citadel and made the sport of frail and fluctuating human standards, it becomes the instrument

[27] Holy Trinity Church v. U. S., 143 U. S. 472; Vidal v. Girard, 2 How. 198; Updegraph v. Com., 11 Serg. and R. 394; Com. v. Kneeland, 20 Pick. 218; People v. Ruggles, 8 Johns. 289.

[28] Hooker. "The Law of Ecclesiastical Polity," Book 1.

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of license or of despotism according as it is inspired by human cupidity or human ambition, and what was destined to secure harmony produces discord and dissolution. The soundness of this assertion is being demonstrated, as never before, in the present calamitous and chaotic condition of the world, and to this condition all of the tenets and tendencies of modernism inevitably lead. They are animated by the same futile purpose and the same delusive motto that inspired the paganism of antiquity, as its expiring gaze beheld the dawn of Christianity: *Sequere Naturam.* Meanwhile, and whatever befalls, the Church maintains her indefectible dogmas, undiminished and unchangeable: *Sedit et aeternum sedebit.*

DUDLEY G. WOOTEN.

Seattle, Wash.

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THE CATHOLIC ORIGINS OF LATVIA.

ON AUGUST 22, 1920, in the Church of the Monastery of Alone, in Latgale (the former province of Vitebsk), Monsignor A. Springovich received episcopal consecration as the first Catholic Bishop of Latvia, and a native son of Latgale, having been born there in 1887. Dr. Springovich received his licentiate in theology at the Catholic Academy in Petrograd.

The ceremony of consecration was performed by Monsignor J. Skvirezkas, Bishop of Kovno (Lithuania), the Minister of the Interior and other civil and military authorities being in attendance.

Responding to those extending their kind wishes for his successful administration, Monsignor Springovich expressed genuine pride and pleasure because of his Lettish nationality, and undertook to nurture the spiritual welfare of his people with due regard for the requirements of national policy.[1]

Latvia, the new Republic of the Baltic region, has among its people 60,000 Catholics. From the very beginning of Christianity in this region, Latgale, or Polish Livonia, had no Bishops, although episcopal sees were established at Riga, Dorpat, Reval, and other places. The history of Latvia for several centuries, from the twelfth to the sixteenth, is but one page of the history of the Catholic Church in Northern Europe. Catholicism has colored and endowed with vigor and life the national genius of the country. The popular songs of the earliest Lettish literature developed under the influence of the Catholic Church. Through the effort of Catholic missionaries, Latvia was opened to Western civilization. Her capital, Riga, was long an episcopal city. The region itself was under the rule of a military order, the Teutonic Knights. The historic past of Latvia is therefore intimately connected with the annals of Catholic apostleship, and if the fanaticism of the earliest Reformers, and the religious intolerance of Swedish Lutheranism and Russian Orthodoxy destroyed the last vestiges of Catholicism in Latvia, it is to be hoped that in a near future under a regime of freedom, it will be revived and contribute to the moral elevation of the country. Latvia is one of the republics that have arisen upon the ruins of Tsaristic Russia. She has an area of 63,000 square kilometers and a population of 2,000,000 inhabitants. Her territory borders that of Lithuania. It is not impossible that one day the two peoples will unite their destinies so as better to protect themselves against their more powerful and ambitious neighbors.

[1] Bulletin du ministère des affaires étrangères de Latvia, Riga, August 26, 1920.

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The origin of Christianity in the Baltic provinces coincides with the foundation of the town of Lübeck in the year 1158.[2] The town soon became a great commercial centre between Germany and the inhabitants of the Baltic shores. Wisby, in the island of Gotland, which had played for centuries a rôle of great importance and an entrepôt on the trade routes from Scandinavia to Kiev, the Dnieper lands, and "Tsargrad" (Constantinople), now was called upon to play a new part in the trade and cultural relations between Western Europe and the Baltic peoples. In 1163, German colonists settled there. The town increased considerably. Its population may be estimated by the fact that the ruins of nearly ninety-one churches have been discovered. The chroniclers of Nizhni-Novgorod relate that a colony of Germans and another of the natives of Gotland were busy with commercial undertakings in their town. German goods were conveyed on German ships via the Narova and Neva Rivers. The products of Russia and the Baltic region were heaped high in the warehouses of Wisby, whence they were shipped to Germany.

The discovery of Livonia is due to the merchants of Lübeck, who ascended the Dwina to its mouth and entered into relations with the inhabitants along its banks. Following them, Catholic missionaries began to spread the light of the Gospel on the shores of the Baltic. The merit of having laid the foundation for the work of the Catholic Church in the region of Livonia, now known as the Republic of Latvia, belongs to a canon regular of St. Augustine, Meynard.

The life of this missionary, whom the Catholics of Latvia venerate as the earliest apostle of their race, has had no accurate historian, as is the case with St. Ansgar, the apostle of Scandinavia. He came from the monastery of Segeberg, in the duchy of Holstein. He expressed to the Archbishop of Bremen his earnest desire and religious purposes to accompany the German merchants carrying on trade between the island of Gotland and the Baltic provinces.[3] At that time, these provinces were tributary to the Russian prince, Vladimir of Polotsk, who granted the zealous missionary a safe conduct. He received full faculties and a sincere blessing from the Archbishop of Bremen and landed in Livonia in 1184.[4] His first residence was the village of Uxküll. Here he built an oratory and

[2] See F. Kruse: Urgeschichte des Esthonischen Volksstammes und der Kaiserlich-Russischen Ostseeprovinzen Liv. Esth.-und Curland überhaupt bis zur Einführung der Christlichen Religion, Leipzig, 1846; K. Schlözer, Livland und die Anfänge deutschen Lebens im baltischen Norden, Berlin, 1850. Th. Kallmeyer: Die Begründung deutschen Herrschaft in Kurland Während des XIII. Jahrhunderts, Riga, 1859.

[3] G. Dehio: Geschichte der Erzbistum Hamburg-Brema, Berlin, 1877.

[4] H. Vitte: Disputatio historico-moralis de Meynardo primo Livonorum episcopo et conversore, Wittenberg, 1689; E. Pabst: Meinart, Livlands Apostel, Reval, 1844-1849.

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inaugurated his apostleship among the pagan tribes of the country. One of the chiefs, a certain Caupas, embraced the Christian faith and was baptized. The Lithuanians, however, assailed and destroyed the village of Uxküll. The inhabitants, headed by Meynard, had found a refuge in the surrounding forests. When the Lithuanian warriors disappeared, Meynard went back to the place of the destroyed village, and described to its inhabitants the fortresses of his own country and promised to build up one of them if they were willing to receive baptism. His proposal met with their approval. German architects and masons went to Uxküll at the request of Meynard and erected a church and a fortified castle. The new Christians were ungrateful to their apostle and pastor and relapsed into idol worship. The same occurred when the inhabitants of Holm, a small island of the Dwina, were taught by him to build fortresses on condition that they also receive baptism. A church was built there in honor of St. Martin, and the Zemgalians tried to destroy it and to dismantle the castle protecting it.

The rhymed chronicle alleged to be the work of Ditleb of Alnpeke has preserved the details of a visit of Meynard to Rome in order to render account of his mission to the Pope. Cupas was his companion en route. The Pope welcomed both visitors, and granted all their requests. Meynard explained to him the necessity of raising the mission to the grade of bishopric. The Pontiff replied with a smile: "Dear Meynard, you will be the first Bishop of that see. You will choose other missionaries as your fellows, and take jurisdiction over the land of the pagans, and be invested with great authority."

Meynard received his consecration at the hands of Hartwig II., Archbishop of Bremen, and returned to the field of his apostleship. We lack details as to his apostolic labors. But the chronicler praises his charity. He passed his last years aiding the poor and teaching his flock. He died on August 14, 1196. His mortal remains were buried in the church of Uxküll, whence they were transferred to the Cathedral of Riga in the fourteenth century. Livonia hails him as the apostle of her people.[5] But Lithuanian and Lettish historians, while doing justice to his zeal and virtue, lament the fact that his collaborators aimed to establish German domination over their coun-

[5] The name of Meynard appears in the Acta Sanctorum among the praetermissi. On his devotion, see Hermann Bruiningh: Die Frage der Verehrung der ersten livländischen Bischöfe; also Heilige, Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft fur Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands, Riga, 1902, pp. 3-36; Id.: Messe und Kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der rigaschen Kircheim späteren Mittelalter, Miltheilungen of the Historical Society of Livonia, XIX., Riga, 1904; W. Heine: Hagiologisches aus Act Livland, Der Katholik, 1903-1905. Die Landesaposteln Livlands in der kirchlichen Verehrung, Stimmen aus Maria Laach, 1905, T. LXVIII., pp. 353-360.

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try. The conversion to Christianity was alleged to be a mere pretext for the satisfaction of their ambition.[6]

The successor of Meynard was the warlike Bishop Bertholdy, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Lokkum (Hanover). His episcopal consecration took place in 1194. Berthold used rather the violence of the conqueror than the mildness of the apostle. To punish the apostasy of the Livonians, who had been baptized by Meynard, he preached a crusade against them, and gathered an army. Warriors came to him from Saxony, Westphalia and Friesland. With his little army he waged war against his enemies on the plain where his successor had laid the foundations of Riga. The chance of battle turned in favor of the Germans; but Berthold, pushed into the ranks of his enemies by his high-mettled horse, was transpierced by a spear thrust. "He died for his flock," wrotes the earliest chronicler of Christian Livonia. His death took place in 1198. The German crusaders avenged him by devastating and pillaging the country. The pagans of Uxküll and Holm embraced the Christian faith and paid tribute to the conquerors, who returned to Germany leaving the missionaries without support. As soon as the soldiers were gone, the pagans murdered the missionaries and their converted countrymen. Among the latter was Caupas, who, when falling stricken with four wounds, exclaimed: "Our Lord received for me five wounds: I regret that only four were inflicted on my body."

Albert of Buxhövden (or according to others, of Appledern), was the third Bishop of Livonia. Henry the Lett furnishes, in his chronicle, rather full information as to his life. In spite of the familiar name given him, Henry was a German priest, who, until 1208, was doing missionary work in Livonia, and who was well acquainted with the Lettish and Esthonian languages. He witnessed most of the events related in his chronicle, which, of course, is written in the uncouth Latin of the Middle Ages. The chronicle starts with the life of Meynard and stops in 1227, two years before the death of Albert (January 17, 1229). William, Bishop of Modena, and Legate of the Holy See in Livonia in 1225, exhorted him to undertake his literary work, which contains the Christian epic of Latvia. We do not know why the writer, who was still alive and pastor at Papendorfer in 1259,[7] did not go farther in his narrative.

[6] On the origin and early history of Livonian Christianity see: Nachrichten über einige der ersten Bischöfe im Livland und Estland, Mainz, 1843; E. Metzner: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Einführung des Christentums im Preussen, Graudenz, 1906. C. Turowski, Kirchengeschichte von Ost und Westpreussen, I. I. Gotha, 1908; F. Schonebohm: Die Besetzung der livländischen Bistümer bis zum Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts, Giessen, 1909.

[7] L. Arbusow: Geschichte Livlands, Riga, 1908, p. 74; H. Hildebrand: Die Chronik Heinrichs von Lettland, Berlin, 1865. The title of the Chronicle is as follows: Origines Livoniae Sacrae, sen chronicon livonicum vetus, in Scriptores rerum livonicarum, Riga and Leipzig, 1853; A. Potthast: Bibliotheca historica medii oevi, T. I., 1895, pp. 583-584.

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Bishop Albert was wholly saturated with the spirit of the crusaders. He felt that the sword must be brandished against the infidels. He sought to destroy, by violence if need be, the pagan temples. After his consecration, he gathered in the island of Gotland a small army of five hundred warriors. Canute, King of Denmark; Waldemar, Grand Duke of Schleswig; Absalom, Archbishop of Lund, were persuaded to assist him. Innocent III. (1198-1216) encouraged him to preach the crusade against the pagans of his diocese. In April, 1200, twenty-three ships loaded with warriors and arms went up the Dwina, and landed at Holm, where they found the few missionaries who had taken shelter there after withdrawing from Uxküll, and were heroically withstanding the onslaught of the pagans. Albert discovered a suitable site for a fortification at the mouth of one of the tributaries of the Dwina, a place suitable to serve as a harbor. Here a wooden church was erected. It was soon destroyed by fire, but rebuilt of stone in 1215. This chapel later became the Cathedral of Riga.[8]

Some historians believe that the founder of this city was Berthold. According to Arnold of Lübeck, Riga was founded by Meynard in 1186 and placed under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin. Whoever may have been the founder of Riga, it is true that Bishop Albert was its first and active organizer from both the religious and the temporal point of view. It was he who summoned the first settlers, who went there under the guidance of a canon regular of St. Augustine. Foreseeing the commercial importance of the harbor, he obtained from Rome Papal Bulls forbidding the Germans to carry on their trade with the other ports of the Baltic coasts. Merchants were granted privileges and exemptions by the town. The town grew so rapidly that in the year 1213 Innocent III. withdrew it from the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bremen and proclaimed it an autonomous episcopal see.[9]

The pagans began to molest the rising city. Their hatred of their German conquerors became hatred of the Christian religion. Under Albert, many converted pagans suffered martyrdom. The most illustrious of these champions of the faith were Cyranus and Laianus, who died under excruciating torment.[10] To protect the

[8] K. H. Busse: Erörterungen über die Geschlechtsnamen des bishofs Albrecht von Riga, Mittheilungen, etc., T. IV., 1849, pp. 3-56; E. Winkelmann: König Philipp von Deutschland und Bischof Albert von Livland; Ibid.: T. IX., pp. 76-102; C. E. Napiersky: De diplomate quo Albertus, episcopus Livoniae declaratur princeps imperii romano-germanici, num authenticum sit et quo anno datum, Riga. 1832; Id., Riga's ältere Geschichte in Uebersicht, Urkunden und alten Aufzeichnungen, Riga, 1844; A. Bulmerincg: Die Verfassung der Stadt Riga im ersten Jahrhundert der Stadt, Leipzig, 1898.

[9] W. Bippen: Geschichte der Stadt Bremen, Bremen, 1892, T. I., pp. 123-124.

[10] Arbusow: Op. cit., p. 15.

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nascent centre of Christian endeavor and influence, Albert made up his mind to transform the temporary military status of his ecclesiastical province into a permanent military system. The crusaders he had enrolled had been accustomed to return to Germany, after one year's service in the ranks. In order to attach them to the soil of Livonia, he conceived the plan of instituting a religious order, whose members might in the course of time be the means of leading all the non-Christian inhabitants to receive baptism.

It would seem that the first one to have suggested the establishment of a new military order was Theodoric of Treiden, a Cistercian, who in the days of Meynard had displayed great zeal for the conversion of the pagans. Nevertheless, the first to give it effect was Albert, who evolved a rule, and encouraged the formation of an order under it. The order was based substantially on the way of living and customs of the Templars. They were called the "Brothers of the Militia of Christ, or Knights of the Sword." They took the vow of chastity, professed obedience to the Bishop, and upon oath promised to take up arms against the infidels.[11] The cloak bore, as their distinctive design, a red sword on the left side, and the sword had the same emblem graven on the hilt. Innocent III. approved the establishment of the order and decided that the lands they might conquer would belong to them and the Bishop of Riga.[12] The Knights of the Sword claimed a half of the territory they might conquer, but the Pope granted them only a third. The pretensions of the Knights increased after the death of Bishop Albert, and gave occasion to frequent strife between them and the clergy of Riga.[13]

The first master of the Order was Wenno or Winno, who in 1209 was murdered by Wibbert of Soest, an ex-knight.[14] Between 1207 and 1229 the life of Albert was a series of battles, travels and efforts to convert to the Christian faith the pagan tribes of the Baltic, and maintain the German hegemony over them. In 1205, the Lithuanians under the command of Svelgat besieged Riga, and invaded Esthonia. The Livonian Knights routed them and killed their chief. In 1204,

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[11] C. E. Napiersky: Sylva documentorum, T. I., Riga, 1833, p. 372.

[12] Origines Livoniae, pp. 96-98.

[13] A. Hornung: Dissertatio de ordine qui dicitur ensiferorum, Wittenberg, 1685; H. L. Schurzbleich: Historia ensiferorum Ordinis Teutonici Livonorum, Wittenberg, 1701; Th. Kallmeyer: Die Begründung deutscher Herrschafft und christlichen Glaubens in Kurland Während des XIII. Jahrhunderts, Riga, 1859; S. Solovev: Krestonowtzy, i Litva (The Crusaders and Lithuania), Otecestvennyia Zapiski, Moscow, 1862, T. LXXXII., pp. 43-62; C. E. Napiersky: Deutsche Chronik der Schwerdtbrüder und der Brüder des deutschen Hauses in Livland, Archiv für die Geschichte Liv., Esth. und Kurlands, Dorpat, 1856, T. VIII., pp. 66-82.

[14] H. Brackel: Die Ermordung des ersten livlandischen Ordensmeisters Herrn Winno, Mittheilungen, T. III., Riga, 1845, pp. 187-9, 230; A. Gernet: Die Anfänge der livländischen Ritterschaften, Reval, 1895.

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Albert preached a new crusade against the pagans. Because of his service to the cause of Christianity and to German influence, the Bishop was named a prince of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1211, the Curiones visited the tribes of Esthonia and Zemgalia to join them in crushing the power of Germany. Riga was in great danger. The hordes of pagans had reached its walls. The inhabitants were awakened by the ringing of the bells of alarm, and they withstood the assaults of the enemy until the Knights reached the city of Uxküll and other castles. The battle raged three days. At last, the pagans were driven back, and forced to retire with great loss. To commemorate the victory and the defense of Riga, the thirteenth day of July was dedicated to the feast of St. Margaret.

In the same year, Albert gathered a new army of Germans, and inaugurated a systematic war against the pagans. The Bishops of Ratzeburg, Verdun and Paderborn accompanied him in his campaign. Many pagans were forced to embrace the Christian faith. The progress of Christianity among the Esthonians led the Holy See to create a new diocese at Leal. Its first Bishop was Theodoric of Treiden. A third diocese was that of Zemgalia, whose first Bishop, Bernard (1218-1224), assumed the title of *episcopus selonensis.*

An act of political imprudence on the part of Albert in 1218 made conditions in Livonia rather worse, and caused dissension among the Germans and Danes.[15] In 1218, the Archbishop of Bremen closed the harbor of Lübeck to the commerce of the Baltic. This measure prevented German crusaders from reaching Livonia. Albert, who was in constant fear of a renewal of pagan aggression, with Bishops Theodoric and Bernard, went to the court of Waldemar, King of Denmark, and asked him for help. The King, who coveted the island of Oesel, complied immediately with his request.[16] A Danish army landed on the coast of Livonia, and built the fortress of Reval. The Germans got on badly with the newcomers and clashed with them. They were beaten and their foes conquered Esthonia. The feeling of the Germans against Waldemar became so deep that they plotted his murder. But Bishop Theodoric was mistaken for the King and stabbed by the conspirators, on June 15, 1219. Albert arranged that the vacant see should be filled by his brother Herman. Almost at the same time, Waldemar succeeded in making a supporter of his, Wescelinus, Bishop of Reval (1219-1227).

The Danish missionaries strove to penetrate the interior of the

[15] C. Crözer: Bischof Albert und sein Werk, Petrograd, 1862; W. Wolterup: Dänemarks Beziehungen zu Livland vom Verkaufe Estlands bis zur Auflösung des Ordensstaates, Berlin, 1883.

[16] A. A. Blagoviesshensky: Ostrov Ezel (the Island of Oesel), Petrograd, 1881, pp. 14-22.

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conquered territory, while the Germans did their best to keep them away from their lost province.

Weighed down by both factions, the Esthonians waged war firstly against the Danes, and drove them from their fortresses. Then they turned against the Germans, who massed their forces and hurled them against the pagans. After a most desperate resistance, the city of Dorpat fell into their hands. In 1226 the Knights of the Sword seized the island of Oesel, and in 1228 Albert laid the foundation there of an episcopal see, and he later consecrated as its first Bishop, Gotfried, a Cistercian abbot. On January 17, 1229, the zealous Bishop died and was buried in the Cathedral of Riga.[17]

One important episode of the career of Albert was his request for a Papal Legate who might visit the new Christian provinces. Honorius III. acceded to his petition, and in 1225 sent as Legate William of Savoy, Bishop of Modena. His name is often called to our attention as we review the early history of the Baltic Christianity. He lived in Livonia two years (1225-1226) and returned there in 1234-1235, and again in 1238. He was a man of wide experience, well balanced judgment and rare diplomatic ability. In his travels through Livonia and Esthonia, he became perfectly acquainted with the customs and character of the population, and the requirements of the situation. His prudence and foresight enabled him to solve satisfactorily many important questions. He visited the castles of Wenden and Trikalen, while in Uxküll, he celebrated the commemoration of the earliest apostles of Livonia. He visited the Danish fortresses of Gerwen and Wierland and those on the island of Oesel. His mission ended, he returned to Rome, leaving as his vicar a missionary named John. William is remembered also as the first writer in the Baltic languages, because of his translation into old Prussian of the grammar of Donatus.[18]

The death of Albert may be taken as a convenient date for the origin of the religious and political hegemony of the Germans in Livonia. Rarely did the order act out of unselfish and supernatural motives. His undertakings were suggested by the love of conquest. His action was rather harmful than favorable to the interests of Livonian Catholicism. The wars waged against them by Livonian paganism were inspired by a love of freedom and resistance to a foe seeking to deprive Livonia of its independence. The Livonian Knights who took part in these wars were imperialists of the same

[17] J. Brodsneeks: Katolubasniza Liwonija (Catholicism in Livonia), in Lettish, Austrums (The East), Riga, 1894, III., pp. 231-237.

[18] C. Schirren: Verzeichniss liveländischer Geschichts-quellen in schwedischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, Dorpat, 1861, nn. 3-7; Fr. Krosta: Wilhelm von Modena als Legat von Preussen, Königsberg, 1867; P. Balan: Sulle legazioni compiute nei paesi nordici da Guglielmo vescovo di Modena nel secolo XIII., Modena, 1872.

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restless type that we have seen pushing forward the frontier outposts of military States, from the earliest period in recorded history down to our own day. Upon their pretensions rest the German claims to the Baltic provinces.

Let us hope that the political resurrection of Latvia may be followed with but little delay by her return to the faith of her people of seven centuries ago. The brilliant Catholic records of more than four centuries cannot be erased from the annals of the Lettish people and they constitute a tradition which ought not be discredited. The liberated Letts ought not forget how much the Lutheranism of their German aristocracy has stifled their national development. It may be that they already feel a homesickness for their deserted Catholic sanctuaries.

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MEDIÆVAL LATIN PROVERBS.

PROVERBS have from the earliest times created a literature of their own. They have been the seed from which a plentiful crop of books has been reaped, from the days of Aristotle and Plato, both of whom made collections of them, to our own time, when most modern nations have produced works on parœmiology. No literature is richer in proverbs than that of Spain, and it was a Spaniard who gave us one of the best definitions of a proverb. Cervantes said is was "a short sentence founded on a long experience," a description it would be difficult to beat. But if Spanish literature is adorned with proverbs on almost every page (they spring up like daisies on a lawn), it is Germany that has created the largest literature about proverbs. To mention only a few of these works: two of the best known works on the comparative science of proverbs are first, a collection of German proverbs in five volumes published by Karl Wander in 1863-1880, called a Lexicon; and second, a collection of proverbs in the German and Romance languages in two volumes by Ida and Otto von Düringsfeld, published in 1872-1875.

The earliest English collection was made by Ray in 1670; this has been reissued and enlarged in Bohn's "English Proverbs." Many proverbs are almost universal, they occur in most countries in varied forms, the idea is the same but it is clothed in a different dress according to the genius of the country in which it occurs. This is naturally true in neighboring countries, where the proverb, like an escape from a garden, will vary according to the soil on which it falls.

Of more ancient collections, there was one made by a Dutchman, Albert Schott, published in Antwerp in 1612: it contained 358 proverbs from the Vatican Library, a large number of metrical proverbs from various sources; 1,400 were from Suidas, 550 from Zenobius, or Zenodotus, who lived in the second century of our era, and 775 collected by Diogeninanus, a contemporary of Zenobius.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Michael Apostolius, of Constantinople, made a large collection, and wrote explanations of them. Then Erasmus collected over four thousand, mostly from classical authors; he published them under the name of "Adages," and it became one of his most popular works. He described a proverb as "a well-known saying remarkable for some elegant novelty," to which definition we much prefer that of Cervantes, quoted above, or Lord John Russell's "the wisdom of many and the wit of one." Better is the definition attributed to Aristotle by an early Christian writer, Synesius, to this effect: "A proverb is a remnant of

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the ancient philosophy preserved amid very many destructions, on account of its brevity and fitness."

Although very many proverbs contain moral instruction, yet this is by no means essential to them; indeed some of the wittiest are devoid of it. They adapt themselves easily to cynicism; for example, "Every man has his price," which, be it noted, is the original form of this proverb, though not the one usually quoted.

The collection we propose to examine here is made by a German writer, Jakob Werner, and needless to say that being of German origin it is thoroughly and systematically done: it is a collection made from MSS. of the Middle Ages. The sources are MSS. in the universities and public libraries of Basle, Darmstadt and Munich, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the monastic library of St. Gall.

One MS. in the University of Basle is a collection of two-line proverbs made by a Carthusian monk; another is a MS. of one-line proverbs collected from classical writers. The editor has omitted some long verses on woman and coins, both rather favorite subjects. The Darmstadt MSS. contain various fragments collected by one Galfridus; some sheets contain proverbs only in the Latin language; one MS. was filled with German songs and melodies. The Munich MSS. from the Court Library contained certain proverbs versified from divers Latin philosophers. The Paris Bibliothèque Nationale yielded a MS. containing 189 proverbs with the title, "Proverbial Verses," made by one Ysengrimuis, which the editor says greatly resembles a collection at Oxford made by Serlo of Wilton.

In the collection from St. Gall is a MS. by Alanus de Lisle, the philosopher and theologian (1114-1202), with a commentary by him. One page contains the following lines in Latin:

"O writer cease because your hand is tired."
"Three fingers write but all the body labors."
"O gentle Mary, do not leave the writer."

Another MS. by Theobald, a physiologist, contains seventy-seven Latin proverbs with their German equivalents. The Public Library at Munich yielded a MS. with 220 proverbs collected by the Bavarian philosopher and philologist, Akad Wiss. The usual form of all these proverbs is the hexameter and the distich and they generally have one or two syllable rhymes which are not always pure; some are leonines. Some of the proverbs are from classical authors, as Æsop, Ovid, Cato, Marcus Aurelius, Pamphilus, the Ethics of Facetus. In later times Abelard contributes to the collection.

The proverbs deal with all manner of things, but especially with animals: the wolf, the dog, the ass, the mouse, the hare, the fox, the horse all frequently occur; of birds the cock and the hen are the

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most popular. Woman is a favorite topic, but she need not look to these pages for flattery. Death is more frequently dealt with than life. Love, friends and friendship are all popular subjects: the elements of water and fire are represented; bread, wine, fish and fruit all figure; of the virtues, patience and honor are mentioned; wisdom has fewer proverbs allotted to it than fools; coins and money are often dealt with and the verb to give is the most popular of all subjects. Manners and customs, masters and servants, the rich and the poor, home, fortune and doctors are other popular themes with the old mediæval proverb makers and collectors.

The use of proverbs for titles of plays by Spanish dramatists and occasionally by our own Shakespeare has been developed in France by making a proverb the basis of a drama, as in several of Alfred de Musset's plays, *e. g.*: "On ne se badine pas avec l'amour"; and it is certain that some proverbs do contain the nucleus of a dramatic plot, as in "All's well that ends well."

Perhaps the most interesting fact in connection with proverbs is the way in which the same proverb varies in different countries. For example, the proverb, "God helps those who help themselves," is almost universal and has many variations, some very pithy: the Greeks say: "Pray not to God with folded hands"; the Spaniards, "God helps the early riser"; the Bulgarian version is, "God will give, but He won't carry home for you"; the Basques say, "God is a good worker, but He likes to be helped"; the French say, "Qui se remue Dieu l'adjue"; the Germans say, "Help yourself and God will help you"; the Danes say, "God gives every bird its food, but He does not throw it into the nest"; the Dutch version is similar to the Danish: "God gives food to those birds who fly for it." The Latin version in one of the Basle MSS. is, "God gives the calf, but He does not hold it by the horn."[1]

The old Latin saying from one of the Basle MSS., "I prefer one present to five future (things)" is a very tame edition or root of our "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," which had variations in Dutch, Italian and Portuguese proverbs. The Dutch say: "Better a bird in the hand than ten in the air"; the Portuguese version is, "Better a sparrow in the hand than two flying"; the French say, "A sparrow in the hand is better than a crane on the wing."

But we are here more concerned with mediæval Latin proverbs than with their equivalents in other countries, of which no doubt they were the root. We may gain an idea of their attitude towards animals from their proverbs about them. For instance, they had evidently no sentimental notions about dogs, as a proverb from the Basle collection shows: "Wash and comb a dog, he is a dog and re-

[1] "Dat Deminus vitulum, sed non cornu tenet illum."

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mains one."[2] That they kept fierce house-dogs in those far-off days we know, as their proverbs prove: "A dog always shows animosity in his own domain,"[3] is from a Basle MS. "In his own home the dog is master of everything,"[4] was the experience of the monks of St. Gall. "In his own house the dog is the bravest of all,"[5] is another saying from the Basle collection. "Every one has a fierce dog in his yard,"[6] is from Munich. "No one fears the dog who barks before he bites,"[7] from Basle, resembles our "A barking dog does not bite," which the Italians and Spaniards also say. A two-line proverb from Basle says: "An old dog does not bark without a cause and the words of the prudent are accustomed to have weight."

The monks of St. Gall had no illusions about precocious sanctity, for they said: "An angelic youth becomes a demon in his old age";[8] a Basle MS. contains a similar sentiment: "An angel in a boy makes Satan in an old man";[9] and a Munich MS. has the same idea: "An angel in youth, a demon in his sinking years."[10]

The mediæval opinion of woman was a very poor one, as shown forth in proverbs. "A woman rejoices more in beauty than in honesty" is flattering compared with some of their sayings; another mild criticism is embodied in "Words grow where women meet." One from the monastery of St. Gall about women being always prone to the thing forbidden her, we dare not translate in spite of the sop thrown to Cerberus in the third epithet, so we give it in the original: "Femina vas sathane, rose fetens, dulce venenum, semper prona rei qui prohibetur ei." The writers in the Basle collection had no opinion of the gentler sex: "Whoever you are, if you believe in the faith of a woman, believe me, you will be deceived," is the opinion of one who appers to have had some experience in the matter. Another Basle fellow-sufferer says, "If any one tries to find faith in woman let him seek fish in woods, and bees in the sea." St. Gall perpetrated another proverb on woman, which discretion forbids us to translate, though it is fair to the monks to say that the Munich MSS. furnish a very similar one. Here is the St. Gall proverb camouflaged for the unlearned in its native language: "Quid levius flamma? flumen: quid flumine? ventus: Quid vento? mulier: quid mulier? nihil." As the St. Gall proverbs give an insight into the thoughts, trials and experiences of a mediæval monk, we will examine them first, though they do not form a large proportion of Jacob Werner's collection.

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2 "Ablue, pecte canem, canis est et permanet idem."
3 "Ante suas edes semper canis est animosus."
4 "In propriis domibus extat dominus canis semper omnis."
5 "In propriis foribus canis est audacior omnis."
6 "Unusquisque sua canis audax constat in aula."
7 "Nemo canem metuat, qui non ledit, nisi latrat."
8 "Angelicus juvenis senibus sathanizat in annis."
9 "Angelus in puero fit Satan in senio."
10 "Angelus est juvenis demon labentibus annis."

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Friction between the clergy and the laity are thus dealt with: "When the sea is dry and the devil is raised to the stars, then first will a layman make a faithful friend to a cleric."[11] Their servants as well as the laity appear to have been a trial to the clergy, for we find this proverb: "A priest's servant is always tired; when he eats he perspires, and when he works he freezes."[12]

The need to work for a living was evidently a pressing one: witness the following proverb, found also in other collections: "A sleeping cat and a priest neglecting to sing, and an empty pond will bring in little money."[13] The necessity for labor is also implied in the following: "You cannot catch foxes by wishing to catch foxes."[14]

They set a high value on corporal punishment, which the victims probably appreciated less. One of the St. Gall proverbs was to this effect: "When your sons are chastised then they are adorned";[15] with stripes being understood. Another more cryptic version of "Spare the rod and spoil the child," from the same source was a couplet: "Look, father, look at the misfortune of Lucretius, and do not permit your son to go unpunished if you do not wish to lose your nose."[16] The expression, "to lose your nose," was evidently a reference to a common stying, "abripere nasum mordicus," equivalent to our "to bite or snap off one's nose." The Lucretius here referred to was probably not the poet, but the patrician Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, whose tragic fate may perhaps be referred to here. A Basle MS. gives a gentle hint of the salutary effect of the rod in "A sharp rod tames untamed boys,"[17] and another proverb from the same source says: "Who spares the rod does not love his children."[18]

Besides the St. Gall proverbs another monastic collection was made by the Carthusians, and is preserved in the University Library of Basle, nearly all of these are two-lined and nearly always leonines. The devil was rather a favorite subject with both monasteries. The St. Gall monks hopefully declared that "The devil was dead and hell was sown with rapeseed,"[19] or coleseed, meaning, we suppose, that his kingdom was no longer flourishing. The Carthusian version of our "The devil was ill, the devil a monk would be," etc., was: "The

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[11] "Dum mare siccatur et demon ad astra levatur,
Tunc primo laicus clero fit, fidus amicus."
[12] "Presbyteri servus est omni tempore lassus
Dum comedat sudat, frigescit quando laborat."
[13] "Cattus dormitans et clerus cantica vitans,
Et mola stans vacua, tibi dant mala lucra."
[14] "Non sumes vulpes, cupias ad prendere vulpes."
[15] "Cum castigantur pueri tibi: tunc decorantur."
[16] "Lucretii pater casum aspice: non sine natum
Incastigatum, si non vis perdere nasum."
[17] "Indomitos pueros aspera virga domat."
[18] "Qui parcit virgae, pueros non diligit ille."
[19] "Demon mortuus est et tartara sunt sata rapa."

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devil when ill wished to be a good monk, but when he was well he remained as he was before,"[20] in a leonine verse. The St. Gall monks in a two-line proverb said: "The devil could not pour out more troubles for the clergy, than if he were to give them flocks [literally servants] without any worries."[21] The Carthusians had a saying that "Where the devil could by no means go himself, there he taught his servants to go." The Germans have a similar saying, but for his servant they substitute an old woman, and the Italians with as much wit as wisdom say: "Where the devil cannot put his head he will put his tail."

The Carthusians had a good many proverbs about wine, one of the few luxuries allowed them by their very strict rule; that they were good judges of it their world-famous liqueur witnesses. We will quote a few of their sayings in this connection: "Good wine makes an old heart young, but bad wine makes a young heart old." The following one shows how highly they prized learning, and their scorn for the unlearned: "Give wine to the learned, boiled water to the layman; let him drink wine who knows how to teach [or compose] Latin."[22] The next one shows it would not have been easy to palm off indifferent wine on their cellarer.: "A good buyer tests wine by scent, color and taste: He tests the scent by the nose, the color by the sight and the taste by the mouth."[23]

Our proverb that "a hair of the dog that bit him cures the bite," in its cynical sense, has its equivalent in the Carthusian couplet: "Let him drink wine in the morning to renew his empty brain, which yesterday he drowned in the pure juice of the grape,"[24] or "in neat wine." The Benedictines of St. Gall said: "If you were able to drink good wine it was good armor,"[25] meaning what we call Dutch courage. They also understood the use of wine in cooking, for they said: "A captured fish desires wine, a live one water."[26] Fish, although it was the principal food of these monks, was not so popular a subject for proverbs as wine: still they had a few pregnant sayings. The Carthusians said: "The cat loves fish but abhors the river";[27] the Italians and Germans have a similar saying, "that the

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20 "Demon languebat, monachus bonus esse volebat,
Sed dum convaluit, mansit ut ante fuit."
21 Demon non potuit clero mala fundere plura
Quam quod ei tribuit famulos omni sine cura."
22 "Vinum da docto, layco de flumine cocto:
Ille bibat vinum, qui scit formare Latinum."
23 "Vina probat bonus emptor odore, colore, sapore,
Nare probatur odor, visu color, et sapor ore."
24 "Vina bibat mane cerebrumque reformet inane,
Quem perfudit heri gratia multa meri."
25 "Est armatura bona, si potes bona vina."
26 "Piscis captivus vinum vult, flumina vivus."
27 "Sumere vult pisces catus, sed flumen abhorret:
Sic sua sepe pigrum, ne crescet, inercia torret."

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cat loves fish but hates water." The Carthusians added a second line moralizing on the situation by saying thus by her laziness she does not grow fat. They were very fond of moralizing and many of their proverbs had a double meaning: for example this one: "Who throws a line from the top of a mountain wishing to catch fish: he lies in ambush at a distance."[28] Here is evidently a subtle thrust at those who are lukewarm in resisting temptation, or are half-hearted in their work.

The collection of proverbs from which we are quoting was printed at Heidelberg, where they evidently had not a diphthong in their Roman type, which often complicates the meaning, *que* being often used for *quæ, hec* for *hæc,* as in the one we are now about to quote. In this proverb there is an allusion to the poet Ovid, whose surname was Naso. "You may say when you suffer and perhaps have not deserved it, that you, another Ovid [Naso] will bear it because you have endured greater things."[29] Ovid having suffered the injustice of exile, complicated by the ingratitude of his idol, the Emperor Augustus, by whom he was for some obscure reason, the subject of much speculation ever since, banished to Tomos, on the western coast of the Baltic in Bulgaria, a small town close to the modern city of Constanza, bore trifles with equanimity. The monks of St. Gall, who more rarely than the Carthusians used two-line proverbs, and more rarely still leonine verses, had a two line verse on being despised and despising others:

"Despise no one, despise the world, despise yourself,
Despise being despised, these things are precious to God."[30]

The good sense of the Carthusians in the matter of fasting and abstinence is seen in the following: "Take food moderately, nature is nourished by a little. Thus refresh the body, lest the mind should grow heavy through fasting."[31] There is an old English proverb, common to the Italians and Dutch, which says: "Enough is as good as a feast." This being so, prudence suggests that we now bring this banquet of wit and wisdom of the Middle Ages to a close, which we will do in the words of the Carthusians referring to another kind of feast: "When the monks have eaten sufficiently, they rise slowly and sing the Miserere without thought."[32]

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, England.

[28] "Qui lini semen supra montem jaculatur,
Piscibus intendens hic eminus insidiatur."
[29] "Dicas cum pateris, que forsan non meruisti:
Hec modo Naso feres, quoniam majora tulisti."
[30] "Spernere nullum, spernere mundum, spernere sese
Spernere se sperni sunt preciosa Deo."
[31] "Sume cibum modice: modico natura fovetur:
Sic corpus refove, ne mens jejuna gravetur."
[32] "Dum satis est venter monachorum sufficienter
Tunc surgent lente, 'Miserere' canunt sine mente."

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IS THE FRENCH SPOKEN IN QUEBEC A PATOIS?

IT IS astonishing how persistingly the idea has held, in the English-speaking mind of Canada, that the French spoken in Quebec is a *patois*. Like many false and absurd ideas that obtain, this erroneous one has had its origin in ignorance of fact. It has trickled through all classes of the English community in Canada, and we have found it existent even in great centres of learning in the United States. Indeed, it will take years, we fear, to disabuse the public mind of this false and absurd idea and give truth of fact its rightful place.

The question, we hold, should be discussed free from all race or language prejudice and supported, not by mere subtle philological distinctions, but by the common sense facts of the laws of language, and the historical truths that underlie all language development.

We must, at the outset, confess that we have never been able to understand why the civilization and development of the French colonist, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in Canada, should bear fruit in a *patois* of speech, while the English colonists, who first settled in Massachusetts and Virginia, succeeded in preserving the English of Shakespeare or Pope or Addison.

If we make a study of the character of the first French colonists who came to Canada, then called New France, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, there is nothing to warrant us in assuming that the language they spoke was nothing but a synthesis of the dialects that prevailed in their mother country. On the contrary, the intellectual beginnings of New France are cœval with an old France that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries surpassed, in brilliant literary achievement, in science and in art, all the other countries of Europe.

It is true that many of the French colonists belonged, not to the intellectual élite, but to the toiling masses who necessarily emphasized labor and the skill of the hand rather than the skill of the brain. But this can be said as well of the early settlers in Massachusetts and Virginia. You may here ask: Do we know the character of the early French colonists in Canada? Decidedly we do; and what is more, we know the parts of France from which they hailed, and the character or peculiarities of the language or dialects which they spoke; for there is no doubt that some of them came to our Canadian shores with a dialect upon their tongues. However, the French colonizers were not alone in this. Pray make a study of the early New England and Virginia Colonizers, and witness to the fact that it was not the

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approved accent of a Samuel Johnson or some Chesterfieldian Beau Brummel that prevailed on Massachusetts Bay or at Jamestown, Virginia, but a kind of hybrid accent that partook of the mentality of various localized quarters of England, with here and there a bright spangle and dash of the more cultured and elegant Cavalier.

But to return to the French colonizers of Quebec. The first contingent of these, we learn, came chiefly from Perche Normandy, Picardy and Beauce. We are quite certain of this fact. We are further certain that between 1662 and 1672, Poitou La Rochelle and Gascony contributed a contingent. Between 1632 and 1672 Touraine and Paris, with its surrounding country, also contributed a certain part to the peopling of the new colony. In the eighteenth century a few colonists came from Dauphiney, Franche-Comté and Burgundy.

Now the fact to remember, in connection with the colonizing forces that came from France at different epochs from 1608 to 1760, and settled in Quebec is, that Normandy took the lead, contributing in all 958 colonists; and the Ile-de-France, where the very best French spoken in France in the seventeenth century obtained, ranked second with 621 colonists.

But you may ask: How do we know these things? We answer: From Monsignor Janguay's "Genealogical Dictionary of French-Canadian Families," based upon the baptismal and marriage registers of Quebec, and from Benjamin Sulte's "The French Language in Canada."

"It is interesting to note how a particular dialect in a country prevails over all the other dialects; becoming eventually the accepted language of literature and scholars. This is due often to the political prestige of the people who speak the dialect. Notice that the West Saxon dialect of Wessex in England became the literary language of England in the ninth century; the Tuscan dialect the literary language of Italy in the thirteenth century, and a few centuries later the dialect of Castile in Spain prevailed over all the other Spanish dialects and became the literary language of all Spain. Pray note, too, that the dialect of the Ile-de-France took precedence of all the other French dialects as early as the twelfth century—first in official acts and then in literature; and by the fifteenth century the sway of this dialect was so complete that henceforth it became the language of the Court, of the palace and of literature. We thus see that the French literary language had been establishing itself for nearly five centuries in France before the colonists of New France had fixed their homes upon the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Let us examine, furthermore for a moment, what was the intellectual character of France at the time when its bold and hardy adventurers were founding a New France in the New World. We are

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now in the age of Louis XIV., the most brilliant century of French genius. Richelieu had founded the French Academy in 1635. It is the age of such scholars as Ducange, Petau, Mabillon; of the painters, Poussin and Le Brun; of such ministers of State as Richelieu, Mazarin and Colbert; of the pulpit orators Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Massillon; of the philosophers Pascal and Descartes; of the dramatists Corneille, Racine and Molière.

Think you, then, that in an age such as this, French sent forth from her bosom a body of colonists, paupers in intellect with naught but dialect—conflicting dialect upon their lips? Or, is it not more natural to believe that a goodly number of those who sought the shores of Canada were men and women superior in intellect, and possessing the scholarship and culture or at least a goodly share of that scholarship and culture which gave France of the seventeenth century a first place in intellectual rank among the nations of Europe?

Of course, nobody can or would deny but that many of these colonists from France brought with them a dialect, but the further fact is quite likely that they all could understand and converse in French. And what is more likely, too, than that under the leadership of an educated clergy, professors in the colleges, officers in the army, and members of the medical and legal professions, the first colonists soon learned to discard all *patois*, or provincial dialect, and converse in the French language alone.

In fact, we have proof of this in the testimony of La Potherie and Charleroix, who declared—the first in 1700 and the second in 1720, when writing of the French Canadians—that no provincial accent or dialect was observed among them. Why, we ask, should the French language spoken on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the seventeenth century, be not as good as the English spoken at the same time in Jamestown, Virginia, or on Massachusetts Bay? Should you answer that the colonists who first settled Virginia and Massachusetts were superior intellectually to those who founded New France, we answer that a large number of the first settlers of Jamestown, Virginia, were convicts; and we do not generally go to convicts for superior intellects or purity of language.

Just look at the early English settlements in America, and see what an *omnium gatherum* you have from the four winds of heaven. Is it probable that the Highland Scotch who settled in the two Carolinas, a part of Georgia and in the Mohawk Valley of New York; the Ulster Irish who settled in Virginia and Pennsylvania; the men and women hailing from Yorkshire and Devonshire and the environs of London, who set up their homes in the New England States; is it probable that they spoke English in accordance with the laws laid down by old Dr. Samuel Johnson, the first of lexicographers? Did

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these colonists bring to our shores, whether American or Canadian, any perversity of accent, any dialect, any strange obsolete words? If they did, then is the English of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Canada as much a *patois* as is the French of Quebec. One of the most amusing charges, if it were not absurd, made against the French spoken in Quebec is that it is "a Breton jargon." Now, of nearly five thousand emigrants, or if you will colonists, who came from France to Canada between the years 1608 and 1700, only 175 came from Brittany, and surely these could not have imposed their language on the rest.

As a matter of fact, but few Bretons came to Canada, and the greater number of those who did come settled in Novia Scotia and New Brunswick, then called Acadia. The Bretons were a seafaring people, and some of their nautical terms exist to-day in the language spoken by the Acadians. Again, the people of Brittany do not speak a jargon; they speak the Breton tongue, which is Celtic and closely resembles the Cymric tongue of Wales.

But the strongest and most conclusive proof that the French of Quebec to-day do not speak a *patois* is found in the fact that every book used in the schools, academies and colleges of that province—that is in the French classes—is written in standard French, and could be used in the schools of France. How then, we ask, can French-Canadian boys and girls acquire their education through the medium of the standard French books and still continue to talk a *patois?* Is not this reducing the charge to an absurdity?

A few years ago the writer was traveling by train from Montreal to Quebec, and engaged in French conversation a French-Canadian commercial traveler, or as he is known in Quebec, a *commis voyageur*. After conversing for an hour, we asked him if he had any difficulty in understanding us. "Not at all," he replied. "Well," we rejoined, "we studied French some years ago in France, Belgium and Switzerland, while you have studied it here in the schools of Quebec.. Of course you are aware," we added, "that the English say you speak a *patois*. Is not our conversation good proof that you speak, not a *patois,* but the standard French—the literary language of France?" The French-Canadian commercial traveler only smiled at the charge made in ignorance by English-speaking people against his countrymen.

A glaring example of this ignorance of fact, on the part of English-speaking people, was revealed some twelve years ago, when there was a great reunion at Plattsburg, N. Y., to celebrate the second centenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain by the discoverer whose name it bears. Among the distinguished personages who attended the celebration and spoke was M. J. J. Jusserand, the

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French Ambassador to the United States. After the Ambassador had spoken for some time in English, he added that he would address the French-Canadians assembled there in their own tongue, which was interpreted by the Associated Press to mean, in the "Canadian jargon," as something distinct from the French language.

On the point as to what His Excellency the French Ambassador meant, a dispute arose, that was finally only settled by a letter from the Ambassador, which we here reproduce in translation: "As to the misunderstanding which you point out, permit me to dispose of it in a word. The language of the French-Canadians and that of the French is the same language, being French. I could never have believed that anybody could have been mistaken in the sense of my words, since, when I said to the French-Canadians that I was going to speak their language, I immediately spoke my own, which is theirs. No; no doubt is possible; and I have had too many opportunities to hear their speeches and to talk with them not to be convinced of this: the cradles of Quebec and Montreal and the cradles of Paris, Lyons or Orleans hear fall from maternal lips the same accents, hear the same language—the French of which those who speak it have a right to be proud for a thousand years."

Now a word here as to the character of the French spoken by the *habitant* in Quebec. Let us say that it is quite as good as the English spoken in the country places—in Ontario, Vermont or Indiana, for example. It is better than the French spoken by the country people, or, if you will, *les paysans,* in France.

No doubt, among the country people in Quebec there are many words and phrases still used that belong to seventeenth century French, or that have grown out of new conditions in Canada. But is this not equally true of the English that is spoken among the common people in Canada and the United States? We will wager that a little study would reveal the fact that many English words and phrases, now no longer in use in educated centres, but current in the American colonies two hundred years ago, still are current verbal coin in local corners of Virginia, Vermont, Nova Scotia and Maine.

Take, for instance, the French-Canadian expression heard among the *habitants, il fait fret* for *il fait froid*—"it is cold." This expression was commended and defended by the French grammars of the seventeenth century. It is simply then a survival in Canada of seventeenth century French.

It reminds one of the attacks made upon English pronunciation that obtains in Ireland, which is incorrectly designated a *brogue.* As a matter of fact, the Irish pronounce English as it was pronounced in the days of Shakespeare; and this continued even to the time of Alexander Pope, as any one may discover if he will but make a study

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of Pope's rhymes. Need we here supplement our defense of the French spoken in Quebec by citing the list of French-Canadian writers in both prose and poetry, whose works have been crowned by the French Academy. Assuredly, the "Forty Immortals" would not lightly give their *imprimatur* to any work not written in the best and purest French. Furthermore, we do not know of any body of scholars, academic or literary, who are doing more to purify their language than "La Societé du Parter Francais" of Quebec. Not alone through their official organ, but in the columns of the French-Canadian daily press ,they are casting out all intruding Anglicized words, or words of doubtful French signification. Again, it will be noticed that the French spoken in Quebec is a very copious language, possessing many words that have had origin in the life and conditions of the country and people and of which the French Academy can necessarily know nothing.

In conclusion, let us say that what adds to the absurdity of the criticism leveled in ignorance against the French spoken in Quebec by English-speaking people, in Canada and the United States, is the fact that, generally speaking, those who glibly pass judgment on the French of Quebec, have often not even an elementary knowledge of the language.

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Book Reviews

"St. Bernardine of Siena." Sermons Selected and Edited by Don Nazareno Orlandi. Translated by Helen Josephine Robins: Siena, 1920.

St. Bernardine was a great preacher. For about forty-four years he preached almost unceasingly in cities and villages, but more frequently in the piazzas than in the churches. Here multitudes assembled, especially at dawn and sunset, and were carried away by his eloquence. It is claimed that he accomplished as much for the religious life of Italy as St. Catharine did for the political.

In recent years interest in these sermons has grown, and collections of them have been published in various forms. The popular sermons have come down to our time in a curious way. A shearer of cloth was the saint's amanuensis. He took notes with a stylus on wax tablets while the sermons were being preached, and then returned to his shop and made them out on manuscript. As this was probably before the days of shorthand, the task must have been a difficult one, and we do not know how perfectly he succeeded, but judging by the detail that characterizes the sermons in the present collection, and by the intimate tone that runs through them, he must have been pretty accurate.

The present compilation has been made by an Italian pastor of Siena, Don Nazareno Orlandi, who has labored for many years to revise and carry on the work of St. Bernardine. He has devoted his attention especially to the boys and young men, and formed them into organizations that advance their temporal interests, while at the same time safeguarding their faith and morals. Americans staying at Siena have become interested in his work and are making it known. In this way Miss Helen J. Robins, of Philadelphia and Bryn Mawr College, has become the translator of this collection of sermons.

The compiler tells us that "selections have been made which are of moral value to our time and which derive a peculiar charm from the unusual character of the vivid little stories and anecdotes, and the moral fables and illustrations, closely resembling in their sweet simplicity and ingenuous piety the *Fioretti* of the great St. Francis."

St. Bernardine spoke plainly, but this was due to the custom of the times in which he lived, and also to his great zeal. It was permissible in him because of his great sanctity.

The modern preacher must not think that he can preach the sermons of this great fourteenth century saint. To do so effect-

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ually, he would have to live in a former age, in another country, and a different life. But the modern preacher can learn from this eloquent son of St. Francis zeal, eloquence, courage, fearlessness, vigor and sincerity, and the modern reader can learn from these sermons the love and fear of God.

"Social Organization in Parishes." By Edward F. Garesché, S. J. 8vo., cloth, net, $2.75; postage 15 cents. A complete programme of Parochial Social Activities. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Father Garesché here gathers together again matter which has appeared from time to time in the *Queen's Work*. He takes the Blessed Virgin Sodality as the centre of parish activity, and hopes that through it all the various forms of parish activity will come into existence and function. But we fear that it will not be easy to carry this plan into practice. The multiplicity of societies that already exist, each doing some special work, will make it very difficult. We have already St. Vincent de Paul Societies, Holy Name Societies, Total Abstinence Societies, Young Men's Social Organizations, and Young Women's, with their literary, social and athletic features. Add to these the League of the Sacred Heart, and the Knights of Columbus, and the field is pretty well covered. Rightly or wrongly the Blessed Virgin's Sodality has now for a long time been looked upon as a pious organization, whose members meet in the church once a week for the recitation of the Office and receive Holy Communion together once a month. Does not experience show that an organization which tries to do all things, seldom does even one thing well?

Is not this the reason for the multiplication of societies for various works? The book also advises the formation of a union of sodalities. Any one who has had experience with unions will be slow to start another. They are very hard to keep up, and if the Blessed Virgin's Sodality is to continue to be the pious parish organization which it now is and has been for many years in most places, it is not easy to see what practical good a union of sodalities is going to do, or how it is going to be kept alive.

Of course the author says that the sodality has been taken herein for a standard of organization in parishes, schools and institutions as being the most universal in its distribution and the most general in its membership, and that the suggestions made may be easily applied to the work of almost any Catholic society. But this might be questioned.

It is possible to push the question of social activity in the church too far. This is not essentially the work of the church. If the things of time and the things of eternity are too closely united there is danger of confusion, and a loss of the right sense of proportion.

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This is a characteristic of Protestantism, which we should take care to avoid.

The author certainly does cover the ground. There is hardly one field of parish activity that is not considered. The book is full of most valuable hints in regard to organization and government. It ought to be most useful in new parishes where societies have not yet been formed, and where unification is more easily accomplished.

"A Mill Town Pastor." The story of a witty and valiant priest. By Rev. Joseph Conroy, S. J. 12mo., cloth, net, $1.75; postage 15 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The book deals with a pastor from boyhood to priesthood. He is a bright, witty, manly fellow from the beginning to the end. The story shows that the boy is father to the man. It also teaches that the natural man goes before the supernatural. It proves the truth of the saying of Thomas a Kempis that, the habit and the tonsure do not make the man.

As the story follows the hero through school and college and introduces him to us as curate and pastor, with all the crosses and trials and consolations of the ministry, we seem to have met him in the flesh, and we must confess we like him.

"Flame of the Forest." By Constance E. Bishop. 8vo., cloth, net, $2; postage 15 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Dreamy, glamourous India, the land of temples, wonder-working fakirs, the home of the occult is the locale of this fascinating tale. The author takes us out of the dull, prosaic round of every-day affairs and transports us to the mystic East, where she unfolds a most delightful romance.

The story opens in Pulnaikanal, a town in the hill country, where the widowed Mrs. King lives with her two daughters, Clytie and Jinny. Clytie, clever and forceful, leaves for England to study medicine, although she loves Philip Vaughan, an English police official. Jinny, who remains with her mother, has two suitors, her cousin Frank, and David Hamilton, a famous biologist who has come to India to write his masterpiece.

Clytie returns after the completion of her course, and becomes the court physician to the Rajah of Anemalei. Her love for Philip Vaughan seeming hopeless, she seeks the dangerous aid of native magicians to win him.

How Jinny made her choice, and what tremendous consequences came of it; how Clytie's dabblings in the occult were but the beginning of an enthralling series of events; and how a long-lost son turns up in a most unexpected way, these are but the high lights

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of a rare and colorful love story, thoroughly Catholic, written from a fresh and novel viewpoint.

"A Son of the Hidalgos." By Ricardo Leon, Member of La Academia Espanola. Translated by Catalena Paez (Mrs. Seumas McManus). 12mo., pp. 296. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

The author of this book is recognized as one of the important writers of Spain at the present time. He has already contributed several interesting books to modern Spanish literature, and the present work is considered one of his masterpieces. It deals with the adventures of a native of Santillana, the town of the famous Gil Blas, from which he went forth to his famous adventures. Indeed the hero of this story is a descendant of the famous adventurer of another day. and like him, he goes forth in quest of the great something which restless souls always see at a distance, but seldom or never attain.

The charm of the book lies principally in its true pictures of a country and a people of a past age, with their traditions and customs, so different from anything that we have, and indeed from most things that Spain has at the present day.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the translation. Mrs. McManus, herself of Spanish origin, has that knowledge of people and language that is most desirable, but rare, and unites to this a mastery of English that form a rare combination.

We are glad to learn that the publishers intend to continue these Spanish translations, and to publish a carefully selected series of the masterpieces of modern Spanish fiction.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

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THE WORK OF CARDINAL GASQUET IN THE FIELD OF PRE-REFORMATION HISTORY.

IN THE life of communities and nations no less than in the life of individuals few momentous actions take place that can be explained correctly by the immediate circumstances. For nearly every apparently wayward act of man or woman there will have been some traceable psychological preparation; childhood's readings, casual remarks by teachers, preachers, parents and friends, periods of illness and convalescence, glimpses of other worlds and other hopes treasured from happy moments of vacations and temporary or permanent changes in physical environment. But always in this period economic considerations have played a part. It is the same with historical events of moment. They are not explainable by immediate visible causes. One must look before and behind. Otherwise the writing of history becomes a mere parrot recitation.

Unfortunately, much history has been recorded on the same psychological basis as that employed in advertising; the constant reiteration of a statement that has obtained currency. A man or party rises to power. It then becomes heresy to criticize the circumstances under which power was attained. Every one who desires preferment must condemn the opposition and laud those in office. Such as cannot do so conscientiously either maintain a discreet silence or become martyrs to their faith, and their punishment is pointed to as an example of what happens to dissenters from the approved opinion. This willingness to make truth subservient to expediency invariably produces false witnesses who pose as his-

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torians by writing accounts acceptable to those in power. These accounts are used as propaganda, in the second generation becoming "the generally accepted" version of the events. The urgency of the occasion having subsided, those who question the account may then not be regarded as heretics so much as fools or misguided individuals. Later still, when the accounts have so far receded into the past as to furnish material for scholarly research, the work of discovering the truth is enormously increased by the unfair method of record. The scholar is confronted by masses of distorted evidence and a multiplicity of accounts that are merely repetitions of the commonly accepted versions. Often there has been a wholesale destruction of all discoverable documents controverting the authorized edition. Even such destruction is not always the result of malice, but rather of iconoclastic faith, the destroyer regarding the material as he would an idol whose existence could only work evil. Always, however, something survives; the correspondence of private individuals, books of accounts of expenditure, suppressed editions overlooked in dusty corners. In the light of these, with great patience, it becomes possible to dissect the official records and interpret them in a new light.

In rebuilding the account of the events that preceded and led up to the Reformation, Cardinal Gasquet was less restricted in material. He was rather overwhelmed with it. Not only was it necessary to traverse an immense store of literature to eliminate from his research what had already been so thoroughly accepted as to need no repetition, but he was confronted with archives so extensive as to present a formidable task in a selection of the material that had been hitherto suppressed or overlooked and which might illuminate in new ways the subject of his work. "If I have insisted," says he, "more on the facts which tell in favor of the monasteries than on those which tell against them, it is because the latter are well known and have been repeated, improved on and emphasized for three centuries and a half, whilst that there is anything to say for the monks, has been little recognized. . . . My belief is that the facts speak strongly enough for themselves and I have endeavoured to add as little as possible of my own to the story they tell." [1]

Until quite recent times popularly accepted accounts of the Reformation treated it as a spontaneous outburst of a deep religious spirit pervading the mass of the people. It was regarded as a passionate repudiation of the errors of Rome due to a secret study of the Bible in defiance of persecution, a revulsion from the iniquities

[1] Francis Aidan Gasquet, D. D.: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries." John Hodges, Covent Garden, London, 1902, p. 11.

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of the monastic system.[2] The truth has been so rigorously excluded from the text-books used by Protestants that each succeeding generation has grown up in the unquestioned acceptance of the account authorized and adopted by those interested in the changed conditions. A horror of monk and monastery has been imparted with early knowledge at each mother's knee—the teaching first imbibed and latest lost. Anecdotes about the wickedness of monk and nun have been listened to and accepted as simple truth; and even well-wishers of the monastic institute have thought it better to observe or counsel silence. Only in relatively recent times has it been possible to state openly the results of historical research without liability to the penalties of heresy. Doubtless many of those immediately responsible fully believed they were teaching the truth. The crime was in stifling discussion. It did not occur to many people that the ranks of teachers were carefully recruited from those who were "sound on the Authorized Version."[3] "The necessary assumption which underlies the inherited Protestant history of the Reformation in the sixteenth century is the general corruption of manners and morals no less than of doctrine, and the ignorance of religious truths no less than the neglect of religious precepts on the part of both clergy and people."[4]

The first stage of the questioning of the official view that had any hope of a public hearing was by those who attributed the Reformation to Henry VIII. and his Vicar-General, Cromwell,[5] viewing it as a result of the quarrel of that king with the Court of Rome. Whatever may be said against this view, it is doubtful whether the business would have been brought to a head with such rapidity had not the royal power supported the revolt.[6] "Twenty Wycliffes, all

[2] "C'est un tableau intéressant et fréquement reproduit que celui du pays —an ou du marchand allemand du xvi. siècle, replié, à l'heure du repos, sur la lecture de la Bible et sur la contemplation de sa vie intime, s'isolant du reste du monde, réclamant de lui-même, de sa volonté persévérante, de sa ténacité étroite et loyale, de sa foi, l' amélioration, la confiance, le salut. La religion ostentatoire de ses pères lui parait tout à coup une impiété; il brise des images; la lointaine Italie, toute éclatante de lumière résonnante de chants que l'amour dispute à la foi, s'illustrant de débris et de l'imitation de l'antiquité, devient, pour lui, labête de l'Apocalypse; Rome est la Babylone; le pape est l'Antechrist." Gabriel Hanotaux: "Etudes Historiques sur le XVIe et le XVIIe Siècle." Hachette, Paris, 1886, p. 90.

[3] "It is necessary to be a Protestant, actually to believe in the Protestant doctrine, in order to see anything valuable at all in Protestantism. . . . It is neither a church, nor a creed, nor a religion." F. Harrison: "The Creeds Old and New," "Nineteenth Century," October, 1880.

[4] Abbot Gasquet: "The Eve of the Reformation." George Bell & Sons, London, 1905, p. 392.

[5] Cardinal Gasquet adopts the spelling Crumwell. The name has often been so pronounced, but it is not phoneticized by other important historians of the period.

[6] It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Cardinal Gasquet attached considerable weight to the views of Gabriel Hanotaux. So far as has been noted, however, in only one instance does he refer to that writer by name and then gives no specific reference to the work quoted. To imagine any desire for concealment on the part of the Cardinal would be a gross injustice and a complete misunderstanding of the transparent honesty of his

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highly popular, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would not have brought about a Reformation like that under which we have lived during the last centuries. That was a thing which could only have been effected by royal power—as in England, or by subversion of royal authority through the medium of successful rebellion—as in Scotland."[7]

The two explanations alluded to above—the religious and the political—are regarded by Cardinal Gasquet as insufficient, either singly or taken together, to account for the upheaval of the sixteenth century. He does not desire to refute either, but merely to place them with a third factor—the economic—which, to him, if not the most important, appeared to exercise the greatest influence in bringing about the result.[8] His work in the field of pre-Reformation history, however, is not so much an endeavor to discover and exhibit all the causes that contributed to that great change as to reëxamine the generally accepted views and to show that they are not justified by the facts. In the accomplishment of this end he takes us back to a period nearly two hundred years prior to the event. From thence he traces the preparation of the ground for what followed. Testing the vast mass of evidence from which were constructed the charges against the Church and the religious houses,

character. One may surmise that the omission is due to an opinion that the ultimate conclusions of M. Hanotaux are merely incidental to larger considerations. The view of M. Hanotaux is that the Church succeeded to the political power of Rome: "Sur les débris de l'empire romain, dans les ténèbres du moyen âge, l'Église du Christ avait élevé un édifice politique que ses fondateurs n'avaient pas prévu. L'idée de l'unité du monde, de la paix dans le sein d'une seule domination, s'était conservée à Rome, et les papes l'avaient héritée des empereurs. Cependant, malgré l'influence que l'Église avait su prendre sur les barbares, elle n'avait pu les plier entièrement sous sa discipline. Des coutumes germaniques, peu a peu, était né le régime féodal, unitaire dans son principe, mais très particulariste dans son application." ("La Contre-Révolution Religieuse au XVIe Siècle," p. 91.) He shows that the component states of the old empire resented the political supremacy of the Church, and that especially in England and Germany the effort to throw off this supremacy found its opportunity in the Reformation. (Almost precisely analogous is the opportunity now being embraced for utilizing the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution as a lever for the reassertion of States rights.) Professor Maitland says ("History of English Law," Vol. I., pp. 93-94): "The whole of Western Europe was subject to the jurisdiction of one tribunal of last resort, the Roman curia. Appeals to it were encouraged by all manner of means, appeals at almost every stage of almost every proceeding. But the Pope was far more than the president of a court of appeal. Very frequently the Courts Christian which did justice in England were courts which were acting under his supervision and carrying out his written instructions."

[7] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 187, quoting from letter to "Guardian" by Professor Gairdner, March 1, 1899.

[8] "Religious revolution was but the sequel of political and economic causes, without which, in the opinion of M. Hanotaux, the religious questions at issue would not have been able to convulse Europe." ("England Under the Old Religion," p. 49.) No reference is given to the opinion quoted, but the following statement appears in the work of M. Hanotaux referred to in footnote 6 supra. "La question posée par la Réformation fut surtout politique et économique. La révolution morale fut profonde, certainement; mais on peut douter que, par elle-même, elle eût suffi pour bouleverser l'Europe." (p. 89.)

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he shows that innumerable items of paramount importance have been suppressed. He disproves the weighty allegation that the Church opposed the Renaissance. That there was any extensive outburst of religious spirit of a nature dissenting from the established Church, or in any way repudiating the errors of Rome, that there was any real restraint on the study of the Bible or any widespread revulsion from the alleged iniquities of the monastic system, must be regarded as illusions. On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to prove a deep devotion to the monastic system and the institutions resulting from the existence of the religious houses. His conclusion is that the majority of the people were sincerely attached to the Church and that the Reformation was carried through by treachery and force, the adoption of its results being secured by well-directed propaganda backed by heavy penalties for heresy. In more than a dozen beautifully written volumes he approaches the matter from various sides. The books are not ostensibly connected, but they are all in the same field. The work would appear to have been commenced in a purely scholarly spirit. His admiration had been won by the lives of great men of past generations, and he yearned to know more concerning them. The ruins of the magnificent abbeys of England awoke a spirit of inquiry into the lives that had been lived in them and the circumstances of their destruction. He turned to their records and found them filled with allusions to historical events that had attracted too little attention through having occurred in centuries when the page of history was overcrowded with drama. Little by little he realized that the full, true story of the Reformation had never been written. His work grew, and he felt called upon to amplify his researches into such comprehensive undertakings as general surveys of English monastic life, the eve of the Reformation, and the long recital of the pillage of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Each volume as it progressed revealed the need for another volume. Once in the house of truth, he found that each opened door offered fresh joys but not an end to his quest; only more doors inviting entrance, with ever-increasing attractions.

If accessories before the fact are essential elements in an accurate appraisal of the conditions surrounding an event, accessories after the fact are often no less important. The Reformation furnishes no exception to this dictum, and Cardinal Gasquet would be the last to deny that assertion. That which at first sight might be regarded as a digression will therefore be justified by the assistance it will afford in a proper comprehension of what has been accomplished by Cardinal Gasquet. Subsequent history throws a flood

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of light on the motives of the active minority that constituted the propelling force of the movement; what in modern parlance might be called "the lobby." All through the Reformation period, which commenced with Wycliffe or earlier, and is only now coming to a close, there can be traced the operations of an active minority supplying the propaganda and bending to its ends a variety of diverse movements—movements that acting singly might have done no more to increase the volume of the main stream than promising rivers that disappear in the sand or in some sunken lake instead of joining the waters that flow to the great sea. This active minority was undoubtedly the little group that afterwards became known as Puritans. Wycliffe and Luther were of the Puritan caste, which, having succeeded in bringing about the Reformation, discovered that its ends had not been attained, and therefore, a century later, proceeded still further in the same direction by disrupting the Protestant Church. No party has ever so thoroughly demonstrated the truth that the majority never rules, but that power always rests in the hands of an unscrupulous active minority able to focus in a single immediate object a variety of popular slogans of diverse significance. By this means the Puritans have retained a power altogether disproportionate to their numbers, and have been able to wield it in opposition to the real underlying convictions of the great disunited majority. The earliest Puritans did not dream of a separation from the Church; they wanted to capture that Church. They recognized that its prestige and the wealth of the ruling class were one. The Puritans were an unenfranchised middle class craving for privilege and power, but hopelessly excluded from participation in the adornments that characterized the class that held that privilege and power; a lowly but potential class moved to disassociate power from the finery they could not share. The Puritan attack was upon the outposts of authority and the luxuriance of ritual in which authority was dressed. It was a class that disagreed with the ritual, with the manner of life that the ruling class defended, because it disagreed with the assumption of power that was thus symbolized in the minds of the people. Against this assumption the Puritans pitted their doctrines of moral and ritual austerity. A social movement could not hope to enlist the emotions of the masses unless it moved in the religious plane, and therefore the true issue was concealed under questions of ritual. In the accomplishment of this devious purpose, advantage was taken of the popular discontent that manifested itself in France in the insurrection of the peasants of 1358, in England in 1381 and 1497, in Germany in 1525 and in the Netherlands in 1539. The Puritans

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eventually betrayed these movements after utilizing their impetus in the same way that they utilized the private affairs of the King of England while disowning his motives. Not directly named, yet distinctly recognized, this undercurrent, this operation of the unseen hand, is traced with certainty by Cardinal Gasquet as the force that produced events entirely unjustified by the facts.

It has been noted above that Cardinal Gasquet commences his inquiry in the events of the fourteenth century. Coincidently, many historians have selected the same period; but from a very different motive. It was then that Wycliffe lived, and he has been called "The Morning Star of the Reformation" on account of some of his doctrines being similar to those of the reformers of the sixteenth century.[9] The upholders of the Wycliffe theory, however, do not offer anything except an extension in time of the growth of the belief that the Reformation was solely a religious movement. They never seek to explain the slogan of Wycliffe's followers, sung everywhere,

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

The terrible insurrections of peasants against nobles are entirely disregarded. It is Wycliffe who requires to be explained by an inquiry extending back to still earlier centuries. The statutes passed for the burning of heretics after the death of Wycliffe were aimed far less at any ecclesiastical defect than at the social teachings of the Lollards, among whom there must have been many—if not Wycliffe himself—who were more properly morning stars of the French Revolution than of the Reformation. Cardinal Gasquet avoids the common error. He goes back to the fourteenth century for other purposes than to link up with Wycliffe's teachings, perceiving that Wycliffe was a passing phenomenon of a quite different series of events. The anti-clerical spirit was a product of the Reformation, not its cause. "It must be dated only just before the dawn of the Reformation, when the popular mind was being stirred up by the new teachers against the clergy."[10] The true historical starting point for the examination of the causes directly leading to the Protestant Reformation is to be found in the great pestilence, since known as the Black Death, to distinguish it from other colossal epidemics. This plague first appeared in 1348 and 1340, again in 1361 and 1369, with a recrudescence in 1407. To this subject Cardinal Gasquet has devoted an entire volume that has come to be

[9] "The cardinal theological doctrine of the Reformation—justification by faith—is in Wycliffe, I should say, conspicuous by its absence."—Professor James Gairdner, "Guardian," March 1, 1899.

[10] "Eve of the Reformation," p. 105.

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recognized as one of the most authoritative works in English history. Coming between the battles of Crecy and Poitiers and at the very time of the creation of the first Knights of the Garter, a period of exceptional pomp and rejoicing, the catastrophe has been passed over casually by most historians as seeming "to fall aside from the general narrative, as though something apart from, and not consonant with, the natural course of events. Even John Richard Green has not realized the enormous effects, social and religious, which were directly traceable to the catastrophe." [11] The Black Death inflicted a wound deep in the social body and produced nothing less than a revolution of feeling and practice. It was a turning point in the national life. "It formed the real close of the mediæval period and the beginning of our modern age. It produced a break with the past, and was the dawn of a new era. The sudden sweeping away of the population and the consequent scarcity of laborers, raises, it is well recognized, new and extravagant expectations in the minds of the lower classes, or, to use a modern expression, labor began to understand its value and assert its power." [12]

There has been considerable controversy as to the actual numbers of the victims of the Black Plague. Many writers have minimized the loss of life by attempting to prove that the population of Europe at that date was considerably less than generally supposed. French antiquaries, however, have arrived at the astounding conclusion that the population of France before the great pestilence was equal to what it was in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, so important an authority as Thorold Rogers estimated that

[11] Francis Aidan Gasquet: "The Black Death of 1348 and 1349." George Bell & Sons, London, 1908; second edition, p. 20.

[12] Ib., p. 22.

We of to-day are better able than those of a generation ago to realize what must have been the consequences of such an appalling event. In a few years of the present century some thirty millions of able-bodied workers have been taken from fields and workshops, never to return, while vast numbers of those remaining have become enfeebled in mind and body by starvation, hardship and disease. Allowing for the smaller population at the earlier date one would almost have to double the recent losses to form an adequate idea of the condition of Europe in the latter half of the fourteenth century. At that time also the world had not progressed so far in the use of machinery and appliances for the production of the necessaries of life. On the other hand, there is this difference in mitigation of the earlier catastrophe and accentuating the present one. In the former case there was little destruction of fixed capital; the loss was all of human material. A far greater proportion of the population at that time was employed in the production of the necessaries of life than in the manufacture of luxuries. The urban and dependent population was much less. A loss of food production affected fewer people beyond the actual producers than it does to-day. The cultivators of the soil were the majority of the population and a larger proportion of what they produced was consumed by their class, by reason of its relatively greater numbers. Therefore the reduction of the numbers of the workers counterbalanced to a great extent a reduction in production. To-day the loss of each producer affects four or five other persons, and so large a part has fixed capital in twentieth century economy that its destruction has an effect equivalent to human loss where methods are more primitive.

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the population of England at that date was only two and a half millions. Cardinal Gasquet adopts a remarkable method of showing that Professor Rogers must have made far too low an estimate. By taking the mortality of the clerical body and its recognized proportion to the general population, he shows that the adoption of Rogers' estimate would lead to the conclusion that one man in every twenty-five was a priest. He says: "On the supposition that five-and-twenty thousand of the clerical body fell victims to the epidemic, and estimating that of the entire population of the country one in every hundred belonged to the clergy, and further that the death rate was about equal in both estates, the total mortality in the country would be some 2,500,000. This total is curiously the same as that estimated from the basis of population returns at the close of the memorable reign of Edward III., evidencing a total population before the outbreak of the epidemic, of some five millions." [13] The Cardinal's method is, to say the least, ingenious, and a very valuable contribution to statistics that have differed widely. To have something approaching an accurate record of the extent of the devastation is highly important, not merely from a scholar's point of view, but as enabling a juster estimate to be formed of the consequences that ensued.

The immediate result of this great loss of population was a loss of State revenue. "Masters generally pleaded the excessive wages they were called upon to pay, as an excuse for not finding money to meet royal demands, and it was for this reason rather than out of consideration for the pockets of the better classes that Edward III. issued his proclamation to restrain the rise of wages. But he was quickly forced to understand 'that workmen, servants and laborers publicly disregarded his ordinances' as to wages and payments, and demanded, in spite of them, prices for their services as great as during the pestilence and after it. For disobedience to the royal orders regulating wages, the king charged his judges to imprison all whom they might find guilty. Even this coercion was found to be no real remedy, but rather a means of aggravating the evil, since districts where his policy was carried out were quickly

[13] "The Black Death of 1348 and 1349," Francis Aidan Gasquet. George Bell & Sons, London, 1908, second edition, p. 238.

It will be recalled that a census was taken at the close of the reign of Edward III. for the purpose of levying a poll-tax. It was, however, not actually assessed until the year after his death.

"Owing to the inherent dryness of such matters, modern writers have made little advance to a more correct knowledge of the population of European countries in those ages. Much, however, might be done. As usual, ecclesiastical documents form the surest basis for any calculation and episcopal registers enable us to arrive at actual numbers. . . . Only from the number of the clergy carried off by the epidemic can an estimate be formed as to the number of lay people who died." Op cit., pp. 85-86.

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found to be plunged in greater poverty by the imprisonment of those who could work and of those who dared to pay the market price for labor."[14] Small holdings could not be cultivated for lack of holders and were therefore thrown into large pasture farms.[15] A single pasture farm would not produce a revenue or rental equivalent to that secured from the intensive tillage of the small holdings that preceded it.[16] The public treasury had been depleted by the cost of the wars with France and the king was forced to devise fresh methods of raising revenue. Among others was the sequestration of the revenues of alien priories,[17] and ultimately the capitation tax to which reference has been previously made.[18] In the year 1408—the year following another visitation of the pestilence—Henry IV. availed himself of the income of vacant bishoprics, a course that led to the keeping of such offices vacant as long as possible or else appointing only such persons as would contribute heavily for the favor. Two years later, Sir John Oldcastle, a convert to Lollardry, was instrumental in proposing in Parliament that all lands should be taken out of clerical hands, covering the underlying motive by showing how many military officers, almshouses for the poor and parish priests could be provided with the proceeds.[19] The scheme on this occasion was unsuccessful. Henry VII. economized his revenues by appointing civil officers to religious offices, the emoluments of which were to recompense them for their State duties.[20] It will thus be seen that the inroads on Church revenues at

[14] R. O. Originalia Roll, 26 Edward III., m. 25.

[15] "The country did not entirely recover for the next 150 years: since in the reign of Henry VIII. Poole and other towns in Dorsetshire were included in that numerous list of places whose desolated buildings were ordered to be restored." ("History of Dorset," Hutchins, third edition, p. 5.)

[16] "A solitary shepherd was employed on land which had hitherto provided occupation for sixty or eighty persons." (State Papers. Henry VIII., Vol. LX., 431.)

[17] Alien priories were those resulting from the Norman conquest; estates granted to French religious houses. Churches, manors and tithes came into possession of Norman abbeys, and monks were placed by them in England to collect the revenues There were nearly 150 such estates. Those belonging to the great abbey of Cluny remitted sixty thousand pounds a year. In time of war these revenues were regarded as alien property and a royal receiver was appointed, but with each peace the property was restored. The Lollards urged the king to confiscate the estates permanently, and under Henry V. they went so far as to ask him to take all church property, thus concealing their real designs under patriotic disguise.

[18] See footnote 13 supra.

[19] "Popular writers pretended to a great zeal for the poor and lower orders and pictured the advantages to be derived from a redistribution of the worldly wealth of the Church, and in particular of the religious bodies in England. They made scurrilous tales and descriptions of monastic life." ("Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., p. 33, Vol. I.)

[20] The practice of employing ecclesiastics in civil offices (e. g. Warham and Wolsey as Archbishops and then as Lord Chancellors) and in diplomacy made them a body of absentees. "They were engaged in almost every kind of duty except that for which the benefices had been created." Henry VII. and Henry VIII. used them so as to get free services and thus effect economies in revenue, which was a misapplication of Church funds. ("England Under the Old Religion," F. A. Gasquet, G. Bell & Sons, London, 1912, p. 52.)

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the period of the Reformation were not novel, but had principally resulted from devices for replenishing revenues depleted through the changes caused by the Black Death. The secession from the old religion made the permanent seizure of the properties of the Church fit in with the designs of the Lollards (or Puritans) and brought royal assistance to the makers of the Reformation.[21] The underlying stimulus to the movement was thus largely economic rather than religious. The disorderly crowds that assisted in the work of destroying the Church buildings, at a later stage, were the semi-criminal classes attracted to the Puritan interest by its pretended espousal of the cause of the oppressed.

In another respect the pestilence had an effect the counterpart of which is found in present conditions. A new rich class arose on the ruins, to a large extent taking the place of the diminished upper class, especially in contributions to ecclesiastical furniture. The chattel wealth of the religious houses increased enormously during the fifteenth century. "Churches in the early sixteenth century were incomparably better equipped in England than in Italy.[22] The mortality among the clergy had made it difficult to procure sufficient candidates for the ministry[23] and great laxity prevailed in the making of appointments. The appointees were frequently young, inexperienced, and not always influenced by the highest motives. The religious houses became more self-centred from lack of the former intercourse with large numbers of tenants and poor persons, while the decreased revenues curtailed the opportunities for charity. The ministry, with its inferior personnel, tended to a closer acquaintance with the new bourgeoisie and the more corrupt sections of the community. "Disorganization of the whole ecclesiastical system effected a religious paralysis. Instead of turning men to God, the scourge turned them to despair, in all parts of Europe."[24] The effects of these changes were doubtless felt for a long period and

[21] "State papers of Henry VIII.'s reign prove increasing demands on monastery and convent; farm after farm, manor after manor, benefice after benefice, office after office were yielded up in compliance with requests that were really commands." (E. W. Brewer, "Henry VIII.," Vol. I., p. 50.

There had been a custom of "uses" enabling a disposition of estates in spite of bar to same. The Statute of Uses, directed to abolishing powers of bequest, is familiar to every student of the Law of Real Estate, but no legal text-book connects it in any way with the Reformation. The practice was to convey land "to such uses" as the conveyor should appoint by his will. The Statute of Uses abolishing this method was really passed to enable the king to obtain the fruits of feudal tenure. The subsequent Statute of Wills was passed after he had taken all he wanted.

[22] "England Under the Old Religion," op. cit., p. 22.

The adoption of the attitudes and associations of an aristocracy is characteristic of those suddenly raised to positions of wealth. Such are frequently the most liberal supporters of the Orthodox faith.

[23] During the pestilence in the county of Norfolk 527 out of 799 priests died. ("Henry VIII. and English Monasteries," op cit., Vol. I., p. 3.)

[24] "Black Death," op. cit., p. 22.

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much of the evidence of such dissoluteness as existed is gathered from the ensuing years. But the whole of the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth had yet to pass before the Reformation, and in that period Cardinal Gasquet finds the reestablishment of better conditions. In spite of the continual appointment of political men to the more lucrative clerical positions the spirit of the Church prevailed and carried with it the loyal devotion of the mass of the people.

Since the Reformation, it has been customary for those who would wish to constitute it a landmark of economic and intellectual progress to asperse the conditions that preceded it. It did not, however, need Professor Thorold Rogers to prove the century preceding that event to have been the "golden age of the English laborer,"[25] and that "conditions were much the same throughout Europe."[26] There is a far more valuable witness in the person of Luther himself, who says "Any one reading the chronicles will find that since the birth of Christ there is nothing that can compare with what has happened in our world during the last hundred years. Never in any country have people seen so much building, so much cultivation of the soil. Never has such good drink, such abundant and delicate food been within the reach of so many. Dress has become so rich that it cannot in this respect be improved. Who ever heard of commerce such as we see it to-day? It circles the globe; it embraces the whole world! Painting, engraving—all the arts—have progressed and are still improving. More than all, we have men so capable, and so learned, that their wit penetrates everything in such a way, that nowadays a youth of twenty knows more than twenty doctors did in days gone by."[27] With such an admission from the leader of the movement, evidence from other sources becomes not controversial but confirmatory,[28] and the miseries of the later sixteenth century leading up to the Poor Law of the end of Elizabeth's reign well justify the statement that "The Reformation was a catastrophe in which was overwhelmed the real progress of the previous century."[29] The religious houses "were more than landowners to those around them. The advisers and teachers of all; they had the work now undertaken by the guardian, the relieving

[25] J. E. T. Rogers: "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," Sixth Edition, Swan Sonneschein, London, 1901; p. 542.

[26] "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," op. cit., p. 326.

[27] Luther Opera Omnia, tom. X., p. 58; Frankfort Ed.

[28] "Architecture, painting, sculpture, organ building, bell founding, and that which English skill had raised to the dignity of an art—embroidery—all were actively promoted at Croyland Abbey." ("Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., XXXI.)

[29] Abbot Gasquet: "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 8.

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officer, the parish doctor and the schoolmaster[30] . . . To-day every pauper is made to feel by the cold charity extended to him in the poor-houses of the country, how cruelly he was robbed of his inheritance, by the destruction and spoliation of the monastic houses of the land."[31]

In more than one volume Cardinal Gasquet dwells affectionately on the earnestness of purpose that characterized the old monastic life.[32] His works on "English Monastic Life," "The Last Abbot of Glastonbury," "The Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond, the Monk of Edmundsbury" will always remain as classics for students of the peace and fervor that existed in the quiet eddies alongside the stormy currents of the Middle Ages. He extenuates the work of Henry VIII. by examining the relations of previous monarchs to the Church, even prior to the establishment of Parliament. But nothing can condone the final acts of the tragedy. Patiently and without heat he pursues his quest for the truth, where the facts point in that direction admitting such justification as exists for the popularly accepted views, and, as the evidence accumulates to show how false and perverted has been the teaching of the later centuries with regard to the great event, he sounds no note of exultation, but, with a placid, half-sad, holy smile, leaves the verdict to the reader in calm confidence as to the outcome.

Few charges have done more to discredit the old Church and to validate the acts of the reformers than the allegation that the Church was hostile to the Revival of Letters. On this account Cardinal Gasquet discusses the point at considerable length, returning to it again and again in different volumes. "What put a stop to the humanist movement in England, as it certainly did in Germany, was the rise of the religious difficulties, which, under the name of the 'New Learning' were opposed by those most conspicuous for the championship of true learning, scholarship and education."[33] Thus the "New Learning" opposed by the Church was not, as has been

[30] It may be stated that a guardian means "guardian of the poor, an elective officer, unpaid, who in England supervises the administration of relief to the destitute under various statutes passed for this purpose since the Reformation, and as an obvious necessity of that event." The relieving officer and parish doctor are paid officials acting under the authority of "Boards of Guardians."

[31] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., XXVIII.

[32] "Continual drill and exercise, early hours, fixed times, appointed tasks, hard fare, stern punishments; watchfulness was to be incessant, obedience prompt and absolute; no man was to murmur. . . . Nothing was more easy to understand in those days in any man, next to his being a soldier, than his being a monk, it was the same thing, the same sort of life, but with different objects." (Dean Church: "Life of St. Anselm," c. iii.)

"All was done so quietly, so orderly, so naturally, that a world which has entered on the fruits of the labor may almost be excused if it does not recognize the hand that dug the soil and planted the tree." (Cardinal Newman, Hist. Sketches, 1873, p. 365.)

[33] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 46.

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misrepresented, the revival of letters, but the religious doctrines of the Reformers. Not least in importance is the elaborate testimony of Erasmus who, contrary to the generally accepted belief, should by no means be coupled with Luther. Through the writings of Erasmus it is shown that the Reformation was not a result of the Renaissance but was generally opposed to it, that the Church everywhere favored the revival of learning, and that the contrary view, like so many false beliefs, arose entirely out of an application of the same term to two entirely different matters. Those desiring to justify the new order seized upon a solitary mention of the term "New Learning" and generalized from this misapplication of the term that the Church opposed the Renaissance. From a mass of documents in the Public Record Office of England and in the British Museum, Cardinal Gasquet piles up the evidence in confirmation of Luther's own admission. Such men as Colet, More and Erasmus had no leaning to or sympathy with the Reformation as we know it. "Beyond all question, not only the Church in England on the eve of the change did not refuse the light, but both in its origin and later development, the humanist movement owed much to the initiative and encouragement of English Churchmen."[34] Bishop Fisher did all in his power to assist in the foundation of sound schools of learning at Cambridge, and especially to encourage the study of Greek. Said Erasmus: "This England dear to me on many accounts, is above all most beloved because it abounds in what to me is best of all, men deeply learned in letters. . . . Oh, how truly happy is your land of England, the seat and stronghold of the best studies and the highest virtues."[35] "There is abundant evidence to show that in the religious houses in England, no less than in the universities, there was a stirring of the waters, and a readiness to profit by the advance made in education and scholarship."[36] The average number of degrees at Oxford increased from 1506 to 1535. Then it rapidly fell, indicating that learning was being vigorously pursued up to the date of the suppression of the monasteries. The number of monks graduating had also increased. One object of

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[34] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 19.

[35] Cardinal Gasquet refers to these passages as having been written on two different occasions, 1498 and 1517. The expressions may have been duplicated in the correspondence of Erasmus, but they can obviously be traced in a letter written from Louvain to Richard Pace on April 22, 1518. (Opus Epistolarum des Erasmi Roterodami, P. S. Allen, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913, Vol. 111). "Utroque vero nomine vestrae gratulor Angliae, cum alias multis modis felice, tum istis titulis sic excellenti ut nulla regionum cum ea queat conferri. Nunc demum iuuet universam etatem apud Anglos exigere, ubi favore principum regnant bonae literae, viget honesti studium. . . . O vere splendidam vestrae Britanniae regiam, sedem et arcem optimorum studiorum ac virtutum!"

[36] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 38.

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sending members of religious houses to a university was to qualify them for "teaching the novices in their own house."[37]

The wholesale destruction of great libraries in England at the period of the suppression of the monasteries is an indirect indication of the new spirit which helped for a time to put an end to the revival of letters. "The same sickening story of destruction, wanton waste, pilfering, and mock auctions worse than plain pilfering, going on up and down the land. . . . Priceless works of art were taken as so many ounces of metal. . . . Manuscripts were sold for waste paper in vast quantities."[38] According to Erasmus, Luther "had never shown the least inclination for the new learning or its methods." On a broad survey the new learning received its chief support from the ecclesiastical authorities.[39] They were in no way hostile, but cordially approved of the critical investigation of the sacred text.

Cardinal Gasquet then proceeds to disprove the charges of alienation of the affection of the common people. "The Church had great power and it was naturally the guardian of the common people . . . the whole of our history shows that the Church was invariably on the side of the people. . . . Have we one single law that gives security to property or to life which we did not inherit from our Catholic forefathers?"[40] "The immense treasures of the churches were the joy and boast of every man and woman and child in England . . . regarded as their own, and part of their birthright."[41] The Church in those days was a social centre, "a practical reality in the ordinary affairs of life." Legal notices were given from the pulpits. Every adult had a voice in self-government . . . employment on holy days was inhibited and amusements were found by the Church, making it a true holiday. The Church guilds were benefit clubs, and savings banks, always solvent. The brotherhood tie was strongly realized. Loans without interest were granted to those in need, practically free pawnbroking. Village plays were given, with scenes from scripture history.[42]

In support of his contention that the supposed "revulsion from the iniquities of the monastic system" had no real foundation, Cardinal Gasquet examines at great length the history of the various

[37] "Caius College," by J. Venn; F. E. Robinson, London, 1901, p. 32.
[38] F. A. Gasquet: "England Under the Old Religion," G. Bell & Sons, 1912, pp. 6 and 9.
[39] Ib., p. 10.
[40] W. Cobbett: "A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland," revised and edited by F. A. Gasquet; Benziger Bros., New York, pp. 384-5. Cobbett's words have weight from the fact that he was a Protestant born of and brought up by Protestant parents.
[41] Dr. Jessop: "Parish Life in England Before the Great Pillage," "Nineteenth Century," March, 1898, p. 443.
[42] "England Under the Old Religion," op. cit., pp. 25-36.

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popular uprisings that occurred during the years when the process of suppression was being enforced.[43] These were all due to a determination by the people "not only to put a stop to future suppressions, but to demand the restoration of those houses which had already passed into the hands of the king."[44] There were risings in all parts of the country, south, east and north. The evidence of love for the Church, of attachment to the old religion, was general. The so-called Pilgrimage of Grace in which Roger Aske, at the head of some 60,000 men from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, advanced on the capital, was one of the most formidable. What happened just a century later to the Stuart king under very different circumstances might then have been the fate of Henry save for the peaceful inclinations of the people who were willing to endure much rather than plunge the country again into such civil war as that from which it had so recently emerged. The king was doubtful of his meagre forces, yet boasted that his subjects were eager and willing to have fought against the insurgents. "That the king's government had been in the greatest danger of overthrow cannot be questioned, and the persistency and earnestness with which the fidelity of the few troops Henry had collected to oppose the forward movement of the insurgents, is asserted, leads to a suspicion of even their loyalty to his cause."[45] Only by the grossest treachery was the continuation of the work of the reformers made possible. The king did not hesitate to lie abominably to secure his safety. The insurgents were promised satisfaction of their demands. Aske restrained them in the expectation that the king would redeem his promises. He traveled south and had an interview with the king. The very fact that Aske was unmolested while the king was in most brutal mood is evidence of the king's fear. Aske wrote out "a full and complete history of his connection with the rising and a straightforward and honest declaration of the various causes which led to the disturbance. It is from this invaluable document that many of the details of the rising are known. . . . It is significant that while other writings have been printed and their reports dinned into people's ears for the last two centuries, such a weighty document as Aske's expostulatory narrative to the king drawn up at Henry's express request to Aske in person, has never yet seen the light."[46] Having obtained the long delay consequent on the visit of Aske and obtained Aske's assistance in causing the dispersal of the insurgents, the king turned in all his fury on the unarmed populace. He sent a message

[43] Much evidence is found in the testimony of the numerous witnesses at the many trials that followed the retirement of the rebels.
[44] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., p. 126, ii.
[45] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op cit., Vol. II., p. 121.
[46] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., Vol. II., p. 132.

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in insulting terms excusing his acts by stating that no religious houses were suppressed "but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used, and that doth well appear by their own confessions subscribed with their own hands, in the time of our visitations." To this Cardinal Gasquet says "there is absolutely no record of any such confession."[47] It would be inconsistent with the transparent honesty of the Cardinal if he had wilfully overlooked any such record, and it would be strange indeed, if such a record existed, that it should have been destroyed or withheld by the custodians of the public documents to which full access was allowed for the purposes of this work, and when such records have consistently been kept and preserved by persons wholly interested in maintaining the conditions produced by the Reformation. One can only conclude that the statement of absence of evidence remains unchallenged, a statement of utmost importance to the propaganda of over three centuries in which the alleged moral condition of the houses has been a principal weapon.

The importance of unearthing such a document as Aske's expostulatory narrative can scarcely be over-estimated. On such documents and on the evidence of witnesses in the State trials that followed the king's betrayal of the people, Cardinal Gasquet has built up his refutation of the long accepted perversion of the true facts of the Reformation. There is no better work than the confutation of error and falsehood, and in this Cardinal Gasquet has succeeded in a degree rarely attained. Few historians could have been better qualified for this task. With an absence of bias, fact after fact is simply set forth; the questions put and the evidence marshaled temperately and impartially. The result can only be to startle one as to how the truth can have been so long successfully obscured. In a short essay it is impossible to do more than briefly indicate the methods adopted, here and there, by quotations, supplying specimens of the conclusions justified by the evidence. Out of their own mouth, by extracts from unquestionable State records, the makers of the Reformation have been convicted. With infinite patience the Cardinal has toiled through innumerable old papers, many of them long forgotten, many never read by any one since the date when first they were written; papers not readily decipherable, through being in forms of speech long since discarded, the sequence of events written down in the prolix style of a bygone age and often encumbered by a thick crust of crude legal formality. There is little cause for wonder as to what were the influences that operated in causing the circulation of false impressions and the sup-

[47] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op cit., Vol. I., p. 348.

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pression of the facts of the great event when it is recalled that the strong ones of the nation were sharers in the plunder and thus committed to the policy. Lord Audley obtained nine religious foundations: Lord Clinton twelve, including the rich lands of the Benedictine abbey of Barking; the Duke of Northumberland eighteen; the Duke of Suffolk thirty: the Duke of Bedford the extensive estates of Croyland and Woburn and the Convent Garden in London that produces a ground rental of over one hundred thousand pounds a year. The fall of the monasteries transferred an income of more than ten million dollars of present money from the Church and the poor to the royal purse.[48] And yet from the accounts of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentation—the officer specially appointed to receive the funds—it would appear that only one-fourth of this sum ever reached the treasury. The rest went to private individuals by various means.[49] "This much is certain, that a great number of men, officials of the Court of Augmentation, who, when appointed to the office, were possessed only of inkhorn and pen, were after two years able to rank in wealth and estates with the highest in the land."[50]

That Cardinal Gasquet has succeeded in his quest cannot be doubted by any one who will undertake the fascinating and agreeable task of perusing his various works and checking the extracts on which he has built his case. The conclusions are abundantly supported by first-hand testimony; the evidence is overwhelming. One side of the case has already been fully stated. He cannot therefore be charged with being a special pleader or in any way lacking in impartiality in addressing an audience that presumably is well informed on the popular version. As fair-minded people we are eager to hear the defense. When we have heard it there is no other conclusion than that previously the case had not been fairly presented. Weighing the evidence put forward by Cardinal Gasquet and balancing it against that with which we have long been familiar, at every step it becomes clearer that much of the truth has been hitherto suppressed. It is obvious that had there been no reason to suspect the veracity of the accepted version he would not have entered upon the inquiry. Such an attitude, however, does not necessarily imply an absence of the judicial temperament. There would never be any retrial if there were no assumption that something fresh could be revealed; but a competent judge avoids any conclusion until all the evidence is before him. Unfortunately there are prejudiced judges and prejudiced historians, but Cardinal Gasquet is

[48] Blunt: "Reformation," p. 369.
[49] R. O. Augmentation Office, Treas. Rolls., i. to iv.
[50] British Museum, Arundel MS., 151, f. 386.

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not one of them. In his works the controversial is so subordinated to the scholarly element that, without extraneous information, one might be tempted to ask what is the author's creed. He never hesitates to admit that in what we have been told there is a foundation of truth; but that is a characteristic quality of all misrepresentations. He does not shrink from an unedited reproduction of the facts relied upon by the other parties, but he places them on the table with their omitted context or alongside more comprehensive evidence not hitherto taken into account. What we have hitherto been told may be the truth, but it is certainly not "the whole truth and nothing but the truth." A plunge into cold water produces a shock, the reaction to which is healthful invigoration; a plunge into the truth often produces a shock to ideas that we have previously accepted without question, but the reaction when we come to the surface of the sunny waves of the sea of knowledge repays a thousandfold whatever momentary suffering we may have endured in submitting our mind to a change of medium.

Cardinal Gasquet's works in elucidation of the causes and meaning of the Reformation will live through all time as a model of the highest class of historical inquiry, a record of earnest and painstaking work in the discovery of truth. He has devotedly followed that most difficult of roads, the marshaling of all available facts regardless of their effect on any hypothesis. Putting aside prejudice, he has cleared his mind of every conclusion not warranted by the evidence and has humbly and patiently recorded the verdict to which the assembled facts inevitably lead. In history, no less than in science, there is no other way to truth, the truth that alone can survive every assault, whose victory, however, long delayed, is the assured hope of all who are at one with the divine event to which creation moves, all who in silence and in purity of heart resolve that somebody or something shall be better for him ere he die.

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THE AFTERMATH OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

IN THE modern history of Scotland, as of Europe generally, the great dividing line is the Protestant Reformation. The change brought about by this upheaval makes it difficult to realize that what is now the home of a nominal Presbyterianism fast becoming pagan, was once a Catholic country; that the dour and dogged Scot of to-day is the offspring of a race formerly jovial and merrymaking. Calvinism has left its impress on the character of the people. If, in point of time, Scotland was among the last of the nations to succumb to the new opinions, the success that attended the movement was more marked here than elsewhere. How did this happen? How came it to pass that a Catholic country allowed itself to be influenced by a minority of innovators? Did Scotland welcome the new creed or was she robbed of her faith?

Long before the public suppression of the ancient faith in 1560 there were forces at work undermining its position. The Catholic tradition may be said to have been lost at Flodden Field, where the flower of the Catholic nobility fell. During the minority of James V. there was a free distribution of benefices, the Church's wealth being bestowed on the sons of noble families without regard to their piety or learning. In this matter of loose administration and lack of discipline Scotland was no exception—no worse than other countries. The revolt was common to all Europe except Ireland. A reaction had set in against the unity and discipline of Europe. Hilaire Belloc says it was "the turning back of that tide of Roman culture which for seven hundred years had dominated" Europe. There was the example of England lately become Protestant, the English gold brought by Sir Ralph Sadler and its skilful distribution, the social and political state of the country, the avarice of the nobles hungering to possess the endowments of the Church, the widespread ignorance of the people in matters pertaining to their faith, the apathy of the clergy and Bishops.

Had the people been instructed in their religion and the clergy true to their vocation, a stouter resistance would have resulted, making the progress of so-called religious innovation difficult, perhaps impossible. But it is only too clear from the evidence of Catholic contemporaries such as John Major and Ninian Winzet, that the lives of many of the clergy were a cause of grave scandal. Quite a number of the people through moral cowardice gave up their faith. Very few of them were of the stuff of martyrs, being

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so poorly instructed that they did not know, and therefore did not value the faith. Thus it happened through the unfaithfulness of Churchmen and the ignorance of the laity that religion fell into evil repute, and no power of Church or State could stem the rising tide of error.

It is inconceivable that a people "fortis in fide" can be robbed of its heritage. Had they been strong in the faith no power on earth could have taken it from them. The faith of this small nation which at that time numbered only half a million of inhabitants, had grown cold, and, as events proved, it was neither impossible nor difficult to uproot it from the hearts of the people.

The wealthy nobles took advantage of the revolt against order to carry out their own designs. Little did *they* care for the reformed doctrines as such, their object being, not a change of religion, but money. "Huntlys, Homes, Ogilvies, Dundases, Hamiltons and Douglases all got sops to keep them quiet: benefices were mere bribes—hence contempt for the Church." The harvest is seen today in the ruins of our cathedrals, abbeys and churches. Almost all that was venerable in architecture and valuable in art was ruthlessly destroyed, including precious libraries with their illuminated manuscripts.

Clearly enough the salt had lost its savor and some remedy was imperative. A reformation of morals was the crying need, and if eventually the remedy was prescribed at the Council of Trent it came too late to save the Church of Scotland. "Whatever be under God," says Cardinal Gasquet, "the reasons for the overthrow of the Catholic Church of Scotland, the fact remains that in 1560 it was suppressed by an illegal and corrupt parliament: the old faith of a thousand years was proscribed and the people were commanded by the legal authorities to accept the religious novelties of Calvinistic origin."[1]

Then came the penal laws, which accounted the faith of Columba and Margaret a crime and hounded it from the land. These laws were to be the means of completing by gradual oppression what had been achieved by violence. The final success in uprooting the Catholic faith in Scotland must be traced to the persecution which, as Hallam admits, is the deadly sin of the reformed churches. The new preachers knew their business and took good care to see to the rigid enforcement of the penal laws. It was obvious to them that if they once admitted toleration their work would be speedily undone.

By the middle of the seventeenth century most of those who

[1] "Scotland in Penal Days," by Cardinal Gasquet, O. S. B.

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had been reared in the faith were dead. With the exception of certain parts of Banffshire and the western isles, where Catholic tradition was maintained, the faith of our forefathers was practically extinct. The rising generations were being educated in an anti-Catholic atmosphere as the ministers of the new Gospel had by this time leavened and almost controlled the whole nation. The lamp of faith was extinguished because there was no oil. Through the closing of their churches and schools and the banishment of their Priests, the few scattered Catholics that remained were slowly but surely reduced to a state of spiritual starvation.

To show how this was brought about by the penal laws is the object of the following pages.

The Effect of the Scottish Penal Laws

On the first day of August, 1560, when the Three Estates of Scotland met in Edinburgh, Catholicism was the religion of the land; by the 24th of the same month, Papal authority was condemned, the jurisdiction of Catholic Bishops abolished, the statutes in favor of the old Church repealed and laws passed against the celebration of Mass. The Confession of Faith—drawn up as a summary of the new opinions—was formally sanctioned and received as the established creed. Thus, within the space of three weeks a rude separation with the past was effected. The breach was wider than what took place in 1603, when the King of the Scots crossed the border to live in England, greater even than the memorable event of 1707, when the Scottish Parliament met to be forever dissolved and the royal honors were taken from the Parliament House to the Castle.[2]. This Parliament, which abolished the Catholic faith and established Presbyterianism, was a packed and therefore an illegal Parliament. Crowds of persons not entitled to be there appeared and claimed seats. With reference to the one hundred and six small barons who voted, Hume Brown speaks of them as "an unusual element," and, as being unusual, were forbidden by the treaty. "The Convention," says Lang, "which established the new Creed, was absolutely illegal. It was revolutionary, and revolutions are laws to themselves."[3] The Acts of that Parliament were never sanctioned by Queen Mary.

And so it came to pass that the country, which received its faith from Ninian, which developed under the great Columba, and had felt the saintly influence of Queen Margaret and King David, was now to turn her back on the historic past. Scotland was to be no longer Catholic but Presbyterian, and every means was to be taken to have the change brought about as speedily as possible. Religious

[2] Kinloch's "History of Scotland": Vol. II., p. 4.
[3] "History of Scotland," by Andrew Lang: Vol. II., p. 75.

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liberty, so persistently claimed for themselves by the new preachers, was to be denied to the members of the old faith. Penalties of every kind were to be used in inducing Catholics to renounce their heritage.

Our histories tell us very little about the sufferings endured by Scottish Catholics after 1560. Until recently it was not possible to get accurate information on this matter; but now, thanks to the labors of the late Father Forbes Leith, S. J., we have, in his "Memoirs and Narratives of Scottish Catholics," first-hand evidence. With the exception of Andrew Lang there is no modern historian who sufficiently emphasized this aspect of Reformation history. Apart from any prejudice or creed, the extent of the persecution that followed in the wake of the Reformation ought to be made known. The sufferings of Scottish Catholics form an integral part in the Post-Reformation history of Scotland. If we are to describe the change from the old to the new religion we ought also to say at what cost and by what means the change was effected. Lang is very candid when he tells us that "Protestant historians have seldom handled it [*i.e.* the Reformation] with impartiality and their suppressions, glosses and want of historical balance naturally turn into opposition the judgment of a modern reader."[4] False impressions in consequence have remained, impressions which have only sunk deeper through course of time.

When the Assembly rose on August 24 no time was lost in enforcing the statutory laws against Popery. "All abbeys, chapels, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish churches or schools, were to be utterly suppressed in all places of the realm."[5] This decree was soon followed by an Act of Convention of Estates for "demolishing all the abbeys of monks and friars and for suppressing whatsoever other monuments of idolatry were remaining in the realm." The wanton destruction of churches that took place is perhaps unparalleled in the history of Christian nations. "They rifled all churches indifferently, making spoil of everything they found. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared, but digged, ript up and sacrilegiously violated."[6] No priest dared openly celebrate Mass without the risk of imprisonment, while secret attendance at the Holy Sacrifice was looked upon as open encouragement of idolatry. A Catholic had but to let a priest come under his roof and he was liable to the confiscation of his goods. With a price put upon their heads the misssionaries had to wander the country

[4] "History of Scotland," by Andrew Lang: Vol. I., p. 421.
[5] "The Book of Discipline."
[6] Spottiswood in Keith's "History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland: Vol. III., p. 37.

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disguised as laborers or soldiers, giving services at dead of night and in some private house. They were compelled to live in caves, in secret and unfrequented places, never lodging two successive nights in the same locality. In their straitened circumstances they might have cried with Jeremias: "Attend and see if there be any sorrow like unto our sorrow." And when they meditated how the faith on which their countrymen had been nurtured for over a thousand years was being uprooted, they perhaps thought of those other words, "The ways of Sion mourn because there are none that come to the solemn feast. Upon the rivers of Babylon there we sat and wept when we remembered Sion." Trampled in the dust, like the Jews of old, they could only sigh and groan for the deliverance of Israel.

The Confession of Faith practically swept away every vestige of Catholic doctrine, while the Book of Discipline served as a weapon for abolishing Catholic ritual, feast days and five out of the seven sacraments. Fines were imposed for a first offense of assisting at Mass, imprisonment for a second and banishment for a third.

"Catholics," says Lang, "must forswear their belief or at least abstain from its rites: must profess to believe what they did not believe."[7] Scottish Catholics had no such option as their brethren in England to attend heretical worship or to pay the statutory fine. "The power of the heretical ministers is so great that they can compel any one to subscribe to their false Confession of Faith, attend their sermons, and take the profane supper of the Calvinistic rite, or else lose all his goods and go into banishment."[8] Priests were outlawed, Catholic laity treated as aliens, their schools suppressed, their churches appropriated, while nothing was left undone to destroy every vestige of the ancient faith. At the beginning of the eighteenth century (1701) seven new persecuting statutes were added to the penal laws, which resemble more the edicts of a Diocletian against the first Christians than laws made in a Christian country. 1. A reward of five hundred marks was promised to any one who should apprehend a priest. No other proof of his being a priest was required than if he refused to abjure his religion. Banishment followed upon conviction with the assurance that if he returned he should be punished with death. 2. Any one becoming a Catholic after the publication of these laws should forfeit all his possessions, which were to belong to the nearest Protestant heir or be confiscated to the Crown. 3. Unless all Catholics on reaching the age of fifteen, subscribed to the formula, they should forfeit all their possessions to the nearest Protestant heir. 4. No per-

[7] "History of Scotland," by Lang: Vol. II., p. 88.
[8] Letters of Father Creighton, S. J., Stonyhurst MSS.

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son should employ any Catholic servant under penalty of 500 marks and no Catholic should be capable of any trust or management, or of being a schoolmaster, tutor, or agent. 5. If any Papists were found together in any private house, and if in that private house there should be found vestments, altar-cloths, pictures or articles pertaining to Popish worship, the persons so apprehended should be reputed as sayers or hearers of Mass, and incur the penalties thereof without further proof required. 6. No Papist having heritage should have power to dispose of any part thereof to his children, or to his friends, being Papists: that all such disposal was null and void: that it should be lawful for the next heir apparent or nearest of kin, being Protestant, to brook and possess the same, but if the Papist became Protestant he should be reponed in his estate. 7. That the children of Catholics being minors, should be taken from their parents and put into the hands of Protestants to be educated, and the parents be obliged to pay for their education and maintenance according to their station.[9]

By such laws Catholics were deprived not only of their privileges as citizens but even of the natural rights of mankind. "They were a proscribed and outcast race," says Cunningham, "denied not only the rights of fellow-citizens but the charity extended to the most worthless of our citizens."[10] When the order was given that Catholics were to be ejected from their houses, it happened that women of good family were turned out a few days, some only a few hours, before they gave birth to children. A refinement of cruelty is reached when we read the following sentence taken from the memoirs of Scottish Catholics, Vol. I, p. 48, "The midwives who were called in to attend them asserted that they were desired to kill the infants as soon as they were born, and the mothers as well, or at least so injure them that they should never recover their former health and strength: and all Scotland knows that this was actually done, and there are women of rank whose weak state of health makes it sufficiently evident that this was the case." A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* states that "the complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our Scotch Reformers. . . . even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman and child."[11]

A powerful weapon in the hands of the ministers was excommunication. Any one coming under its ban was treated like a leper—

[9] "Memoirs of Scottish Catholics During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Vol. II., pp. 182-3, Forbes Leith, S. J.

[10] "Church History of Scotland," by Cunningham: Vol. II., p. 428.

[11] "Edinburgh Review," Vol. XXVI., p. 167.

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as a person apart—with whom no one was allowed to trade. Catholics who died excommunicated were denied a place of sepulture. From the Memoirs of Bishop Geddes we learn that even in his day an order had been obtained from the King and Council commanding all persons to go to the kirks, receive the Sacrament and subscribe to their Confession of Faith under pain of excommunication, loss of all offices and confiscation of goods.

This systematic persecution, which began in 1560, continued till the passing of the Relief Bill in 1793. Where shall we find in history a record of any persecution so long lived? Under Diocletian the sufferings of the early Christians were more terrible but they were in comparison of short duration. The Kulturkampf in Germany, the cruel laws of Pombal in Portugal, the bloody revolution in France—not one of these will compare in length of time with the ruthless system which prevailed in Scotland for two hundred and thirty years. "Perhaps no persecution," says Lang, "was ever so successful. No showy martyrdoms with one exception occur, but there was an unceasing strain on conscience and belief."[12] Indeed, had the blood of martyrs flowed more freely, it would have been, as always, the seed of Christians. It has been said by way of reproach that our Catholic forefathers did not resist unto blood. The objection is more specious than real. "It has been often proved," says Father John Leslie, S. J. (Stonyhurst MSS.), "that the persecution which inflicts most injury on the Church is that which is carried on by flattery, by the inducements of passing and temporal advantages, and by loss of property and exile, without the infliction of death, which is much worse than when it proceeds on its course drunk with the blood of martyrs."[13] The method of frequent imprisonment and confiscation of lands was found to be much more effective than the ruthless destruction of life. Even the one public martyrdom of Father John Oglivie, S. J., was considered a blunder. When King James was told by Huntly that Scotsmen took the death badly, he replied, "It was not my fault. Spottiswood hurried on the execution. I have no desire to see bloody heads round my deathbed"[14]—an allusion to the agonizing fears which beset Queen Elizabeth on her deathbed.

If the great majority of the nobles, barons and commons were still on the side of the old religion in the middle of the sixteenth century, according to the testimony of Hume Brown, how do we explain the final triumph of the Reformation of Scotland? Why was there no reaction such as took place in Germany and other

[12] "History of Scotland," by Lang: Vol. II., p. 495.
[13] "Memoirs of Scottish Catholics": Vol. I., pp. 104-105.
[14] "Narratives of Scottish Catholics," Forbes Leith, S. J.: p. 315.

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countries? The avarice of the nobles and the tyranny of the preachers were responsible for crushing the national life and stifling the breath of free inquiry. Owing to the rigor of the penal laws the practice of Catholic life was made impossible. Many subscribed to the new opinions more from necessity than from choice. It is difficult to see how there could have been a welcoming of the new opinions when there was no liberty of conscience. The wells of Catholic knowledge were dried up at their source by the banishment of priests, the closing of Catholic churches and schools. Calvinism and Catholicism were not placed side by side for the choice of the people. The old religion was proscribed and its preachers silenced, while in its place came the Genevan doctrines which the people were compelled to accept under pain of imprisonment. "The effect of this drastic persecution," says Lang, "was that the country was drilled into almost uniform conformity and systematic hypocrisy."[15] When we remember that the only alternative to apostasy was starvation or banishment, we can then understand how the Reformation finally triumphed.

The Scotland we now turn to has a different face from the Scotland of Catholic times. From being a jovial, merrymaking race the Scots became sour and taciturn. The national character shared in the change of religion, Calvinism succeeding only too well in moulding the minds of the people. "The popular pleasures which the ancient faith had patronized, were abolished. From a holiday and feast, Sunday was turned into a lugubrious penance."[16] With the closing of the churches the blessed "mutter of the Mass" was silent, the shrines by the wayside had perished and the Angelus bell no longer called to prayer. "There was no Lady-Day, no Christmas Day, no Lent, no Holy Week, no Easter, in the bleak Knoxian calendar."[17] The stately Gothic or simple Latin crosses that surmounted the graves were now to be replaced by heathen urns or broken pillars, emblematic more of annihilation than forecasting a glorious resurrection to come. Sacred images were to be destroyed because they savored of idolatry and the feast days of saints henceforth ignored, their names being only kept alive through some local tradition or well. The sad separation of death was to be made still sadder by forbidding relatives to pray for their dead, such prayers being accounted superstitious.

There was now no tribunal where souls who had sinned after Baptism could undergo the salutary discipline of Confession, no Holy Eucharist to comfort them in their daily trials, no Extreme

[15] Lang, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 495.
[16] Lang, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 423.
[17] Kinloch's "History of Scotland": Vol. II., p. 12.

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Unction to fortify them in their last agony. In this way did the old faith practically disappear because no one dared publicly to uphold it: it ceased to be a vitalizing force for the reason that it was banned while "Scotland owed her all but universal Protestantism to persecution."[18]

[18] Lang, op. cit.: Vol. II., p. 494.

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VEN. DON BOSCO

III.

THE two Religious Orders, the Salesian Society (now called the Salesian Congregation) and the Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians, which he founded, secured the continuation of Don Bosco's multiform work. He never forgot those early "dreams" in which its development was adumbrated.

The idea of an organization, which would be a bond of union to hold together his various institutions, not only originated in his own mind but was impressed upon by others. Archbishop Fransoni often said to him: "What steps will you take to continue your work? You are mortal like other men and, if you don't provide for them, your Oratories will die with you; and, therefore, it is well that you should think of some way of securing that they shall survive you. Seek, then, a successor who, in due time, will take your place." Don Cafasso was of the same opinion and said: "For your works a society is indispensable." Don Savio, who was more explicit, said: "You should found a Religious Order." He became more and more convinced himself of working more openly through such a society, inheriting his spirit and apostolate. He had already for years been wont to hold conferences of his clerics and the most zealous of the youths who directly co-operated with him. Of one of these held, in the beginning of 1854, Don Rua records: "On the evening of January 26, 1854, there assembled in Don Bosco's room Don Bosco himself, Rocchietti, Artiglia, Cagliero and Rua, and it was proposed to us, with the help of God and St. Francis de Sales, to give a proof of the practical exercise of charity towards our neighbor by making a promise, and then, if it would be possible and convenient, to make a vow to the Lord. From that evening the name of Salesians was given to those who proposed or should propose such an exercise."[1] The Marquis Crispolti thus relates the simple incident which was the actual birth of the Order. "On March 25, 1855, Don Bosco called one of his clerics, Michael Rua, to his room and asked if he felt disposed to make for the term of a year the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; in other words, the vows on which Religious Orders depend for their existence and their strength. Don Bosco volunteered no explanation as to the object of the contract which the young man made. The three virtues were important enough to be their own recommendation and

[1] Don G. B. Lemoyne, op. cit., Vol. I., Part III., Chapter XII., pp. 564-565.

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besides, the man who proposed the profession of the vows inspired confidence enough for any sacrifice. Moreover the co-operation and constancy of the young cleric were better secured, and these motives were quite adequate for the step taken. There were no witnsses to it; the two knelt down before a crucifix, and then the first seed was cast that was to grow into an immense tree."[2]

This Michael Rua—who, as Don Rua, the second superior-general, not many years ago died, as he had lived, like a saint—was no ordinary man. When Don Bosco, in 1845, used to visit the College of St. Barbara, conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, a little eight-year-old boy there was much attracted by the priest, loving to listen to him. This was Michael Rua, who that year began to frequent the Oratory, joining in the retreat given by Don Bosco at Giaveno in 1850. When he finished his schooling at St. Barbara's, Don Bosco advised him to study Latin and found him a teacher. He made rapid progress and when Don Bosco heard of his successfully passing examination, he said: "I have designs on young Rua; he will be of great assistance to me when the time comes." He received the clerical habit on October 3, 1852, at Becchi, the rector or pastor of which remarked to Don Bosco: "Do you remember when you were a cleric you said: 'I shall have priests and clerics and young students and artisans and a church,' and how I answered that you were mad? Now it seems you knew what you were talking about." On that occasion Don Bosco said, what he afterwards often repeated: "If God had said to me, 'Imagine a boy adorned with all the ability and virtue you would like, ask Me for him, and I will give him to you,' I would not have imagined such a rare combination as that possessed by Michael Rua."

Though he had enrolled its first member, he had not yet definitely decided on the particular form of the contemplated society. It gradually took shape. The Sunday evening conferences had already familiarized his associates with a sort of community life. There were eight clerics among his young assistants upon whom he felt he could count with confidence. Those who filled the chief positions in his Sunday Oratories and in the growing school at Valdocco would form the nucleus of the future Superior Chapter, and there existed regulations and rules directing the work of those who would form a permanent Council. With these as a working basis he constructed the fabric of the Constitutions which should rule the future Congregation. In his judgment it would not undertake practices of the ascetic character associated with other Orders, but would be built principally on the model of the secular clergy.

[2] Marquis Crispolti, op. cit., Chapter XIII., pp. 104-105.

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As he himself put it: "It will preserve the substance of the Religious Orders—the outward appearance is not necessary. In fact, I am of opinion that a society in its simplest form would inspire greater confidence and sympathy, and would, in time, attract a great many subjects, through what I may call its up-to-date character." [3]

In this he showed great wisdom, great insight into the present-day needs of the Church, which the various Congregations seem to have been providentially designed to meet. Freer and more flexible in their character than the old Orders—more or less behind the times, originated when different social conditions existed—they harmonized more with the modern spirit and methods of propagandism. While in essentials unchanged and unchangeable, the Church—ever ancient and ever new—marches with the times and is always modern, destined to live through all ages. Change in this connection does not connote any deviation from the *semper eadem,* but is illustrative of the approved doctrine of development. Don Bosco was a modern man in his ideas and methods, a man of his time who reflected in his beneficent work, both religious and social, what was best in the age his lot was cast in. His genius was creative; he was no mere revivalist or copyist.

Still the time did not seem opportune or propitious for the foundation of such a congregation. Ideas then dominant in Italy were strongly opposed to it. The belief that the age of the Religious Orders was a thing of the past beyond resuscitation, prevailed. The Cavour-Rattazzi Ministry, in 1855, got a law passed which suppressed the majority of the Religious Congregations in the Sardinian States. A powerful party in a hostile Parliament would be sure to oppose it. How to prevent the nascent Order from being strangled at its birth was a difficulty which seemed insurmountable. Help came from an unexpected quarter, from no less a personage than Urbano Rattazzi himself, then Minister of the Interior, who, in the course of an interview, opened up a conversation on the subject of Don Bosco's work, to which he was personally well-disposed. "I wish, Signor Don Bosco," he said, "you may live many years for the training of so many poor boys, but you are mortal, like everybody else, and if you should be wanting what will become of your work? Have you yet thought of that eventuality? And if you have, what steps do you intend to take?" Then he went on: "In my opinion, you ought to select some among the laity and ecclesiastics in your confidence and form them into a society under certain rules, imbue them with your spirit, teach them your system, so that they shall be not only assistants but the continuators of your

[3] Crispolti, op. cit., trans. Chapter XIII., pp. 107-108.

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work." Don Bosco, having alluded to the suppression of the religious corporations, the Minister replied: "I know all about the law of suppression and its scope. It raises no real difficulty, since you are instituting a society according to the needs of the times and conformable to existing legislation, a society that would not be under a dead hand (mortmain), but a living hand, a society in which every member would retain his civil rights, subject to the laws of the State, pay taxes, etc.; in a word, the new society in the view of the Government, would be nothing else than an association of free citizens, united and living together with a beneficent object." "And your Excellency assures me that the Government permits the institution of such a society and allows it to exist?" "No constitutional and regular Government will hinder the establishment and development of such a society; just as it does not impede but promotes societies of commerce, industry, exchange, mutual benefit and the like. Any associations of free citizens is permissible, provided its scope and acts are not contrary to the laws and institutions of the State. Be easy in your mind; you will have the full support of the Government and of the King, since it concerns a work eminently humanitarian." On several other occasions he conferred with Don Bosco at the Ministry and continued to support the design which he imagined emanated from himself. In 1876 Don Bosco said: "Rattazzi willingly pointed out how various articles of our rules should be formulated so as to be in keeping with the laws. In fact it may be said that certain precautionary measures to keep us from being molested by the civil powers came entirely from him.

But what was pleasing to God and man was not pleasing to the arch enemy of man. One of Don Bosco's most intimate disciples relates: "We noted how he generally suffered from grave diabolical suggestions every time he undertook some important work for the greater glory of God. One morning, having asked Don Bosco if he had rested well during the night, he replied: 'Not much, for I was molested by an ugly monster who threw me on the bed and tried, by oppressing, to suffocate me.' This did not take place only once; Don Bosco said clearly that they were infernal assaults." On the night when he had finished writing the first rules of the Salesian Society, the fruit of many prayers and much labor, while he indited the concluding phrase—*ad majorem Dei Gloriam*—the enemy of man appeared to him, moved the table, overthrew the ink-bottle, stained the manuscript with ink, whirled it wildly in the air and let it fall in scattered leaves with a sound so strange as to cause the greatest terror. It was so stained as to be no longer legible, and Don Bosco had to recommence his work, as he told some of his companions.

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It was Don Cafasso who first advised him to knit the Society together by the obligation of vows and the approbation of the supreme authority of the Church, an advice repeated by Archbishop Fransoni, who counselled him to lay his plan before the Pope, to whom he gave him a letter of recommendation. Before doing so he put the following question to several Bishops and theologians: "Could not a society, whose aim is to work for the glory of God and which, in the eyes of the Government, is only a civil society, assume at the same time the nature of a religious institute before God and the Church? Could not its members be free citizens and religious at the same time? It appears to me that they could; just as in every State a Catholic is subject to the King or to the Republic and also subject to the Church, faithful to both, observing the laws of both." The replies were favorable.

Accordingly, accompanied by the young cleric, Michael Rua, as his secretary, he set out for Rome on February 18, 1858, after making his will, as persons were then accustomed to do before going on a long journey; "in order," he said, "not to leave the Oratory stranded in a way, should it please Providence to summon me to eternity, giving me as food to the fishes of the Mediterranean." Many wept, fearing they would not see him again; for he was ailing and was so prostrate when he reached Leghorn that he could not get off and proceeded to Civitavecchia, whence he made his way to Rome. When he entered for the first time the unrivalled basilica of St. Peter's, that "eternal ark of worship undefiled," as the Protestant poet, Byron, calls it, he remained for some time in ecstasy, without uttering a word. The first thing that struck him were the marble statues of the founders of the Religious Orders between the pilasters of the great nave. A time was yet to come when his own would find a place there.

On March 9, he and his young companion were admitted to audience, when both kissed the Holy Father's hand, Rua twice, once for himself and again for the Oratory boys in fulfillment of a promise he had made. The Pontiff motioned to them to arise saying to Don Bosco: "You are a Piedmontese?" "Yes, Holiness, I am a Piedmontese and at this moment experience the greatest consolation of my life in finding myself at the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ." "And in what are you engaged?" "Holiness, I am occupied with the education of youth and *Catholic Readings*," "The instruction of youth was useful at all times, but to-day it is more necessary than ever. There is also another in Turin who is looking after youth." The prelate who was on duty in the anteroom had announced the "Abate Bosser," instead of the "Abate Bosco." The Pope was amused at this and continued: "What are you doing

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in your Hospice?" "A little of everything, Holy Father: I say Mass, preach, hear confessions, hold school; sometimes I have also to go into the kitchen to teach the cook, or to sweep the church!" The Pope smiled and put various questions about the boys, the clerics, and the Oratories; wished to know the number and names of the priests who helped him and how many collaborated in the *Catholic Readings;* asked Rua if he was a priest and what he was studying; and, turning again to Don Bosco said with a pleased expression: "I remember the offering sent to me at Gaeta and the tender sentiments with which those boys accompanied it." Don Bosco seized the opportunity of expressing the attachment of all those boys for his sacred person and begged him to accept as a sign of it a copy of the *Catholic Readings.* "Holiness," he said, "I offer you a copy of these little books in the name of the editors; the binding is the work of the boys of our house." "How many boys are there?" "Holiness, the boys in the house are about 200; the binders 15." "Good! I wish to send a medal to each of these." And, going into another room, he shortly afterwards returned with fifteen little medals of the Immaculata, another larger one for Rua, and a last one, still larger, for Don Bosco. They had knelt to receive the precious presents, and the Holy Father, thinking that Don Bosco had nothing further to say to him, was about to bring the audience to a close when he humbly observed: "Holiness, I shall have something particular to ask of you." "Very well," replied Pius IX. Rua retired and the Pope continued to converse with Don Bosco about the Oratories and their spirit, praised the publication of the *Catholic Readings,* encouragingly blessed the contributors, and repeated with great complacency: "When I think of those boys I am touched by those thirty lire sent to me at Gaeta! Poor boys, depriving themselves of the money destined for their food and victuals, a great sacrifice for them!" Don Bosco, with the utmost affectionateness, observed: "Our desire was to be able to do more, and we were greatly consoled when we heard that our humble offering was agreeable to your Holiness. Your Holiness knows that there in Turin there is a numerous troop of children who love you tenderly, and every time they happen to speak of the Vicar of Jesus Christ they do so with the liveliest transports of joy," The Holy Father listened with satisfaction to these words, and, resuming the conversation about the Oratories, at a certain point observed: "My dear, you have put many things in motion, but when you come to die, what will become of your work?" Don Bosco replied that he had come to Rome precisely to provide for the future of the Oratories and, presenting Mgr. Fransoni's letter of recommendation, added: "I beg your Holiness to be pleased to

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give me the basis of an institution compatible with the times and places in which we live." The Pope, having read the letter which made him aware of the projects and intentions of the founder, exclaimed with great satisfaction: "It seems we are all three of one accord!" and exhorted him to draw up the rules of the pious society according to the design he had in mind, giving him thereon important suggestions. Various other affairs were descanted upon in that audience. Don Bosco asked for other favors which were graciously granted, and Rua, having been readmitted, the Pope blessed them both, saying: "The blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost descend upon you, your companions, your clerics, helpers and benefactors, and all your youths and all your works now and forever, and forever, and forever!"

On Sunday, March 21, he was again sent for at the Vatican. The Pontiff, who desired to converse more fully with him, received him in the most benevolent and paternal manner, and as soon as he saw him, said: "I have thought over your project, and I am convinced that it will be of much good to youth. It is necessary to put it in execution. How can your Oratories maintain themselves without it? And how provide for their spiritual needs? Therefore a good institution in these doleful times seems to me necessary. It should be founded on these bases: as a society with vows, because without vows unity of spirit and of work could not be maintained; but these should be *simple* and easily dispensed, so that the bad dispositions of some of the associates should not disturb the peace and union of the others; the rules mild and of easy observance; and the form of the habit and pious practices should not make it appear singular in the view of the world; and to this end it would be better to call it a *Society* instead of a *Congregation*. Finally, make it your study that every member of it be in the sight of the Church a religious and in civil society a free citizen."

When Don Bosco presented the manuscript of the Constitutions to Pius IX. he again expressed his approval of the idea that inspired them. It was in this audience the Pope declared his wish to know the history of the Oratory and, thinking the founder must have had some supernatural lights, told him he should relate everything minutely and enjoined him to commit to writing anything extraordinary that had occurred to him, to leave it as a precious record to his sons. Then the conversation turned on other matters, and, *inter alia*, the Pope put this question to him: "Among the sciences to which you have applied yourself, which pleased you most?" "Holy Father," he replied, "my knowledge does not amount to much; that, however, which would please me and which I desire is *scire Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum*." At this reply the Pope

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remained somewhat thoughtful; and, perhaps wishing to put such a declaration to the test, offered as a token of his esteem and affection to nominate him his Private Chamberlain. The servant of God, who never ambitioned honors, thanked the Pontiff, but added: "Holiness, what a fine figure I would cut in the midst of my boys if I were a Monsignore! My sons would no longer recognize me and give me their full confidence if I were to give myself this title! I would no longer venture to fraternize, now here now there, as I have been doing up to this. And then, on account of this dignity, the world would think me rich and I should no longer have courage to quest for our Oratory and our works. Holy Father, it is better that I should always remain poor Don Bosco."

The Pope, who could not but admire such humility, which is not too common, after encouraging him to write good books for the people, granted him in perpetuity the faculty of hearing confessions *in omni loco Ecclesia* and, that he might have more time to devote to his works for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, dispensed him from the obligation of saying the breviary; and, as if this did not fully express the goodness of his fatherly heart, conceded to him every possible faculty in these words: "I grant you all that I can possibly grant you."

It was Holy Week. As a mark of his particular affection and esteem, the Pope, most amiable and beloved of Pontiffs, had a place assigned to him in the tribune at St. Peter's reserved for diplomatists. Alongside of him was an English nobleman, a Protestant, who was much impressed by the ceremonies. At a certain point, when a soprano from the Sistine Chapel sang a solo so sweetly and penetratingly that Don Bosco was moved to tears, the nobleman, who was enraptured, turned towards him at the close and exclaimed: *"Post hoc paradisus!"* (Shortly afterwards he was converted, became a priest and then a Bishop.) This was on Palm Sunday. After the Pope had blessed the palms, the diplomatists filed before the Pontifical throne, each ambassador and minister receiving his palm, kneeling, from his Holiness, Don Bosco and Michael Rua among the rest, as the Holy Father wished.

At the third audience on April 6 the Pope told him he had read the manuscript of the Constitutions from the first to the last article, and bade him give it to Cardinal Gaude, who would examine it and it would be referred back to him in due course. Don Bosco saw that Pius IX. had added some notes and modifications in his own handwriting. He obtained permission to have the rules sanctioned temporarily, pending their final approval and the concession of several indulgences in favor of his work and those engaged in it. "And now, Holy Father," he added, "have the kindness to give me a

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maxim that I may repeat to my boys as a souvenir of the Vicar of Christ." "The presence of God!" replied the Pope. "Tell your boys in my name to always regulate their conduct by this thought! And now have you nothing else to ask of me? You certainly desire something else——" "Holy Father, your Holiness has deigned to grant me what I have asked, and it now only remains for me to thank you with all my heart." "Still—still you wish for something else." Don Bosco remained for some time without uttering a word. Pius IX. resumed: "What? Don't you wish to gladden your boys when you shall return to them?" "Yes, Holiness." "Then wait." A few moments passed, and in presence of Don L. Murialdo, Michael Rua and the Chancellor of the archiepiscopal Curia of Genoa, who were astonished at the familiarity with which the Pope treated Don Bosco, he opened his secretaire, took from it a large sum in gold and without counting it, gave it to Don Bosco, saying: "Take it and give a good feast to your children." Having encouraged him to prosecute his work to make an experiment of putting into practice the Constitutions, he closed the audience by again exhorting him to write down minutely what he had told him of supernatural events as well as those of minor importance, but which were connected with the first idea of the Oratories; repeating that he knew it would be a source of comfort at future times to those who would form part of the new institute. A Cardinal having entered while the Pontiff was speaking, his last words to Don Bosco were: "Remember what I have said to you!"

Leaving Rome on April 14, he reached Valdocco on the 16th of the same month and feasted the boys of the three Oratories on June 24, when there was great rejoicing.

At a conference in Don Bosco's room on December 9, 1859, after they had invoked the light of the Holy Ghost and the assistance of the Blessed Virgin, he announced to them with visible emotion that the hour had come to give form to that society he had long thought of founding; that Pius IX. had encouraged and praised it, that it already existed in the observance of the traditional rules, and to which the majority of those present belonged at least in spirit and some through having made a temporary promise; that the moment had come to declare if they wished to join the pious society which had taken and preserved the name of St. Francis de Sales, and that at the next conference should assemble only those who intended forming part of it. Only two were absent from the next conference on December 18, when Don Bosco, as "initiator and promoter," was elected Chief Superior. Thus was happily laid the foundation of the Salesian Pious Society. On January 7, 1860, Pius IX. addressed to Don Bosco a Brief in response to a letter from

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the founder who had been unjustly suspected of intriguing against the State because, *inter alia*, in one of his popular publications he had said that "two conspicuous personages[4] would disappear from the face of the political world." In the course of this Brief the Pontiff, after alluding to the movement to deprive the Apostolic See of its civil principality, expressed the consolation it afforded him to know that he and other ecclesiastics by the diffusion of good books and other writings were doing all in their power to oppose the enemies of the Church. "There is nothing more excellent than this work," wrote His Holiness, "and nothing more useful to promote and stimulate piety. The care you have taken of poor boys received into your Hospice is from day to day more happily successful and increases the number of those who may become useful ministers of the Church. Continue the career you have embraced for the glory of God and the utility of the Church. Endure, if it should happen to you, any grave trial and sustain with greatness of soul the tribulations of the present time. Our hope is in God who, through the protection of the Queen of Heaven, Mary the Immaculate Virgin, will deliver us from such great evils and console her afflicted Church, causing it to triumph over its enemies."

The "grave tribulations" were soon manifest. The suspicions, despite the fact that his works elicited the admiration and gained the favor of many, increased, and they believed, or at least said so, that there was a room in the Oratory at Valdocco full of guns, and the Minister of the Interior, Carlo Luigi Farini, had Don Bosco watched! Four months afterwards the Oratory was subjected to a domiciliary visit on account of an intercepted letter from Archbishop Fransoni, then exiled in Lyons, containing a confidential pastoral to his clergy instructing them how they were to act in the midst of so many conflicts. Knowing nothing of this, three days before the visit, Don Bosco dreamed that he saw a band of rascals enter his room, seize upon his person, rummage among his papers and boxes and turn everything topsy-turvy. One of them looking rather benevolent, said: "Why not put away such or such writing?" Next day he told the dream, treating it as a phantasy; nevertheless, he put several things in order and put away some writings, which might be misinterpreted to his injury. The first visit took place on the vigil of Pentecost, May 26, 1860, when several guards distributed themselves within and an armed guard stood sentinel outside the house. When they demanded to be let into his room, he boldly protested: "I cannot and will not lead you into my room until you let me see who sent you and with what

[4] The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena, whose territories were annexed to Piedmont.

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authority and for what reason. Take care you don't come to acts, for in that eventuality I should summon my sons to my aid. I should have the bells rung and consider you as aggressors and violators of other people's dwellings and force you to withdraw. You can, it is true, lead me to prison by violence, but in that case you would commit an action blameworthy in the sight of God and man, and perhaps with bad consequences and to your injury." When it came to the boys' ears that they were going to take Don Bosco to prison a furious agitation pervaded the whole place; while a number of the most courageous and determined drew close to him and whispered: "Let us?" "No," he promptly replied. "I forbid any word, any act that would give offense to anybody. Have no fear; I'll arrange everything and do you go and fulfill your duties."

The decree ordering the visit, being produced, charged him with being "suspected of compromising relations with the Jesuits, Archbishop Fransoni and the Pontifical Court." Having no option but to yield to *force majeure* a thorough search was made which resulted in the visitors finding nothing compromising.

About a fortnight afterwards, on June 10, another visit and another search followed, the authorities having got it into their heads that Don Bosco possessed a large sum of money sent him by the Pope and the deposed Princess ostensibly to provide for the boys, but in reality, it was alleged, to enroll soldiers and wage war against the Government! The boys, numbering 500, were individually cross-questioned, while a shorthand writer took a note of all the answers; but, as on the previous occasion, nothing incriminatory was discovered or elicited. In a subsequent interview with Farini, when that Minister intimated that with one word he could have him imprisoned, Don Bosco replied: "That does not intimidate me. For the truth I fear no one. Your Excellency loves honor and justice too much to commit the infamy of sending to prison an innocent citizen who for twenty years has devoted his life and all his substance for his neighbor." Ultimately through the intervention of Count Cavour the matter was amicably arranged and Don Bosco was allowed to depart in peace to look after his boys; Farini contenting himself with advising him to be prudent. These vexatious incidents gained for him more sympathy; while Rattazzi, then no longer a Minister, but a simple deputy, when he heard from Don Bosco what had taken place, declared those domiciliary visits illegal and offered to bring the subject before Parliament, adding that the Government in disturbing such institutes committed an iniquity that deserved to be denounced before all Europe.

On the day following the second visit the members of the nascent Salesian Society subscribed the Rules of the Congregation of St.

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Francis de Sales to be sent to Archbishop Fransoni (deceased March 26, 1862), solemnly promising that if, peradventure, on account of the disturbed state of the times they could not make the vows, in whatever place they found themselves, even if all their companions were dispersed and only two existed, or even one to strive to promote the society and always, as far as possible, observe its rules. On July 23, 1864, the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars issued its Decree of Praise *(Decretum Laudis)* in favor of the society in view of the commendations which in two Briefs the reigning Pontiff bestowed on its good works and the recommendations of the ecclesiastical authorities of Turin,[5] Casale, Mondovi, Susa, Cuneo and Acqui. It constituted Don Bosco Superior General for life.

In the beginning of 1867 he paid a second visit to Rome, where he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, "as if he was a prince," wrote his travelling companion, Don John Baptist Francesia. "The whole city was astir: and the principal Roman families came to visit him. His fame as a wonder-worker had preceded him and many stricken ones awaited him as an angel of healing. I never expected to see such faith, such confidence in our Don Bosco." Very many commended themselves to him as to a saint, to the Pope's great consolation. In the first audience given him Pius IX. asked: "Have you, Signor Abate, taken my advice? Have you written those things regarding the inspiration to found your Society?" "Holy Father," he replied, "in truth I had not time amid so many occupations." "Well, it being so," said the Pope, "I not only counsel it, but I command it. All other occupations, of whatever kind or importance they be, should give place to this work. Leave everything aside, when it is not possible to act otherwise, but write. You cannot fully comprehend the very great good that certain things will do when made known by your sons." In another audience, wishing to give something for the Oratory boys, he went to his cash box and found it empty. Smiling and raising his eyes to Heaven, he said: "The world does not know that the Pontiff hasn't a penny of his own! I am really reduced to the financial condition of St. Peter." Then, turning to Don Bosco: "Carissimo, see what a little difference there is between me and your orphans; you are living on Providence and I on charity. My children will provide." Pius IX., who had illimitable confidence in Don Bosco, insisted that he should found a house in Rome and accorded extraordinary spiritual favors to the Salesians.

Still he had not yet obtained the definite approval of the Pious

[5] Turin Archdiocese, sede vacante, was then administered by a Vicar-Capitular.

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Society. One of the theses they were already studying in Rome preparatory to the Œcumenical Council was whether it was expedient to approve of new religious institutes or fuse those already existing of similar scope. That seeming to raise an almost insurmountable difficulty, he quitted Rome. His departure, like his arrival, was an ovation. The noblest families had vied with each other to be received by him or to receive him in their palaces; from morning till night people of every grade, sex and condition, sought him, to see him, to speak to him; the infirm came to receive his blessing or the touch of his healing hand. Mgr. Manocorda wrote with the tears still in his eyes of his departure, which left the Romans like desolate orphans. "The Roman nobility," he said, "which mingled with the populace and forgot court etiquette to bend the knee to Don Bosco and receive his blessing, would not leave the anteroom of the Father of the ragamuffins *(monelli)* to sit alongside the Grand Vizier. Oh! how powerful is the virtue of Don Bosco!"

He was again in Rome in the beginning of 1869, for the purpose of obtaining the approval of the society by the Holy See, although some Bishops and others tried to dissuade him, telling him it would not be possible. "Everything is against me," he said to himself, "still my heart tells me, if I go to Rome, the Lord who has the hearts of men in his hands, will come to my assistance. Then I go!" He was intimately convinced, too, that Our Lady would help him. He was received in princely fashion, three carriages, two of them Cardinal Berardi's, awaiting him at the station. The Cardinal's nephew, a boy of eleven, had been for fifteen days ill of a malignant typhoid fever that resisted every remedy. His Eminence, having promised to use his influence with the Holy Father in favor of the society, Don Bosco, counselling a novena to Our Lady Help of Christians, blessed the boy, who was immediately cured. The Cardinal went to the Pope and narrated with enthusiasm what had occurred, earnestly recommending the Salesian Society to his Holiness who, wishing to see Don Bosco as soon as possible, sent his carriage for him. All opposition having been overcome, which the founder attributed to prayers to Our Lady, on the 19th of February the approbation of the society was sanctioned and the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars issued on March 1, 1869. On March 5 the founder, full of gratitude to God for this signal favor, was back at the Oratory, where he was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, and on the 7th kept for the first time the patronal feast of the new Society of St. Francis de Sales in the sanctuary of Mary Help of Christians. That evening, with edifying simplicity, like an affectionate

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father speaking to his children, he narrated to the Salesians of the Oratory the various vicissitudes passed through in obtaining the desired approval. In a circular addressed on the feast of the Assumption of that year, August 15, to the Salesians, he wrote: "We have a great undertaking in hand. Many souls are awaiting salvation through us; among these souls the first ought to be ours, then those of our associates and those of whatever Christian creed it may happen to us to be of any service. God is with us. Let us fit ourselves to correspond to the heavenly favors which have been conceded to us and which we hope may be granted to us in large measure in the future." Further opposition arose in the Roman Congregations before, in 1874, Pius IX. finally and definitely gave his approval to the Constitutions. The society then numbered 320 members and the boys under their care, 7000.

In a subsequent audience Pius IX., in a long colloquy on the Pious Society, told him that at the Vatican Council a Bishop had dwelt on the necessity of a religious society whose members should be bound (*vincolati*) in view of the Church and in that of the world should be free citizens. The Bishop of Parma was rejoiced to be able to say that it already existed and was that of the Salesians, an announcement which the Council received with applause; while the Bishop of Mondori was commissioned to report on it.

Another instance of the confidence reposed by the Pontiff in Don Bosco may here be quoted. When the Piedmontese troops entered and took possession of Rome, on September 20, 1870, various members of the Pontifical Curia advised the Pope to abandon the city and seek some safe refuge elsewhere. Pius IX. hesitated, though necessary preparations for the journey had been made. The prelates insisted. The Pope wished to take counsel with Don Bosco, assuring him that he would follow his advice. Those who were urging him then said: "Let us wait for Don Bosco's reply." The latter, after praying long, sent by hand his response conceived in this sense: "The Sentinel, the Angel of Israel, remains at his post and keeps guard over the Rock of God and the Sacred Ark." The Pope read it, revoked all the arrangements for his departure, and did not stir out of Rome; notwithstanding that for some time contrary opinions reached him. The authority for this statement is Cardinal Giovanni Cagliero, who was well informed of this fact. "What a service has not Don Bosco rendered to the Church and to Italy by this advice!" comments his biographer. Another signal service he rendered to the Church in Italy was, when more than sixty dioceses were vacant in 1871, and he wrote to the Minister Lanza, pointing out that, in accordance with the law of guarantees it was not in the interests of the Government to

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oppose the nomination of Bishops and offered his good offices with the Holy See; with the result that the Government desisted from its attempts to suppress several dioceses. At the Pope's request Don Bosco drew up the list of Bishops, of which His Holiness approved. More than forty sees were provided for in the Consistory of October 27, 1871, and in his allocution the Holy Father repeated substantially what Don Bosco had said to his brethren: "Did Jesus Christ ask permission of anyone when He sent the Apostles to preach? He only said to them this word *'Go!'* And they went."

The foundation of the second Order was foreshadowed by the Association of Devout Clients of Mary Help of Christians, canonically erected by Archbishop Riccardi, enriched with many indulgences by Pius IX. and then elevated to the rank of an Archconfraternity, to which Leo XIII. granted faculties of aggregating associates in all parts of the world. About ten years previously a priest, Don Domenico Pestarino, of Mornese, had asked for admission to the Salesian Society—but Don Bosco, while accepting him, wished him to remain in his own part of the country where, since December 8, 1855, he had founded a Union or Association of Daughters of Mary Immaculate, a kind of tertiary sisterhood who, while remaining in their homes, strove to attain Christian perfection by practicing the Gospel counsels. This Pious Union—approved March 20, 1857, by Mgr. Contratto, Bishop of Acqui—had already spread into other provinces of Italy. Don Pestarino remained in Mornese and in co-operation with Don Bosco, in 1864, laid the foundations of a college for youths. But that was not to be its work; it was to be the cradle of a new Institute which, along with the Salesian Society, was to be devoted to the salvation of souls. Addressing his Council in 1871, he said: "Many persons in authority have repeatedly exhorted me to do something also for young girls, some little good as by the grace of God we are doing for boys. If I were to yield to my own inclinations I would not undertake this kind of apostolate, but as I have been so often urged by persons worthy of every esteem, I would fear opposing a design of Providence if I did not take the matter into serious consideration. I propose it to you now, inviting you to reflect upon it in the presence of God, to weigh the pros and cons, to be able to come to some decision that will be for the greater glory of God and the greater advantage of souls. Therefore, during this month, let our prayers in common and in private be directed to this end—to obtain from the Lord the necessary lights in this important affair." At the close of the month he re-assembled them and asked them, one by, one, their opinions, beginning with Don Rua; all were unanimous in deeming it opportune that Don Bosco should make provision

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for the Christian education of young females, as he had done for boys. "Well," he concluded, "we may now hold it for certain to be the will of God that we should interest ourselves also in girls; and to come to something concrete. I propose that the house Don Pestarino lately opened in Mornese be destined to this work."

That very month, being in Rome, he submitted his new project to the Pope, who listened attentively and promised to give him his opinion at the next audience. When he next found himself in the Pontifical presence Pius IX. said to him: "I have thought over your design of founding an institute of female religious, and it seems to me for the greater glory of God and advantage of souls. I am of opinion, then, that it should have for its principal work to do for the instruction and education of girls what the members of the Society of St. Francis de Sales are doing for boys. As to its dependence, its dependence should be on you and your successors, just as the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul depend on the Lazarists.[6] In this sense draw up your Constitutions and begin the trial. What remains will be seen to afterwards."

On January 29, 1872, Don Pestarino assembled his little community of twenty-seven, who had for two years been leading the common life, and laid before them Don Bosco's project. They recited the *Veni Creator Spiritus* before a crucifix placed on a little table between two lighted candles, and then proceeded to the election of a superioress. At the first scrutiny Maria Mazzarello had an absolute majority—21 of the 27—and was declared elected. In her humility she begged to be dispensed, saying that while she thanked them all she did not believe herself capable of filling such an office. They insisted while she protested, unless constrained by obedience; ultimately the choice of the first superioress was left to Don Bosco. Meanwhile, Sister Maria Mazzarello only assumed the direction as Vicar until June 14, 1874, when, with the unanimous approval of the Sisterhood and of Don Bosco, she was formally elected Superioress-General. To the new nuns he gave the name of Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, because as he said a little later in moving language, he wished the institute to be a monument of lively gratitude to the Mother of God Incarnate for great and multiplied favors obtained. The ceremony of the clothing or investiture with the modest habit selected by the founder had previously taken place on August 5, 1872, feast of Our Lady of the Snow, when Mgr. Sciandra officiated and received their first tri-annual vows. After

[6] Called by foreigners Lazarists because the mother-house was in the Rue St. Lazaire, Paris; known in English-speaking countries as Vincentians.

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being scarcely five years in existence the sisterhood numbered 200, and they had twelve houses in Italy and France, sent the first religious to America, and opened a hospice for poor, abandoned girls at Villa Colon, near Montevideo. They are now everywhere the Salesian Fathers have established missions. The fervor aroused by the first expedition in the houses of the Pius Society was diffused among the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, especially in the mother house of Mornese. The humble and holy Superioress-General wrote to Don Cagliero that many wished to go to America, and repeated, "It is true that we are good-for-nothings, but, with the help of the Lord and with good will, I hope we shall succeed in doing something. Get me then summoned there soon. Oh! if the Lord should give us this grace! If we did nothing else but gain one soul for Him we should be sufficiently paid for all our sacrifice." This zealous nun died in 1881 at Nizza Monferrato. When visiting the French houses in the winter to revive among her daughters the spirit of piety and love of religious perfection, she contracted a fatal malady that ended her life at the age of forty-four. Endowed with special gifts for the direction of souls, she brought about in a short time such a development of the institute as surprised the founder himself. In the space of nine years the nuns numbered more than a hundred and were pursuing their good work in Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, Venetia, France and America. They are now established at Pallaskenny, near Limerick, in Ireland, where the Salesians have founded an agricultural college under the direction of Father Aloysius Sutherland, for several years rector of their school at Farnboro, Hants, England. The ordinary process for the cause of the beatification of Sister Maria Mazzarello has been completed in the Episcopal Curia of Acqui and the Acts sent to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Sister Catherine Daghero, already Vicar, was elected the second Superioress-General.

An important link between the two Orders was forged when Don Bosco founded the semi-lay organization, known as the Salesion Coöperators. We say *semi-lay,* because, though mainly composed of the laity, it also includes ecclesiastics. It was obviously suggested by and, to some extent, modelled upon the Third Orders instituted by St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic in the thirteenth century; but, in harmony with the freedom of action and modern spirit that permeates the Salesian Congregation, not so ascetical or aiming so high. Every reader of history knows what a profound and wide-reaching influence, both religious and social, the tertiary movement created by the founders of the Friars Minor and Friars Preachers exercised in every grade of society in mediæval Europe.

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The Salesian Coöperators have opportunely arisen in modern Europe in these days to fulfill a similar mission; when the forces of good need to be marshalled to combat the forces of evil; when Christian civilization is being sapped and undermined by a species of neo-paganism, the old Christian ideals being discarded; and when the social question in its various phases is so interwoven with problems affecting faith and morals, and causing such universal unrest.

Two things Don Bosco deemed most urgent were the multiplication of sacerdotal vocations and the banding together of the faithful for the carrying out of a plan of united action to meet the needs of the times. Having unfolded his views to the Holy Father and gained the support of several Bishops, he established the work of Mary Help of Christians for the vocations of adults to the ecclesiastical state and the Pious Union of Coöperators. In 1874, the latter was called the Christian Union; in 1875 the Association of Good Works; then Salesian Association; and finally, in 1876, Salesian Coöperators. He had long pondered on this development of his work. The fundamental design was not that of only helping the Salesians, but coöperating with the Church, with Bishops and the parochial clergy according to the spirit of the Salesian Society in beneficent works, in imparting catechetical instruction, in the education of poor boys and the like. "To help the Salesians," he said, "is only to help one of the many works existing in the Catholic Church. True, the Salesians will appeal to the Coöperators in their difficulties, but the Coöperators ought to be as well arms in the hands of Bishops and pastors for the good of the universal Church and more especially of the respective dioceses." In this sense he declared: "A time will come when the name of Salesian Coöperator will mean a true Christian."

On March 4, 1876, he petitioned the Pope to open the treasury of the Church by granting indulgences to those who were enrolled in the work of Mary Help of Christians or as Salesian Cooperators. The original programme not having specifically mentioned "coöperatrixes," Pius IX. said: "And why not aggregate to this work also coöperatrixes? No, No! Make no exclusion: put in also coöperatrixes. Women have always had the principal part in good works, in the Church itself, in the conversion of peoples. They are, too, by natural inclination, generous and enterprising in supporting good works, more than men. Excluding them, you would deprive yourself of the greatest of helps." Needless to add that the Pontiff's choice was taken, greatly to the benefit of the organization, which increased and multiplied not only in Italy, but in France, Austria, Poland and various other European States, as well as in

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many distant parts of the world, especially in America; so that at the founder's death there were about 80,000 Salesian Coöperators. A monthly publication, the *Salesian Bulletin,* printed at the headquarters of the Order in Turin, in Italian, French, Spanish, German, Polish, Portuguese, Hungarian (Magyar) Slovenian and English keeps the members *au courant* of all that is being done all over the world by Salesians for their mutual information and edification.[7] It has a circulation of 350,000.

Pius IX. not only had his name placed first on the roll of Cooperators, but exhorted many Cardinals and Bishops to join their ranks. "The Salesian Coöperators," he said, "are destined to achieve much for the good of the Church and of society. The very object of their work directed to the education and the amelioration of the conditions of the young, will make that work more and more esteemed as time goes on; therefore, I seem to see not only individuals but whole cities enrolled among the members. That is why I think so highly of them and have favored them so much." This great Pontiff, whose powerful patronage and protection was the mainstay of Don Bosco's work all through its struggles, its difficulties and its triumphs, in one of his last audiences, when he received him in his bedroom—as poorly furnished as that of some poor member of a Mendicant Order[8]—said to him these remarkable words: "Go, write to your sons and begin to say now, and always repeat that there is no doubt that it is the hand of God that guides your Congregation. Therefore there rests upon you a great responsibility, and you should correspond to such a grace. But I say to you, in the name of God, that if you correspond to the Divine assistance, if you promote the spirit of morality, and especially that of chastity, if this spirit remains in you, you will have coadjutors, coöperators, zealous ministers; you will see religious vocations multiplied a hundredfold, either through you or your Congregation, as well as in other religious orders, and also in the diocese that good clergy will not be wanting who will do much good. I believe I am unveiling to you a mystery. I am certain that this Congregation has been raised up in these times by Divine Providence to show forth the power of God; I am certain that God has willed to keep hidden until now an important secret, hidden for many cen-

[7] The conditions of membership are: To be not less than sixteen years of age; to be of good character as Catholics and citizens; to be in a position to promote the works of the Salesian Congregation either personally or through the medium of others by prayers, offerings or alms. Those desirous of joining should send their names and addresses to the Superior of any Salesian House or directly to the Rector, 32 Via Cottolengo, Turin, Italy.

[8] Don Bosco wrote to Don Berto: "The Holy Father is in bed, and his bed is as low and poor as that of our boys; he has no place on the ground to put his bare feet; the pavement all consists of bricks so worn and scraped that one has to be careful not to stumble."

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turies and from many other past Congregations. Your Congregation is new in the Church, because of a new kind, because it has arisen in these times in a way that it may be a religious and secular Order, that it may keep the vow of poverty and at the same time hold possessions, that participating of the world and the cloister its members may be religious and seculars, cloistered men and free citizens. The Lord manifests that in our days, and this I wish to disclose to you. The Congregation was instituted in order that in the world, according to the expression of the Holy Gospel *in maligno positus est,* it should give glory to God. It was instituted because it sees there is a way of giving to God that which is God's, to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, according to what Jesus Christ said in His time, 'Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's and to God that which is God's.' And I foretell to you, and you write it to your sons, that the Congregation will flourish, will miraculously extend, will last to future ages and will always find coadjutors and coöperators, to the end and so far as it will strive to promote the spirit of piety and religion, but especially of morality and chastity."

His successor in the Pontificate, the great Statesman-Pontiff, Leo XIII., now one of the historic figures in the retrospect of the Papacy, the Pope of the *Rerum novarum* encyclical, the charter of the working classes, fully shared the views of his predecessor regarding the Salesians and social action. His first interview with him was when he was Cardinal Camerlengo, and he asked permission to kiss his hand. "Who are you who approach with such authority?" asked His Eminence. "I am a poor priest," replied Don Bosco, "who now kisses your Eminence's hand, praying, with a firm hope that in a few days I may kiss your sacred feet." "Take care what you are doing; I forbid you to pray for what you say." "You cannot prohibit me from asking from God what pleases Him." "If you pray in this sense, I threaten you with censures." "Up to this you have not authority to inflict censures; when you have I shall know how to respect it." "But who are you who speak to me so authoritatively?" "I am Don Bosco." *"Per carita,* be silent about this. It is a time for working, not jesting."

As he predicted, on the 20th of February, 1878, about fourteen days after the death of Pius IX., Cardinal Gioachino Pecci, Archbishop of Perugia, was elected Pope, assuming the name of Leo XIII. With the frankness and boldness characteristic of saintly and privileged souls Don Bosco prefaced his first audience by addressing to the new Pope a letter on the most pressing needs of the Church in the same strain as, he observed, he sometimes communicated things to Pius IX., which he judged came from the Lord. When he

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begged His Holiness to allow his name to be inscribed among the Coöperators, as Pius and many Cardinals had done, and that it was an association promoted by his immediate predecessor, the Pope hastened to say: "That is enough, in that sense I am not only a Coöperator but an operator, both as Pontiff and as one of the faithful. Undoubtedly I will promote all institutions that have as their aim the good of society, above all those that take care of erring youths. I am persuaded that there is no ministry more noble than that of striving to diminish the number of the disorderly by making them honest citizens and good Christians."

As he was about to retire, he asked the Pope for a word of advice to communicate to those under his charge. "Tell all who belong to your Congregation," replied the Pontiff, "never to be unmindful of the great benefit God has done them in calling them to it, wherein they can do great good to themselves and to their neighbor. The foundation of this institute, the pupils that are receiving a Christian education in the various houses, the industrial schools, the churches opened for worship, the missions that have already produced satisfactory fruit, and all this done without material possessions, certainly show that it has the blessing of the Lord. I believe that those who repudiate miracles, if they would explain how a poor priest could give food to 20,000 boys with all the other accessories, I believe they would be compelled to say: *Digitus Dei est hic*. Let the Salesians, however, be grateful for this mercy of the Lord, but show their gratitude by the exact observance of the rules. Let the youth whom Divine Providence has confided to you courageously combat that formidable enemy of souls, human respect; let them be instructed in the faith, taught to know the authority of the Holy See and of the Roman Pontiff, that it is the centre of truth. Let them learn in time to know and love Holy Mother Church, the Infallible Teacher, the anchor of salvation, to which it is necessary that all live united in order to be saved. The Coöperators have before them a vast field in which to labor and do good. They are living in the world, but are acquiring the merits of those who live in community. There is no work more meritorious in the eyes of God than to coöperate in the salvation of souls. The mission of the Salesian Coöperators, however, is to sanctify their families by good example, by the fulfillment of their religious duties, their solicitude to help the Salesians in their undertakings in matters that it is not convenient should be done by a religious. Remind them of the Gospel dictum that earthly possessions are thorns and that it is for the possessors to make good use of them, so that at the moment of death they may become odoriferous flowers with which the angels may weave a heavenly crown. Remind the

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novices that they are precious plants enclosed in a garden. Alas! if the hedge is broken down, robbers will enter, steal the few fruits they see, spoil the plants, ruin everything. Then to the novices, the hopes of the Salesian Congregation, is to be recommended retirement and the cultivation of those virtues they should practice all their lives."

Having been told that there were then twelve houses and churches, that sixty missioners had been sent out from Europe, that one of them had died at his post, and that, counting priests and novices there were in all about a hundred, the Pope observed: "The missioner, who goes to give his life for the Faith, has a right to a special reward. I consider missioners as so many envoys of the Church, sent to carry civilization and religion to distant countries. They are charged to preserve the faith in regions where it is already preached and to propagate it among savages. The fatigues of their journeyings, the sufferings and deprivations which they must certainly undergo in diverse climates among unknown, ignorant and often dangerous men; the privations in food, rest and in other ways, are all things that render the missioner well-deserving of religion and civil society. Tell them that I thank them for the service they are rendering to the Church, that I love and esteem them, pray God that He preserve them in His grace, that He save them from moral dangers and make their labors fruitful. I bless them from my heart. But do not fail to impress upon them to keep a strict watch over themselves! The teachings they give to young people are well; but the light of works, of an exemplary life ought to be like a light that enlightens the minds and hearts of all who admire their works or listen to their discourses. When you select those who are to go on the mission, prefer always those who have been already well exercised in virtue. These things are the foundation of Catholic missions."

Both Pontiffs, as well as distinguished ecclesiastical and lay personages, had the highest esteem and veneration for Don Bosco. Pius IX. called him "the treasure of Italy," and Leo did not hesitate to emphatically declare him on several occasions to be "the Saint, the Man of Providence." The King and Queen of Italy and other royalties loved to converse with him and help him in his works. Victor Emmanuel[9] recognized his sanctity; even the very enemies of the Church proclaimed him, "the saint, the wonder-worker of Valdocco."

[9] Speaking of him in the presence of several persons in Genoa, the King said: "Indeed, Monsignor Don Bosco is truly a saint." They never met. The King's adjutant, General d'Angrogna, rode up to the Oratory one morning with another rider. Don Bosco was out. It was not known until afterwards that the second rider was the King.

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Leo XIII. would not let him kneel in his presence and seated him by his side in one of his long private audiences. Don Bosco's health failing, the Pope said to him: "It is absolutely necessary you should recover your health and not neglect the necessary means of sustaining and recuperating your strength. Be careful of yourself, without too much scrupulosity. Spare yourself more before you get worn out. Make the others work. It is necessary you should live longer, because your life does not belong to yourself, but belongs to the Church, belongs to the Congregation you have founded and which has much need of you to obtain those fruits that Divine Providence demands of it. You, Don Bosco, are necessary. Your work has increased and extended. Italy, France, Spain, America, the very savages of Patagonia, claim your existence. You have sons who will follow in your spirit, but they will be always in the second line after you. That you cannot engage in much work at present is not a great matter. Your life, your existence, your counsel are all necessary things, and that I and your friends desire earnestly, because you cannot complete the works you have begun. If I were ill, I am certain you would do as much as you could for the preservation of my life. Now I wish you would do for yourself what you would do for me. Henceforth take every care of it, seek all the necessary means for your preservation. I will it! Do you understand? I command it; it is the Holy Father who wishes it and the Pope who commands it; the Church needs your life!" The kindly old Pope—they were both then aged—who granted him every favor and privilege he asked, said affectionately: "I love you, I love you, I love you! I am all for the Salesians. I am the first among Cooperators! Whoever is your enemy is the enemy of God! I would fear to go against you! You in fact with means so small are doing a colossal work. You, not even you, know the extent of your mission, and the good it is to do the whole Church! Your mission is to make the world see that one can be a good Catholic and at the same time a good and honest citizen; that one can do great good to the poor and abandoned youth at all times without clashing with political novelties, but remaining nevertheless a good Catholic. The Pope, the Church, the whole world are thinking of you, of your Congregation and admire you. The world either loves you or fears you. It is not you but God who works in your Congregation. Its wonderful increase, the good it is doing, are not to be ascribed to human causes. God Himself guides, sustains, carries on your Congregation. Tell it, write it, preach it! This is the secret of your being able to overcome every obstacle and every enemy."

When he heard there were 208 novices he said it was marvellous; and, reverting to the Coöperators he repeated: "I myself intend

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to be called not only Coöperator, but operator, because Popes ought not to stand apart from these beneficient works. If we wish to promote social well-being, there is no other means than to give a good education to those poor boys who at present wander through our streets. They will shortly form the masses, and if they be well taught we shall have a well ordered and good society; if ill, society will be in a bad state, and sons in their manhood will have to lament the bad education given them by their fathers, if they should not everlastingly curse their memory."

When Don Lemoyne, who had been appointed secretary to Don Bosco, was presented, the Pope in a solemn manner impressed upon him the duty of taking special care of the founder's health, saying: "You ought to be his support and you are responsible for the life of your superior. And I wish it, the Holy Father wills it; it is the Pope who wills it. Surround him with every care, be his consolation. What an honor is yours! And for you, Salesians, the mission that God gives you is a great honor, and a great obligation to which you should correspond; tell all your brethren that they are the consolation of this poor old man!"

Speaking of the missions, when he was told that the missioners had already baptized about 15,000 savages, Leo XIII. exclaimed: "Fifteen thousand savages! It is a great number, and I am grateful for so many souls. It is a magnificent thing to save souls, and the Pope cannot but rejoice at it."

Don Bosco made his last journey to Rome in 1887. It was also the last year of his life; he knew he was nearing his end. Wholeheartedly devoted to the Church, to the Papacy, to the Supreme Pontificate, his thoughts, his faith, his affections drew him Romewards, as the thoughts of the Israelites under the Old Dispensation turned towards Jerusalem when they "lifted up their hands to the holy places." Pope and priest met each other for the last time on this earth. Leo XIII. greeted him, smiling, and when Mgr. Della Volpe, at his instance, brought a chair for Don Bosco—for he would not let him kneel—and it was placed at a certain distance, the Pope drew it nearer to himself, and, seizing his hand, pressed it warmly. "Oh, dear Don Bosco," he asked, "how are you? . . . how are you?" and, without giving him time to answer, rose quickly. "Don Bosco," he pursued, "perhaps you are cold, is it not so?" And he went to his bed and removed from it the coverlet. "See," he continued, "this beautiful ermine coverlet which was presented to me to-day for my sacerdotal jubilee, I wish you to be the first to use it." And wrapping it round Don Bosco's knees, he again took him by the hand and earnestly entered into conversation. Don Bosco was much moved by this condescension. "I am an old man, Holy

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Father," he said. "I am seventy-two; and it is my last journey, and the end of all things for me. Before dying, I wished to again see your Holiness' countenance and to receive your blessing. I have been heard, and nothing now remains for me but to chant, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace!*" "I am six years older than you," the Pope observed, "and count upon living longer; if you don't hear that Leo XIII. is dead, make your mind easy." Having in view the future of the Salesian Congregation, His Holiness desired him to impress upon its members specially obedience and the conservation of Don Bosco's maxims and traditions; telling the founder and his Vicar not to be so solicitous about the number of the Salesians as of the holiness of those they already had. "It is not the number that increases the glory of God," said the Pope, "it is virtue and the holiness of the members. Wherefore be very cautious and rigorous in accepting new members of the institute; take care above all that they are of proved morality."

As he was leaving the Vatican a group of the Swiss guards stood at attention and gave him the military salute. "But I am not in the least a king," he said, smiling, "I am a poor priest, quite bent, and of no account." When on May 16 he was celebrating the Holy Sacrifice at the altar of Mary Help of Christians in the new Church of the Sacred Heart, consecrated on the 13th by the Cardinal Vicar, more than fifteen times he burst into tears and strove to finish the Mass. Don Viglietti, who assisted him, had, from time to time, to distract him from this strong emotion. After Mass, the congregation, touched by his piety and suffering aspect, gathered around him, kissing his vestments and hands: and when they asked his blessing, he blessed them with a weak and trembling voice, and then, again giving way to tears, covered his face with both his hands and was led away. Asked why he was moved at the altar he said: "I had so vividly before my eyes the scene when between nine and ten years old I dreamt of the Pious Society, and saw and heard so well my mother and my brothers asking me about the dream, that I could not go on with the Holy Sacrifice."

It was the fulfillment of that first "dream" and the reflections it inspired that moved him to tears and recalled memories of the past. "In time you shall understand everything," the Blessed Virgin had said to him; and the humble shepherd of Bacchi, after sixty-two years, now clearly perceived how the mission which had been intimated to him in his childhood by our Lord and His Blessed Mother had had, in the erection of the Church of the Sacred Heart in the centre of Christendom at the instance of the Vicar of Christ,

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its solemn seal and sanction. His personal work was ended; his departure for eternity was, therefore, imminent.

While they were celebrating the feast of Mary Help of Christians, a dying infant was brought to him; he blessed it, urging the parents to put their trust in Our Lady. Before they left the church they turned back, their features beaming with gladness, and made him an offering for the favor received. The enthusiasm of the people was such that he had to wait for an hour before he could leave, he was so besieged by thousands of persons who wanted to kiss his hand, speak a word to him, or get his blessing. A little boy, who had entered the church with crutches, was speedily seen to leave it carrying them in his hand, and a paralytic was completely cured. It was the last feast of Mary Help of Christians at which Don Bosco assisted.

At that time, early in June, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him again in a "dream" to reprove him for not having published a booklet teaching the wealthy how they ought to make use of wealth. Don Bosco's doctrine on this point was considered too rigorous, and he prudently had kept silence. Now he was ordered to admonish the rich against the bad use of wealth. He communicated this to his brethren and Don Francesia was charged with putting it into execution, whereupon was issued a booklet with the title: "Heaven Opened to the Rich Through the Medium of Alms."

For a long time Don Bosco knew the time of his death and that he would be buried at Valsalice. On October 20 he went to Foglizzo Canavese, where he invested with the clerical habit ninety-four aspirants to membership in the Pious Society. It was the last journey he made out of Turin. On his return he said to Don Rua: "In another year it will be your turn to perform this function, for I will be here no longer."

He gradually became weaker. For two months he had to lean on the arms of his brethren in order to move a step. Speaking to Don Berto of the Oratory boys, he said: "As long as there remains in me a thread of life, I will devote it all to their good and their spiritual and temporal advantage." It was plain to those who were present at his Mass that the end was near. He celebrated with great difficulty and in a very low voice in the little chapel near his room, being often interrupted by deep emotion. He said Mass for the last time on the 4th of December, 1887. The next day he heard one and received Communion, bursting into tears at the words *"Ecce Agnus Dei."* His thoughts reverting to the Coöperators, he dictated for their guidance some maxims. It was to them he addressed the beautiful letter known as his Last Testament, in which he said: "I feel that the end of my life is drawing near, but before

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I depart from you forever, there is a debt I must pay you, and so satisfy a deep craving of my heart. It is a debt of immense gratitude for all that you have done in assisting me in the works I have undertaken on behalf of the young, so that they may be brought up as good Christians, useful to themselves and to society, and so that they may gain their eternal destiny. Without your charity little or nothing could have been accomplished; but with it and the grace of God, we have been able to wipe away many a tear and save many a soul; it has enabled us to gather into homes and schools thousands of the young who would have otherwise been desolate, and to provide for their future. With the help of your charity we have established missions in the farthest confines of the earth, in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, and sent out hundreds of evangelical laborers to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord. Through your generosity again our printing-presses have sent out millions of copies of good books[10] in defense of the truth, to promote piety, and to support good morals. Through your charity we have built many churches and chapels in which from generation to generation there will be sung the praises of God and of His Blessed Mother, and by means of which great numbers of souls will be saved."

As Mgr. Cagliero was returning from America he was saved, as it were by a miracle, from death in a fall at the foot of the Cordilleras, when he heard an interior voice saying: "Go to Turin to assist at the last moments of Don Bosco." Some distinguished people from Chile who visited him, said: "We are praying hard to the Lord that he may free you from your ailments and preserve you still longer." "I wish to go soon to Heaven, where I can do better for our Pious Society and my sons and protect them," he replied. "Here I can do nothing more for them." To the cleric Festa he said: "Nothing remains for me now but to make a good end;" repeating the words with emphasis. The gravity of his state having become more accentuated, he said to Mgr. Cagliero on the 23d of December: "Have you kept well before your mind the reason

[10] He was himself a voluminous writer. In 1851 he began a universal "History of the Church," under the form of biographies of the Popes, regarding them as the very mainsprings of its life and action and the targets for the attacks of hostile writers. He worked at it for ten years, but his absorbing occupations prevented the issue of more than three volumes, comprising the Popes of the first three centuries. He also wrote a "History of Italy" for the use of schools; published an expurgated edition of the chief Latin classics, being strongly averse to literary education being based too much on ancient writers whose maxims and opinions were purely pagan, and began the publication of "Latin Christian Classics," in promotion of that reform in education and teaching without which, he held, we could never have the young student purely and entirely Catholic. The Minister of Education awarded a prize of a thousand francs to his "History of Italy." The "Catholic Readings" he commenced in 1853 are still continued. "The Catholic in the Midst of the World," issued in 1882, was a reprint from the "Readings."

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why the Holy Father ought to protect our missions? You should tell the Holy Father what until now was kept as a secret: the Pious Society and the Salesians have as their special object to sustain the authority of the Holy See, wherever they find themselves, wherever they are laboring. You shall go, protected by the Pope, into Africa; traverse it . . . go to Asia, Tartary . . . and elsewhere. Have faith." To Cardinal Alimonda he said: "I have always done all that I could. May the holy will of God be done in me!" "Few could say that at the point of death," observed the Cardinal. "Difficult times, Eminence, I have passed through difficult times," said Don Bosco. "What humiliations and repulses he had to bear for ten years!" comments his biographer. "We have seen him weep when it appeared that once more hopes he cherished were to vanish, and it was then we heard him exclaim: 'If I had known at first that it would cost so many griefs, fatigues, oppositions and contradictions to found a religious society, perhaps I would not have had the courage to set about the work!'"[11] "But, Don Giovanni," said Cardinal Alimonda, "you ought not to fear death, you have so often recommended others to be prepared." "I have said it to others," he humbly answered, "now I have need that others should say it to me." On Christmas Eve he received the Viaticum with great devotion. Handing his purse to Don Viglietti, he said: "I don't think there is anything in it, but in case there should be any money, give it to Don Rua. I wish to die in a way that it can be said: Don Bosco died without a penny in his pocket!"

Extended on the cross of suffering, he forgot his pains to think only of saving his own and others' souls. To Mgr. Cagliero he said: "I only ask one thing of the Lord, that I may save my poor soul! Recommend all the Salesians to work with zeal and ardor. Work, work! Always exert yourself indefatigably to save souls!" It was his constant exhortation during these closing hours of a life spent in the service of God and the pepole. "Save souls, save souls!" he repeated, "it now devolves on you; I can no longer do anything. Oh, how many souls Mary Help of Christians will save by means of the Salesians!"

His death was a public event. All eyes were turned towards the room where the dying priest lay, waiting for the "one clear call." The daily papers published every medical bulletin; crowds besieged the Oratory asking eagerly for information; telegrams were continually received from the correspondents of Italian and foreign papers and from the superiors of Salesian houses; public and private prayers, triduums and novenas were offered up in Italy, France, Spain and other countries and in many monasteries, convents and

[11] Lemoyne, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 602.

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religious communities for his recovery; while the brethren and boys in the Oratory succeeded one another, day and night, praying for the same intention before the Blessed Sacrament, lights being kept continually burning before the altar of Mary Help of Christians. In many families of Coöperators they wept or offered their lives for his restoration to health, twelve Oratory boys having done the same. All hope was not given up. Don Alfera said to him: "It is the third time, Don Bosco, that you have approached the threshold of eternity, and then came back through the prayers of your sons. I am certain this will happen again this time." The servant of God answered: "This time I shall not return."

All Rome—the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, nobles, everybody—was anxious about the revered invalid in Turin. There was an amelioration when, after being twenty-one days in bed, almost partaking of no nourishment, and with a mind weakened by debility, he suddenly felt a return of strength as if he was capable of getting up, writing and working. "I feel myself at this moment in health as if I was never ill," he said. To one who asked him how he was, he answered: *"Quod Deus imperio, tu, prece, Virgo, potes.* Certainly my time is not yet come; it may be shortly, not now." This was attributed to the prayers to Our Lady Help of Christians, which went up from all parts of the world, and was regarded as a signal favor, because it enabled him to regulate various affairs and lay down rules for the management of the Oratory and other things. The physicians were astounded at his activity and mental lucidity. This lasted until the 20th of January, 1888, when he relapsed into his previous condition, and sometimes utterance failed him. Don Sala, to raise his spirits, said to him: "Don Bosco will now find contentment in the thought of having, at the price of many strivings and labors, succeeded in founding and establishing the Salesian Society and extending his institutes everywhere." "Yes," he replied, "what I have done I have done with the help of the Lord . . . and if I could do more . . . but my sons will do it," and then, after regaining a little more breath, he added: "Our Pious Society is guided by God and protected by Mary Help of Christians."

On the 28th of January, after receiving Communion, he said in an undertone: "And presently the end!" and to Don Bonetti: "Tell the boys I await them all in Paradise!" On the morning of the 30th Mgr. Cagliero (now Cardinal) said the Litany for the agonizing, many Salesians being present. The doctors having said that at night or at dawn on the next day he would die, all the brethren, over a hundred, at their request, were permitted to enter and kiss his hand, one by one—the hand so often raised to bless them; then those living in the neighboring colleges, the students, and the

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big working boys. All the night he lay motionless on his little bed, breathing with difficulty. Between one and two in the morning he entered into his agony, when Don Rua said the prayers for the dying. In a moment the room was filled with kneeling priests, clerics, and laity. At three a dispatch was received from Rome carrying the Apostolic blessing. While the bell of Maria Ausiliatrice sounded the *Ave Maria,* and Don Bonetti was whispering ejaculations into the ear of the dying priest, the rattles ceased. . . . the breathing for some instants became tranquil . . . and then stopped. Don Bosco was dead!

He was nearly mid-way in his seventy-third year. After Mgr. Cagliero had intoned the *Subvenite sancti Dei* and the *De profundis* was recited with sobbing voices, Don Rua, turning towards his brethren, said in a voice broken with emotion: "We are doubly orphans. But let us console ourselves. If we have lost a father on earth, we have gained a protector in Heaven. And let us show ourselves worthy of him, following his holy example." That morning—it was January 31, 1888—various persons were favored with apparitions of his soul and succored in their sufferings. At Grado, an ecstatica saw his soul going into Heaven, escorted with much rejoicing, as she had seen no other soul since the day, ten years before that she had seen the soul of Pius IX., similarly greeted on his entrance into Paradise. Another nun, a member of a family very devoted to Don Bosco, was in a painful state, which deprived her of rest and prevented her from doing good. Having heard he was dying, she said to herself: "My mother will go and find him and recommend me to his prayers." That morning, while the whole community were in the church, after a restless night she slept and shortly after heard some one say: "Oh! Sister Philomena, what is the matter?" "It was Don Bosco standing upright at the foot of my bed," she wrote. "He carried his customary short cloak on his arm, held his cap in his right hand, and was as young, cheerful and vivacious as exactly I had many times seen him in our house in the years of my childhood. 'Oh, Don Bosco,' I said, 'has my mother spoken to you about me? I am so disgusted and feel so weak, not being able to do any good.' 'I know your mother was to come, but could not,' replied Don Bosco. 'See, when I was in this world, I could only do but little good for her and for her family; but now that I am in Paradise, I can do much more, and I wish to do now what I could not then, because I had so much to do for my boys.'" At these words the nun begged him to intercede with God for her cure; and Don Bosco replied: "Rise now, God is with you." And she arose, went into the church to thank the Lord; and on that

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very day she was notified of the precious death of the servant of God.

Was it not Lacordaire who said that there are deaths that exhale the perfume of immortality? Such was Don Bosco's. After the first obsequies in the Church of St. Frances de Sales, when a hundred thousand persons thronged the piazza and the adjacent streets and two hundred priests and forty canons and Bishops joined in the funeral procession, eight Salesian priests carrying the coffined remains on their shoulders, people exclaimed, "What a beautiful feast!" It was really more a feast than a funeral; the sentiment of joy extinguishing that of grief, the sense of triumph repressing tears; for it marked the triumphal ending of a life distinguished by memorable achievements. Eloquent tongues spoke his panegyric. When he was borne to his last resting place at Valsalice, where they have erected as a mausoleum a cruciform chapel under the invocation *"O Crux, ave, spes unica."* Mgr. Cagliero, the first Salesian Bishop and Cardinal, said: "Just as the first Christians were encouraged to fight for the Faith to suffer and to die for Jesus Christ and were fortified at the tombs of the martyrs, as St. Philip Neri learned to become the Apostle of Rome by often visiting the Catacombs, so you, so we, so all shall come often to acquire at this tomb that fortitude which in his hardest trials sustained Don Bosco in laboring for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and to rekindle within us that fire of charity which always inflamed his breast and made him the apostle not only of Turin, of Piedmont and of Italy, but of the most distant regions of the earth." Cardinal Alimonda, having referred to the obituary in the London *Times,* which called him "the Vincent de Paul of our times," said both St. Francis de Sales, whom he had taken as his model and whose name he gave to his society, and St. Vincent de Paul were reflected in him, and he likened these three heroes in the spiritual contest of divine love to the three children cast into the fire, who with one voice praised, glorified and blessed the Lord in the furnace. Mgr. Manacorda, speaking at the function in the Church of the Sacred Heart in Rome, said in all his life and in all his acts he showed the incontestable characteristics of an extraordinary mission, according to the designs of Divine Providence. The most illustrious ecclesiastical dignitaries were unanimous in speaking of him as a soul divinely privileged, a signal benefactor of humanity, a splendid glory for religion, an emulator of St. Vincent de Paul, Girolamo Emiliani, Joseph Calsanctius, and John Baptist de La Salle. Mgr. Giacome Català y Albosa, Bishop of Barcelona, who proclaimed him the glory of humanity, of the priesthood, of the Church and of all the religious orders, concluded an eloquent tribute

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with the words: "To-day we have honored the memory of a great man; to-morrow we will raise a church to a great saint." The Bishop of Pampeluna went so far as to say that it was not lawful to doubt the complete felicity of Don Bosco in Heaven. Leo XIII., in the first audience given to Don Rua, said: "You are the successor of Don Bosco. I condole with you on the loss you have sustained, but I rejoice because Don Bosco was a saint, and will not fail to assist you from Heaven." Told that in his last illness he had recommended his brethren always to uphold the authority of the Pope and promote respect and obedience to the Church and its Visible Head, the Pontiff observed: "By that it is seen that your Don Bosco was a saint, like in that respect to St. Francis of Assisi who, when he came to die, warmly recommended his religious to be always sons devoted to the Roman Church and its Head." Speaking to the Cardinal-Vicar he repeated: "Don Bosco is a saint;" and then added: "I regret being old, not to be able to coöperate in his beatification." To Mgr. Cagliero he said: "You have certainly had a great loss, losing your Father and Founder; but he lives in Heaven and will be able to help you better, because his works are the works of a saint, his virtues were the virtues of a saint, and his intercession with God will, therefore, be equal to that of the saints."

The many marvellous favors obtained through his prayers during his life were multiplied after his death. He soon became the object of a cultus that extended all over the world. The Ordinary Process on his sanctity, life, virtues and miracles was begun in the Archiepiscopal Curia of Turin on June 4, 1890, and ended on April 1, 1897, after 562 deliberations. The Acts were remitted on April 11 to the Congregation of Rites which, after examining them —Cardinal Vives y Tuto being the Relator—declared, in the sitting of July 23, 1907, that the Cause of Beatification might be introduced. The decision being referred to Pius X. on the day following, His Holiness ratified the decree of the Sacred Congregation and signed with his own hand "the Commission for the introduction of the Cause of the Venerable Servant of God, Giovanni Bosco, Priest, Founder of the Salesian Pious Society." The day is anxiously awaited when the heroicity of his virtues and the approbation of the miracles wrought through his intercession being declared the Vicar of Christ will raise Don Bosco to the honors of the Church's altars.

At the close of the Apostolic Process on the virtues and miracles *in specie*, on October 13, 1917, was made the canonical recognition of the remains, when the body was found in course of gradual mummification. "Whoever was fortunate to see him alive and to see him then," says Don Lemoyne, "perfectly entire and with the

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lineaments unaltered, would think he was again in his presence. Only the black color, the open mouth and the hollow sockets without those eyes that had often smiled on so many boys, said clearly they were the frail remains abandoned by the great soul of the best-loved Father. What memories were awakened in seeing again, still perfectly preserved, those priestly hands that were so often raised in blessing, that innumerable troops of boys and adults had covered with kisses, that had labored so much for the glory of God and the salvation of souls."[12]

Don Bosco has found in Don Lemoyne a worthy biographer. He has given us a full and faithful record of the life and works of one of the most remarkable men that the Catholic Church—*magna virum parens*—has produced in modern times. He was preëminently the man of Providence of the nineteenth century. A man of his time, fully abreast of the age, he was the initiator of a new departure in the spheres of labor assigned to the religious orders and congregations. An educationist *hors ligne,* he developed a system of the teaching and training of youth which, judged by its very successful results, was a masterpiece. His many-sided life is suggestive of practical reflections on many points, which must set any intelligent reader thinking. These and other features are brought out prominently in Don Lemoyne's two valuable volumes which comprise 1,471 pages of closely-printed matter, copiously illustrated. Only the chief events of his well-filled life are here touched upon; the reader who would wish to know more of it must be referred to his biography, which could not have been entrusted to more capable hands or better done. It is a thoroughly satisfactory book; a perfect portrayal of the man and of the times in which he played so important a part.

[12] Biog., Vol. II., Chapter XV., p. 711.

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EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA

II

IN THE January, 1921, issue of the QUARTERLY, I endeavored to give a brief account of the earliest Christian missions in China. I dwelt more especially on the labors of the first Jesuit and Lazarist missionaries. In this paper I propose, as far as the material in my possession will admit, to call attention to the work of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and the fathers of the Missions Étrangères.

The field is so vast that it seems almost impossible to give an idea of the marvelous undertakings of the Christian pioneers in a territory that includes China proper, with its dependencies, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang, and embraces an area larger than the entire continent of Europe, with a population of about 400,000,000, or about one-fourth of that of the entire globe.

The Franciscans were early in the missionary field, for we find that in the thirteenth century Pope Innocent IV. appealed to the head of that Order for volunteers for the Chinese mission. In response to this appeal, Father Giovanni de Plan Caprini and Father Stefano, of Bohemia, left Lyons in 1245. Father Caprini, after years of exhaustive labor, became Archbishop of Antivari.

In 1290 we find another valiant Italian Franciscan, Father Giovanni di Monte Corvino, engaged in evangelizing the Chinese. During the reign of Kou-Bi-Lâi, Pope Nicholas IV., on learning of the favorable disposition of several Tartar princes and of the Emperor himself toward the Christian religion, sent the Franciscan, Father Monte Corvino, as a legate to Tartary, with pontifical letters recommending him to the authorities. This distinguished missionary was a native of Monte Corvino (near Naples), from which town he took his name.

Father Giovanni was well received by the Emperor, to whom he presented his credentials and a letter from the Pope exhorting the Emperor to embrace Christianity, but the missionary tells us that the Emperor was "too deeply imbued in his idolatry" to hear the Pope's exhortation. Nevertheless, he permitted the missionary to settle at Pekin and to exercise his ministry in that city.

We have, in a former article, referred to the solicitude felt by Pope Clement V. regarding these missions, and how he provided for them. Suffice it to add that from this time on, and during the fourteenth century, until the fall of the Tartar-Mongolian dynasty of the Yuens, the relations between the Pope and the Emperor were

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such as to inspire the hope that China was in a fair way to become Christian. Father di Monte Corvino died in 1330.

At the time of the death of this distinguished missionary, Christianity in Cathay (China) may be said to have been in a most prosperous condition. There was, besides the Archbishop of Kai-Bi-Liak, a Bishop at Gih-Ba-Liak, in Western Mongolia, the land of the "priest Jean," another Za Toun, in Fo-Kien. The number of Catholics at Kan-Ba-Liek (Pekin) was estimated at about 30,000, with two Franciscan churches and monasteries, one of which was in close proximity to the Emperor's palace.

The two successors of the zealous Monte Corvino were Franciscans, Father Nicholas, in 1833, and Guglielmo de Prato, in 1370. They became Archbishops, with jurisdiction over all the missions of Cathay.

The famous invasion of Timur, the Tartar (Tamerlane), rendered all intercourse between Europe and the Far East impossible, so, it came to pass, that this region passed out of men's minds, so that in the fifteenth century, the savants of Europe began to doubt the very existence of the celebrated land of Cathay (Northern China), so lauded by Marco Polo and the missionaries of his day.

The fact is that so many persecutions of Christians had broken out, so many of the Christian Chinese had apostatized and many of them only dared to practice their religion under cover, and thus escape persecution at the hands of their enemies.[1]

The poor province of Chan-Si, where the Franciscans had taken refuge from persecution, was sorely tried, as it lay in the way traveled by hostile and persecuting soldiers, but the zealous Italian Franciscans, in spite of all this, succeeded in making converts beyond the Great Wall, and by gentleness and perseverance succeeded in preaching the Gospel to the pagans in the vicinity.

The sons of St. Francis have done wonderful work in all parts of the world as self-sacrificing missionaries. Their labors in China, though marked with the blood of martyrs in many cases, are to be seen to-day, in the number of churches, monasteries, and growing missions. The purpose of this paper is to deal with beginnings only. We leave the triumphs of later centuries to be described by later and more competent historians.

The Dominican Fathers entered China at a very early period. It is said that Marco Polo had two of these Fathers with him when he visited the Celestial Empire in 1275, but there is no record of their having attempted to establish any missions at this time, probably because conditions did not warrant it.

We know that Father Gaspar de la Cruz, as the Spanish his-

[1] Trigault: "De Sacra Expeditione," anno 1615.

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torians call him, after preaching in Cambodia, went to China and preached the Christian Gospel with great success. As St. Boniface had done centuries before when evangelizing Germany, Father de la Cruz overturned the Chinese idols in one of their temples to prove to them that their gods were impotent. The infuriated Mandarins had long entertained the idea of putting him to death, but for some reason or other, concluded to banish him from the empire. Father de la Cruz managed to reach Ormuz, in Persia, where he resumed his missionary labors with great success and where he made a large number of converts. Worn out by his arduous labors and continuous persecution, he returned to Lisbon, where he died while engaged in numerous works of charity. He was a native of Evora, in Portugal. King Sebastian, who appreciated the worth of the good misssionary, had recommended him to the Holy See for the Bishopric of Macao, but God had reserved him for a higher destiny.

Father de la Cruz was followed by Father Juan de Castro, Prior of Santa Rosario, in Filipinas, and Father Miguel de Benavides, who spent a short time in China, preaching the Gospel and ministering to their people as best they could. Father Benavides had a good knowledge of the Chinese language, and was thus able on his arrival in China to begin his apostolic labors, in spite of the threatening persecution. The good father was, nevertheless, obliged to undergo a painful imprisonment at Hay-Tcheng. When brought before their judges they were accused of being spies of the King of Spain. They succeeded in convincing the Mandarins that their only object was the salvation of souls and the preaching of the Gospel. They were finally compelled to return to Manila.

Father Bartolomeo Lopez, with two confrères, reached China in 1587, and established a convent of their Order at Macao for the use of their missions. After an interval of some years (1631), the Dominicans were represented in China by Father Angelo Coqui, in the Province of Fo-Kien. When the persecution of 1664 broke out, the Dominicans had churches in five towns, three boroughs, and other villages in the provinces of Tonkin, Tche-Kiang and Kouang-Tung.

When the Christians were deprived of the European missionaries, in 1628, during a terrible persecution, they were consoled by visits by Father Gregorio Lou (Spanish Lopez), a native Dominican priest, who later on became the first native Chinese Bishop. The zeal displayed by this devoted convert, caused him to be selected by Pope Innocent XI., a few years later (1679), as the successor

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of Monsignor Cotolendi, as Vicar Apostolic of Nankin with the title of Bishop of Basilea. He died in 1687.

Father Juan Bautista Morales, O. P., arrived in China in 1638. After a careful investigation of affairs in that country, he went to Rome and reported the result of his investigation to Pope Urban VIII., who sustained him in the stand he had taken on the questions then agitating the Christian missions in China.

Father Albert Sciffoni, O. P., arrived at Su-Tchuen in 1745, a time of persecution, and in a letter to Father Verthamon, a priest of the Missions Étrangères, he expressed the deepest anxiety as to what might happen, and he prudently sought refuge, for a time, at least, away from Hia-Sea-Hiang. The governor of that district came, in person, directly to the church and examined the Christians on their religion. We find that Father Sciffoni was obliged to change his residence nine times during that month, and had to climb mountains and dwell in caves until he was reduced to extreme exhaustion. Later on, in a letter dated March, 1748, he told Father Minolta that the Emperor had decided to spare his life and that of his fellow-prisoners for another year. In December, 1748, there were thirty-four prisoners condemned to death and he and the others were notified to prepare for death. His name, however, was not on the fatal list for this occasion.

By means of a bribe he was enabled to see the document containing the charges against him and his Christian flock, and learned that they were accused of "advocating the burning of the Tartars." Father Albert and his companions in misery were much consoled by the ministrations of Father Paul Sou, a native priest, who took a great interest in them and who volunteered to go to Pekin and lay their case before Joseph Té, whom he had converted to Christianity, and who was now an influential official under the hereditary prince. But Father Albert assured him that his journey would be useless. They were left to their fate.

Father Serano, another zealous Dominican missionary, tells us that the Superintendent of the Province of Tonkin, in making a visitation of the territory under his jurisdiction, passed through a part of Emouy, where a vessel from Manila was moored. The captain offered him valuable presents and besought him to give him four prisoners who were in his possession and the coffin containing the remains of the saintly Bishop Sanz, whose martyrdom we described in a former article. The captain was anxious to take these remains to Manila, that they might be buried in a tomb worthy of a martyred Bishop. The Zum-Tou neither refused nor acceded to the request, promising to consider the matter, and he refused to accept the presents. Hardly had he reached the capital when he

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ordered the remains of the Bishop to be consumed by fire, an operation which required several hours. The ashes were scattered over what, in our country, would be called a "Potter's Field." A few fragments of the bones were afterwards recovered and disposed of with reverent hands. The Mandarins were evidently ashamed of what they had done and excused themselves by saying that they were obliged to carry out the orders of their superiors.

Monsignor Tomasso de Sertri, O.P., was another zealous worker in the Chinese missionary field. He was a Genoese by birth, and was sent out by Pope Innocent XII. Because of the troubled condition of the times, he was obliged to labor in China secretly. Finding it impossible to receive episcopal consecration in the Philippines, he was obliged to wait for over two months in Luzon before he could receive consecration in China at the hands of the Lazarist Bishop Mullener, after which he set out, at once, for Canton. Father Appian, C. M., and his confrères advised the Bishop to depart in less than twenty-four hours, so as to avoid being sent by the Mandarins to Macao, a city that had become dangerous for the Christian missionary on account of its double-dealing with the Holy See, and with the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant.

He was advised to proceed to Tonkin, and was supplied with a guide regarded as trustworthy, and reached his destination in safety. Some writers think he was betrayed. I have been unable to find further details of his labors.

Father Francisco Fernandez de Capillas, a Spanish Dominican, went to China in 1642. From the "Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extréme Orient," I learn that this zealous son of St. Dominic was in the habit of going from village to village, poorly dressed, with no baggage save his breviary, and no staff save the cross. A large number of infidels converted, of apostates reconciled to the Church, of virgins consecrated to the service of God; all this testified that the good Lord blessed his work. He pursued his saving way, until the Mandarins, ever ready to listen to the voice of calumny, arrested him in the town of Fon-gan, in 1647.

When asked who had harbored him in his travels his answer was characteristic: "My only home in the world; my only roof is God's firmament; the bare ground is my only bed; my only food is what Providence gives me from day to day, and my only aim is to labor and suffer for the cause of Christ and the salvation of souls." He was beaten with rods, burdened with chains, dragged from one tribunal to another, and subjected to all manner of torture. When the judges urged him to apostatize, offering him honors and riches, his only answer was: "Keep your honors, and riches and

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pleasures; my only ambition is to die for the faith I have come to China to preach."

The good Father was again cast into prison, and finally he suffered martyrdom at Fon-gan, on January 15, 1648, in the presence of a multitude of lookers-on, many of whom were edified by his holy death.

As we come down through the centuries to modern times we find the missions of the Dominican Fathers growing rapidly. We find also records of persecutions, torture and martyrdom, but we also find the crown earned by those who persevered unto the end, for, after the terrible persecution of 1750, the Dominicans could count their converts by the twenty thousands.

We are far from recording the magnificent sacrifices made by these missionaries in the early days of the evangelization of China. We have only mentioned a few; our object, in this article, is rather to call attention to the solicitude of the Church for the salvation of souls in that far-off region so long closed against European civilization.

The first historical record we have of Augustinian missionaries in China seems to begin with Father Alvaro de Benavesite. We learn also from Fernando's "History of the Dominican Fathers in the Philippines" that the history of the Augustinians in this part of the Asiatic empire appears to be even older than that of the Asiatic Archipelago. He tells us that "with the death of General Villaloboso, the people of his expedition scattered in all directions. The Augustinian Fathers Jeronimo de San Esteban, Sebastian de Transerra, Nicolas de Perea and Alvaro Alvarado, intended going from Puerto Navidad to the Chinese empire to preach the Gospel, but the Portuguese Government would not allow them to do so because they were not of their nation, and these fathers were obliged to return to Europe.[2]

From a manuscript kindly furnished by the Augustinian Fathers at Villanova, Pa., I learn that "the Augustinian Fathers, both Spanish and Portuguese, entered the Asiatic field in the sixteenth century. . . . Evangelists of that Order from Spain, under the renowned Undameta, first of the two branches of the brotherhood to go to the Far Eastern shores of the Archipelago, landed in the Philippines in 1565; in China in 1560; in Japan in 1590, while Portuguese Fathers, not far in the rear, reached India in 1572; Ceylon in 1575; Cochin in 1578; Persia in 1602 and Arabia in 1624. . . . So much for a summary glance at the field which was destined to yield so many triumphs of grace to the Christian spirits of the Friars of St. Augustine."

[2] Fernando: "Historia de los Padres Dominicos en Filipinas."

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In 1568 the first colony of the Fathers destined for Chinese shores left Manila under the leadership of Father Diego de Herrera, a venturesome evangelist who had seen many years of service in the Philippines. In company with Herrera were two other stout-hearted upholders of the faith: Fathers Martin de Rada and Augustin de Albuquerque, who somewhat later on was commissioned as Ambassador to the Chinese Emperor at Pekin. In a subsequent voyage from Manila to the Flowery Kingdom, Father Herrera, with forty of the Fathers, was wrecked in the China Sea, where several of his fellow-missionaries perished. In those days pirates, too, were apt to enliven the monotony of sea travel, as they have done in years much nearer our own.

Many of the Augustinian Fathers, besides preaching and catechizing, devoted no little time to preparing grammars, vocabularies, dictionaries and devotional works for the use of their Chinese flocks, as did the Fathers of other Orders. We shall call attention to them further on.

We have spoken of Father Rada as one of the most zealous and self-sacrificing of the Augustinian pioneer missionaries in China. In June, 1573, in company with Father Martin, he left Manila for the Asiatic continent on an ambassadorial mission. The great missionary tells us that he and his companion were subjected to all manner of annoyances on the voyage by the Chinese captains of the fleet that convoyed the vessel he was on. Every effort was made to induce him to abandon his purpose. He and his confrère were "held up," as we would say, in our day; robbed of all that could be extorted from them, and finally put ashore on a sandy beach and subjected to the most cruel tortures by the Chinese captains and their crews. They were stripped of their clothing and beaten with rods. In this operator, when some of their torturers were exhausted, their places were supplied by others. When satisfied with what they had done they left the missionaries unconscious and covered with gaping wounds. So sure were the tormentors that the missionaries would die that they did not wait to dispatch them, and left them to be disposed of by the cannibals, the Zambales, who were expected in that vicinity. The missionaries finally recovered consciousness, but suffered terribly, not only from the effects of their wounds, but from hunger and thirst, and the intolerable weather. But "blessed be God," says Father Rada, "who tames the lion when it seemeth good to Him to do so, the hopes of our persecutors were not realized. The Zambales did not come." The sufferers for the faith were finally rescued by a Spanish officer and conducted to a place of safety, where they received all necessary attention.

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These two Fathers are regarded as the first Augustinian victims sacrificed for the faith by the infidel hordes that infested, and continued to infest, that region for many years. Father Rada labored for many years in the Chinese mission with eminent success, and his labors were fully appreciated by his superiors.

No sketch of Chinese missions of that age could well be deemed complete without mention, however brief, were made of Fathers Benavente, Bonjour and Segui; all three men of very marked abilities in the world of letters as well as in religion. Father Alvaro de Benavente, especially because of his learning and virtues, was raised to the episcopate. He was born at Salamanca, in 1642, and made his religious profession in the Augustinian convent of his native city in 1663, and was sent to Manila in 1668, before he had completed his studies. The special qualities he developed soon gained for him the position of Definidor and Secretary of his Province, so that in conjunction with the Prior of Guadalupe, Father Juan de Rivera, he might go to China to found missions long contemplated by his Order. There, in the Province of Kiam-Si, Rivera began his missionary labors in the city of Kao-king-fu, where, aided by Father Luca Stefana, he founded the Church of El Santo Nombre de Jesus. Father Rivera died in Manila in 1709. He was a man of great zeal and his biographer tells us that "he was more in need of a curb than of a stimulus."

In 1690, Father Benavente with four companions, aspirants for suffering, settled at Kuam-Fung, having previously lodged with the hospitable Franciscans, with whom they learned the Chinese language. Benavente himself founded three churches in 1696.

We might take occasion to mention here that towards the close of the sixteenth century the Augustinian Fathers founded their historic convent at Macao, recognized by the Chinese missionaries as their base in China. It became necessary to guarantee in some manner the permanence of the Fathers on the Asiatic continent, and this new foundation served them as a haven of refuge, where they might enjoy a period of relative quiet, in case of the breaking out of some sudden persecution, which was not infrequent in those days.

Father Benavente's companion, Father Juan de Rivera, was also a product of the convent at Salamanca, a man of remarkable virtues, much given to meditation and devotion to the salvation of souls. He longed for service on the Japanese mission, but not being able to gratify this desire it was suggested to him to start a mission at Tonkin, which he acceded to, and in doing so encountered unexpected difficulties. His guide, Tadeo Hico, recently baptized, pretending to act as guide and friend, promised to guide

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the good Father to his destination; instead of which he conducted them to a small stream in a boat. "Father San José and I," says Father Rivera, "were delayed here for a long time, unnecessarily, by the captain who was to take us in his vessel, and, before we became aware of his intention, he stood up in the boat and with the oar he held in his hand gave me a stunning blow, and I fell over the side into the water in an unconscious condition. God permitted me to regain my senses, and I besought His protection, and I asked Father Alfonso de San José to give me absolution. I did the same for him. Tadeo now fell upon me and gave me another blow with a big stick. I sank under the water for the second time, and as I rose out of it, he dealt me another blow. I implored the aid of Heaven and with what strength I had left managed to reach a high embankment, near which I was able to conceal myself. My persecutors thinking me dead paid no further attention to me. In the meantime, Tadeo and his confederates fell upon my confrère and clubbed him to death. I was covered with blows, and removing my Chinese dress, I dragged myself through mud and water; I managed to climb a tree, where I remained all night. There was a village not far away, and again, through mud and water, I made my way to it. There I was rescued by a *siam*, who tended to my wounded head, supplied me with suitable clothing, and took me to the house of some idolatrous priests, where I remained that day and the next very much depressed in spirits." The good Father goes on to tell how the Chinese sought him that they might take his life and how the idolatrous priests defended him. One of the men of a Dutch factory constituted himself as the protector of Father Rivera and supplied all his needs. One malefactor was arrested and punished. Bishop Lambert took charge of Father Rivera, who was attacked with a fever that incapacitated him for some time. He died in Manila in 1709.

Father Bonjour, christened Guillaume, of Toulouse, France, whose well-merited renown was based largely upon his scientific attainments, was a many-sided genius and scholar as well as mathematician and churchman. His name is in repute to-day among the civilizers of China. He was imperial surveyor-general of the empire, professor of mathematics at Pekin, wherein he was a co-worker with the Jesuit, Father Fridel. He was also bearer of the red hat to Touvenon, who at that time resided at Macao.

In 1710, Father Pedrini, C. M., tells us that the Emperor engaged Father Bonjour, in conjunction with some Jesuit Fathers, to make geographical charts of several towns the Emperor desired to have. On another occasion Father Bonjour, with Fathers Pedrini and Ripa, were sent by the Pope to the Emperor, not as envoys, as

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some authorities claim, but as men whose scientific attainments would be of use to the government, and thus secure the good will of the authorities, so as to enable them to do the work uppermost in their minds, with the least molestation possible. Good Father Bonjour died of a fever at Pekin in 1710. His remains were entombed in the city by order of the Emperor. In a letter he sent to Father Nuzzi, General of his Order, he signs at Guillaume Bonjour-Fabri.

Father José Segui, a great linguist, and last of our trio, was sent to the Chinese mission in 1795. He served with great zeal and success for a period of twenty-three years, and was the last of the Augustinians who had been toiling in this portion of the Lord's vineyard for over two hundred years.

The progress of the Augustinian missions in China was very consoling. Father Antonio Mozo writes that after the arrival of Fathers Tomas Ortiz and Francisco Fontanilla these Fathers "began with great fervor to cultivate that vineyard and increase it with new conversions, that in the short period of twelve years they had the consolation of baptizing over 7,000 souls, and were able to increase the number of churches, in their district, to twenty-three, with every prospect of future success."

Father Agustin Molinao was another valiant as well as "ingenious" Augustinian missionary. He was dismayed by no dangers, and Father Mozo tells us that he resorted to all manner of devices that he might reach and convert the heathen Chinese. "Sometimes he would play the fool (bobo), doing all manner of ridiculous pranks; at others he would take his violin and go singing through the streets and in this manner concealing his real designs." But with all this, he succeeded in gaining a hearing, and Father Mozo tells us that he "baptized one hundred and ninety-two pagans, reclaimed some eighty apostates, gave the Sacraments to a number of Christians and confirmed the vascillating in their faith." Yet the trials he underwent are almost incredible.

The Augustinian Fathers, like the Jesuits, Dominicans, Lazarists and other Orders have their list of confessors and martyrs. The Venerable Tomas Torres was scourged and persecuted for the faith, and finally banished from the empire. He died in the Philippines in 1768.

The Venerable Father Juan Rodriguez was in charge of three cities, six villages, two hospitals for lepers and about fifty stations, with a flock of about 1,000 people, all of whom were strict observers of the approved rites. They had doctrinal and liturgical books *ab omni errore expurgatus*, written in Chinese characters. Father Rodriguez labored among his people amid all manner of annoyances and persecutions, but in spite of all, he gained souls for heaven,

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and in this he found a reward for all his sufferings. To follow the labors and trials of the devoted Augustinian missionaries would be an endless task and would take us far beyond the limits of our present purpose.

We might sum up the total of Missions, or Prefectures, with their Vicars or Prefects Apostolic, as fifty-nine, and among these there are but nine whose pagan population exceeds that of Hu-nan. Nor is there more than eleven that can claim a larger number of European missionaries, in spite of the fact that in some of them the number of the former is more gratifying.

Vicariates such as Young-Pin has 13,267 Catholics; Tien-Toin, 38,180; Wei-houi, 13,337; Han-tahou, 14,625; Amoy, 10,783, and other provinces in the same proportion. Father Bernardo Martinez, O. S. A., from whose excellent "Historie de las Misiones Agustinas" I have taken these figures, adds: "In 1910 no less than fifty Vicariates and Prefectures Apostolic, the total of permanent missions of the various religious Orders and Congregations, the total number of priests was no less than 2,260, and after so many sacrifices and 'bloody sweats,' the number of Catholics does not exceed 1,780,500, in a nation of 400,000,000." I rather think that good Father Martinez has underestimated the number of Catholics which, considering the countless obstacles thrown in the way of the Catholic missionary, is most gratifying.

The Société des Missions Étrangères, or Society of Foreign Missions, founded in 1658-63, owes its existence to Mgr. Pallu, Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin, and Mgr. Lambert de la Motte, Vicar Apostolic of Cochin-China, who left France in 1660 or 1663 and went to their respective Vicariates. The aim of this new missionary organization was, as it is to this day, the conversion of heathens by means of the establishing of churches and the raising up of a native clergy. This has always been the plan pursued by Catholic missionaries. The first step of the Society looking to this end was undertaken by a body of priests, who were appointed in 1163. They were to act as agents. A house was established in Paris, which was to be the motherhouse of the Society, which soon received the approbation of Pope Alexander VI. It must be observed that this Society is neither a religious order nor a religious congregation; it is simply an organization of secular priests living under a rule approved by the Holy See, and banded together for the work of evangelizing the heathen in infidel lands.

The conditions for entrance into this Society require the applicant to pledge himself to devote his whole life to the service of the Missions, in return for which the Society assures him the means of sanctification and perseverance, and all necessary temporal sup-

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port and assistance. In other words, it promises him nothing in a temporal sense but "his keep," untold hardship and a prospect of martyrdom. In place of a Superior-General or Superior, the Society has the Bishops, Vicars Apostolic and the Board of Directors, the seminaries, who exercise jurisdiction over it. In its missions the Society depends on the Propaganda, and through it, on the Pope.

The most important events in the first period (1658 to 1700) are the publication of their book, "Institutions Apostoliques," which deals with the principle of this rule, the foundation of the General Seminary, at Siam, in India; the evangelization of Tonkin, Canton, in China; Cambodia and Siam, "where more than 40,000 persons were baptized; the creation of the Institute Annanite Nuns, known as the 'Lovers of the Cross,' the establishment of order among the cabalists and the ordination of thirty native priests."[3]

The members of the Society were not always engaged in religious exercises. They frequently gave their services to the Chinese government in the capacity of scientists and diplomats, that they might secure protection and favor in the great work that was uppermost in their minds. Thus we find Monsignor Pignau de Barbiére performing signal service to the king of the region in which he labored, by acting as the king's agent in making a treaty with France, which was the first step towards the cordial relations existing to this day between France and Indo-China.

The French Revolution did much to impede the growth of the Society, which had, up to this time, been almost phenomenal, because, previous to this revolution, the Society had six Bishops, a score of missionaries assisted by *one hundred and thirty-five native priests,* while in their various missions there were nine seminaries with 250 students and over 300,000 Christians.

Among the early laborers in the Lord's vineyard in China was Monsignor Maignot, Vicar Apostolic of Fo-kin (1687), who was consecrated in 1683. In December, 1706, this Emperor issued a decree banishing Monsignor Maignot and Father Appiana, C. M., and several other priests. The Emperor found fault with all missionaries reported to him as maintaining the decisions of Rome in the unfortunate discussions of the then burning question of Rites.[4] This question does not concern us at present. Among those who fell under the Emperor's displeasure, as we have seen, was Mon-

[3] See Catholic Encyclopedia.

[4] See "Memorie Storiche della Controversia dei Culti Cinese," Colonia, 1700. See also: "Anecdotes sur les Affaires de la Chine," Paris, 1734. Also "Istovia della Cose Operate nolla Cina da Mgr. Ambrogio Mazzabarba, 1730. Further reference may be found in "Memoires de la Congregation de la Mission, in China;" Paris, 1911, 2 vols. Also, "Historia de las Misiones Augustinas en China," by Padre Bernando Martinez, Madrid, 1918.

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signor Maignot, who, after a life of arduous labors, bitter trials and heart-sores, went to Rome, where he died in 1730.

The history of the work of the Fathers of the Société des Missions Étrangères in the early days is difficult to trace, while its more recent history in the eighteenth and nineteenth century abounds in records of all the trials, martyrdoms and glorious triumphs that belong to the missionary life, but all this, interesting and edifying as it is, belongs in a period subsequent to that contemplated in this article.

We have referred to the work of the missionaries in the field of science and education. In a former article we called attention to the work done in this respect by the Jesuits and Lazarists. The other Orders were not behind their co-laborers. The only dictionary French-Corean, and the only Corean grammar in existence (up to 1896) was the work of missionaries of the Missions Étrangères, Paris, published in Cochin-China, in 1850. One of these Fathers compiled a Chinese dictionary which is highly prized. Remembering that they were the confrères of Father Amiot, the creator of the sinology of the last century, the Jesuits have published from their press at Zi-ka-wen an entire series of Chinese works. "Les Variétiés Sinologiques," "La Bousole du Langage" and the "Franco-Chinese Method," by Father Henri Boucher; the "Cursus Literaturæ," by Father Zoblo, both crowned by the Academy. The latter Father has also published a large Chinese dictionary. In the meantime, Father Benavente, O. S. A., compiled a Chinese dictionary and translated into Spanish, from Chinese, a natural history; another Augustinian Father a "Historia de las Filipinas," published in 1763, wherein he records some highly interesting memoranda relating to the Augustinian missions in North and South China. Father Ignacio Gregorio de Santa Teresa, O. S. A., was another well-known author whose many works were printed in Canton. In 1580, Father Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, wrote and translated a much-quoted history of China. These are only a few of the literary works produced by the Augustinian missionaries engaged in the evangelization of China.

In a former article I referred to the first steps taken to plant the Cross of Christ in the Celestial Empire. A few days ago I came across a most important statement in the *Good Work,* an excellent monthly mission magazine, published in New York under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. It gives an account of the discovery of a large monumental stone, found in the earth, by some workmen who were digging the foundation of a house, in the province of Chen-Siu. This stone, the article above referred to tells us, resembles "those the Chinese are in the

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habit of raising to preserve to posterity the remembrance of remarkable events and of illustrious men."

Two scientific priests, Father Alvarez Senedo and Father Martini, were the first to examine this stone. After them Father Boym, a Pole, "who with the assistance of Chinese men of letters, undertook the translation of the inscription."

This examination resulted in the discovery that Christianity had had numerous followers in China as far back as the seventh century and that it had flourished for some time. The monumental stone states the fact that "a religious man, named Olopen, a man of eminent virtue, came in 635 from Ta-Thoin (the Roman Empire) to Si-guam-Fou. The Emperor sent his officers to meet him, had him brought to the palace, and ordered him to translate the sacred books he had brought with him. The books having been examined, the Emperor pronounced the doctrine they contained good, and permitted its publication."

The report goes on to say that the doctrine contained in this book proclaimed that "Aloho (God) created the heavens and the earth; that Satan, having seduced the first man, God sent the Messias to deliver the human race from original sin; that the Messiah was born of a Virgin, in the country of Ta-Thoin, and that the Persians went to adore Him, in order that the law and the predictions might be accomplished." The inscription also gives the names of the priests who went to China in the suite of Olopen.

The American hierarchy has of late years taken a deep interest in the Chinese Mission, and in 1912 the "Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America" was founded. Its headquarters are located at Maryknoll, Ossining, N. Y., and its present president is the Very Rev. James A. Walsh, Mis. Ap. The institution numbers some seventy students who are training for work in China. The priests and Sisters who have gone from America to China have already given evidence of their good work; they have cheerfully accepted the toils and sufferings of missionary life, and some of them have even given up their lives for the cause in which they are engaged. They claim no credit for being Americans. While their Americanism is above all question, as missionaries they are Catholics and servants of those unto whom they are sent to minister. The Catholic papers of this country are full of the details of their work in China, so that it will not be necessary for us to dwell upon it here.

We might refer, in passing, to the noble work accomplished by the women who are devoting their lives to the welfare of their sex in heathen lands. These women are not seeking to shine in the political and social sphere; they are satisfied to do God's work in silence, in suffering and in humility. They carry their sacred voca-

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tion with them into heathen lands and their example allures the young women of those lands to a similar life. Thus it is that we read of a community of Chinese girls, formed a few years ago, and known as the Daughters of the Sacred Heart. They wear no distinctive habit, but wear the simple dress of the country. This attracts less attention and enables them to work among the women and children with less inconvenience and molestation on the part of persons hostile to the Christian religion. Their only mark of distinction is a large medal worn on the breast, and bearing the image of the Sacred Heart on one side and that of the Immaculate Conception on the other. The special work of these devoted women is not only to teach the branches usual in all schools, but they teach catechism and attend dispensaries, and in their journeyings from village to village minister to the sick and dying, and baptize infants in danger of death. They travel in groups of four, and spend three or more days a week in each village according to its necessities. This society of devoted women has earned well-merited favor and has increased its membership to nearly double in six years.

In looking over the work of the American missionaries in China, we find that the Brothers of Mary, of Dayton, Ohio, have in their colleges in Tien-tsin, Shanghai, Hankow, Wuchang, Canton, Nankin, Chefou and Ning-po some 2,500 Chinese youths in attendance. The standards attained in all these institution is the highest, and the accommodations are taxed to their utmost. Altogether, we are told, there are ninety-five European and thirty-two Chinese Brothers in their schools and colleges.

In this article as well as in the one in the January issue of this QUARTERLY, I have endeavored to give merely a few of the most prominent events in the beginnings of Christianity in China. I realize that I am far from doing justice to the subject and that I have covered but a small portion of the vast field, but, as I have maintained all along, my object has not been to write a book. I aimed simply to write what might be regarded as "Notes" on the Chinese missions, leaving the writing of a more complete work to younger and better informed hands. If I have succeeded in awakening an interest in the work of our missionaries in the earlier and later periods of their careers I shall feel that my efforts have not been in vain.

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TEMPORAL GOODS AND MERIT.

THERE is a word, which, handed down from individual to individual, from family to family, from nation to nation, conveys the idea of a state of common worry and universal deception. Such is the word of Jeremias: "Why doth the way of the wicked prosper? Why is it well with all that transgress and do wickedly?"[1]

The share that comes to the wicked in the distribution of temporal goods has always been, and especially nowadays, a great embarrassment to religion and one of the main problems of Catholic apology.

Why, it is frequently objected, do honest and religious persons live in extreme want and poverty, while others, very irreligious ones, possess large wealth? Why do not Catholic nations attain that material prosperity which Protestant countries boast of?

It has been stated that this difficulty rests on a wrong supposition. Some wished, in fact, to prove that in the distributing of temporal goods equality is kept between Christians and infidels, Catholic and non-Catholic countries; both kinds of people enjoy these goods alike.

But this answer adds new strength and vigor to the question. The good man, of course, is entitled to receive more than the wicked from the common Giver: how, then, can we think even of an equal share in temporal goods, whereas the titles to acquiring them are so various?

Others reply that God is merciful, equally as just; and treats in this life the wicked according to His large mercy, because He will do severe justice to them in the life to come.

But who does not know that many evil persons earn heaven in their last moments, after having thoroughly enjoyed this world? Nations, moreover, do not hope for another life.

The answer, consequently, though good in particular cases, cannot be accepted, when a universal principle and common rule are wanted.

As to our personal view, we hold that individuals as well as nations obtain that material welfare which they deserve for their works, few cases excepted. We believe that the temporal goods possessed by any man whosoever correspond to a title of justice

[1] Ierem., xii., 1.

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before God, and that they are applied to persons and nations according to their merits.

Temporal goods are those things which afford man some profit that passes away with time itself, and affects the receiver's natural condition.

We may reduce them to three kinds: external goods (as riches, honor, fame, dominion or power), goods of the body (as health, beauty, strength and sensitive pleasures), and goods of the soul (those of the appetitive faculty, as moral virtues, and those of the mind, as genius, mental penetration and talent).

The temporal goods cannot be the sheer and simple good of man, by the very fact that they are temporal and man is made to live an everlasting life. Thus they are man's partial and relative good; good *secundum quid,* good for now only.

They may be used, however, as a means to attain the eternal good; and in this respect they participate *formaliter* in the goodness *simpliciter* of the eternal good.

"Merit," says St. Thomas, "and reward refer to the same; for a reward means something given any one in return for work or toil, as a price for it. Hence, as it is an act of justice, to make a return for work or toil."[2]

Let us state hereby that a debt of rigorous justice from God to man cannot be given: consequently neither rigorous merit in man before God. All the good actions performed by man, even those which proceed from the free will are due to God, because from God man receives all his power of well-doing, since He is the first Mover and main Cause of them. Wherefore as "no matter what a son may do, he can never give back to his father the equal of what he has received from him,"[3] so also man can never adequately repay God what he owes Him. By the performance of good, man, rather than bringing anything into his credit, merely pays back to God that which he has received from His hands.

However, a proportionate justice may rightly be said to exist between God and man. When man shows himself generous toward God, it seems but natural that God, in return, prove Himself bountiful towards man; just as a father ought to manifest a deeper affection and give a goodly proportion of his inheritance to the son who is ever faithful and loving towards him. "It is congruous," says St. Thomas, "that when a man makes good use of his power, God should by His super-excellent power work still higher things."[4] God and man in both cases operate after their own manner: and the proportion, as such, is quite just.

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2 Summa Theolog., I., ii., 114, 1.
3 Ibid., Suppl., 14, 4, ad 1m.
4 Ibid., I., ii., 114, 6.

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This proportional justice, that can exist between God and any of His creatures, as each acts after its own manner, and that has prompted St. Thomas to say: "To each one is due what is his own; now that which is directed to a man is said to be his own. . . . Thus in the divine operations debt may be regarded in two ways, as due either to God, or to creatures, and in either way God pays what is due. It is due to God that there should be fulfilled in creatures what His will and wisdom require, and what manifests His goodness. . . . It is also due to a created thing that it should possess what is ordered to it,"[5] this proportional justice, I say again, is merit, when we speak of man. For if only the gratuitous work is rewarded, it is in two ways that a work can be considered gratuitous: first, *ex parte ipsius operis,* when man is not bound to do it; second, *ex parte operantis,* when man does it by his free will.[6]

From God man received human nature and the faculties of body and mind, and from Him also he receives the actuation of those God-given powers.

On the other hand, the order of execution does not precede the order of action, but follows it. So that God does not prepare the reward for the action, but, on the contrary, He prepares the action for the reward. The fact that man deserves a reward for the work done according to his own manner of acting presupposes, therefore, the divine preordination which guides man in his action to a predestined recompense. "Man's merit with God only exists on the presupposition of the divine ordination, so that man obtains from God, as a reward of his operation, what God gave him the power of operation for."[7]

The other creatures obtain also from God by their proper movements and operations all they were destined for; but man receives it as a reward, because he moves himself and acts as a free being.[8]

Hence a meritorious work is a human action, ordained by God to the attainment of a good of the agent, as a reward previously and divinely appointed for it.

Now, in so far as the good, to which a meritorious act tends, is a

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[5] Ibid., I., 21, 1, ad 3m.
[6] Ibid., II., ii., 104, 1, ad 3m.
[7] Ibid., I., ii., 114, 1.
[8] "Actus humanus habet rationem merendi ex duobus: primo quidem et principaliter ex divina ordinatione, secundum quod actus dicitur esse meritorius illius boni ad quod homo divinitus ordinatur. Secundo vero ex parte liberi arbitrii, inquantum scilicet homo habet prae ceteris creaturis ut per se agat voluntarie agens" (Summa Theol., I., ii., 114, 4). "Etiam res naturales hoc consequuntur a Deo per proprios motus et operationes, ad quod a Deo sunt ordinatae: differenter tamen, quia creatura rationalis se ipsam movet ad agendum per liberum arbitrium, unde sua actio habet rationem meriti, quod non est in aliis creaturis" (Ib., I., ii., 114, 1). "Homo, inquantum propria voluntate facit illud quod debet, meretur" (1., c., ad 1m.)

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good *secundum quid*, or a good *simpliciter*, the merit will be *natural* or *supernatural* from the object.[9]

Moreover, if the quantitative value of the act is equal to the quantitative value of the reward, the merit in both, the natural and supernatural, order will be *de condigno;* otherwise, *de congruo.*

Whilst the reward comes from God alone, the meritorious action proceeds together both from God, as the first Cause, and from man, as a free agent. Inasmuch as the action comes from God, its value is always equal to the value of the recompense; but as it proceeds from man's free will, it remains far inferior.[10]

Having explained the extent and meaning of the terms, our first proposition is as follows: Temporal goods, as suitable means to the attainment of the simple, eternal, supernatural good, fall under supernatural merit.

For the act is specified by its formal object, and the faculty by its act.

Consequently the principle of the supernatural merit is God moving man by His Grace, and man moving himself under the motion of this grace. "No act of anything whatsoever is divinely ordained to anything exceeding the proportion of the powers which are the principles of its act: for it is a law of Divine Providence that nothing shall act beyond its powers. Now, everlasting life is a good exceeding the proportion of created nature; since it exceeds its knowledge and desire. . . . Hence it is that no created nature is a sufficient principle of an act meritorious of eternal life, unless there is added a supernatural gift, which we call grace."[11]

God, then, in the meritorious act moves the just man by giving him the power of working supernaturally, or the *actus primus*, by habitual grace, and the supernatural actuation of this power, or the *actus*

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[9] St. Thomas calls this twofold merit, merit secundum quid and merit simpliciter (Summa Theol. I., ii., 114, 10); but this terminology might give way to confusion between merit's division ex parte mercedis and ex parte debiti (Ib. I., ii., 114, 1).

[10] "Si consideretur (opus meritorium) secundum substantiam operis, et secundum quod procedit ex libero arbitrio, sic non potest ibi esse condignitas propter maximam inaequalitatem; sed est ibi congruitas propter quamdam aequalitatem proportionis. Videtur enim congruum ut homini operanti secundum suam virtutem, Deus recompenset secundum excellentiam suae virtutis. Si autem loquamur de opere meritorio, secundum quod procedit ex gratia Spiritus Sancti, sic est meritorium vitae aeternae ex condigno. Sic enim valor meriti attenditur secundum virtutem Spiritus Sancti moventis nos in vitam aeternam" (Summ. Theol., I., ii., 114, 3). "Gratia Spiritus Sancti, quam in praesenti habemus, etsi non sit aequalis gloriae in actu, est tamen aequalis in virtute" (Ibid., ad 3m).

[11] Summ. Theol., I., ii., 114, 2—For the right understanding of these words: Life everlasting . . . exceeds its knowledge and desire, we refer the kind reader to our article "El Deseo Natural De Ver a Dios" ("La Ciencia Tomista," Madrid, Enero, 1921).

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secundus, by actual grace.[12] So that man, endowed with the *posse* conferred by the first grace, will pass to the *agere* by the second, coöperating with God and under His supernatural motion to the meritorious act.

The just man merits in a supernatural way everlasting life. And, since "the motion of a mover extends not merely to the last term of the movement, but to the whole progress of the movement,"[13] the just man likewise merits with supernatural merit the means to reach it.

Suitable means are the increase of grace and many other spiritual favors: "progress in this movement," added St. Thomas, "is by the increase of charity or grace according to Prov. iv., 18: 'But the path of the just as a shining light, goeth forward and increaseth even to perfect day,' which is the day of glory."[14]

According to our opinion, temporal goods are also suitable to obtain eternal life: it goes without saying that the just will merit them under the same title. "We must say," says St. Thomas, "that if temporal goods are considered as they are useful for virtuous works, whereby we are led to heaven, they fall directly and simply under merit, even as increase of grace, and everything whereby a man is helped to attain beatitude after the first grace."[15]

This equality, placed by the Angelic Doctor between temporal goods and the increase of grace, gives us the occasion to fix the nature and extent of the merit of which we are talking.

By his supernatural works the just man merits for himself all the temporal goods necessary and useful for his own salvation; and he merits them, not only *de congruo* but *de condigno* also. For condign merit is based upon the motion of grace, and the just man is moved through grace to arrive at exerlasting life, and to obtain the means to reach it. Hence St. Thomas concluded, saying: "And thus the increase of grace falls under condign merit."[16]

Just because condign merit is rooted in the motion of grace, the just man cannot condignly merit temporal goods for another since "each one of us is moved by God so that he himself reach life everlasting through the gift of grace; hence condign merit does not reach beyond this motion."[17] Jesus Christ alone, who is our Head,

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[12] "Natura comparatur ad caritatem, quae est merendi principium, sicut materia ad forman. . . . Manifestum est autem quod subiectum vel materia non potest agere nisi virtute formae" (S. Theol., II., ii., 2, 9, ad 1m). "Quantumcumque natura aliqua corporalis vel spiritualis ponatur perfecta, non potest in actum procedere, nisi moveatur a Deo" (Ib. I., ii., 109, 1).

[13] S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 8.

[14] Ibid., ib.

[15] Ib. I., ii., 114, 10.

[16] Ib. I., ii., 114, 8.

[17] Ib. I., ii., 114, 6.

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received a grace which influences and is communicated to all the faithful, His members.[18]

The just man, however, can merit them congruously. "Because a man in grace fulfills God's will, it is congruous and in harmony with friendship, that God should fulfill man's desire for the salvation of another."[19]

If temporal goods are considered in themselves, as goods *secundum quid, natural,* of the present life, they fall under natural merit. This is our second thesis.

Act, we repeat, is specified by its formal object, and faculty by its act. And because the object in this case is *materialiter* and *formaliter* natural, consequently the act that tends to this object and the faculty by which this act is performed must also be natural.

We do not speak here of the supernatural principle of merit, which is grace, nor of the agent deserver, who is the just man. There is a proportional order between the movers and the ends. Hence, if the end is natural, God moves man with natural motion, and under this natural motion, not the just, but the man will move himself.

Even in this natural order there is a two-fold motion from God: for He gives the faculty to act *(actus primus),* and applies it to work *(actus secundus).*[20]

In virtue of this two-fold motion from God, man moves himself freely.[21]

Hence, even in natural order there is a merit *de condigno,* in so far the meritorious act comes from God, and a merit *de congruo,* in so far as it proceeds from man's free will.

Though this application may seem audacious, it is nevertheless logic. The same relation, which exists in the supernatural merit between grace habitual, and actual and the free motion of man under those graces in regard to the supernatural meritorious act, exists in natural merit between the power of operation and the divine motion actuating it and the free motion of man under God's motion in regard to the natural meritorious act. Because habitual

[18] "Sicut supra dictum est, q. 8, Christo data est gratia, non solum sicut singulari personae, sed inquantum est caput Ecclesiae, ut scilicet ab Ipso redundaret ad membra; et ideo opera Christi hoc modo se habent tam ad se quam ad sua membra, sicut se habent opera alterius hominis in gratia constituti ad ipsum" (S. Theol. III., 48, 1).

[19] S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 6.

[20] "Deus movet non solum res ad operandum, quasi applicando formas et virtutes rerum ad operationem (sicut artifex applicat securim ad scindendum, qui tamen interdum formam securi non tribuit), sed etiam dat formas creaturis agentibus, et eas tenet in esse" (S. Theol. I., 105, 5).

[21] "Deus est prima causa movens et naturales causas et voluntarias. Et sicut naturalibus causis, movendo eas, non aufert quin actus earum sint naturales, ita movendo causas voluntarias, non aufert quin actiones earum sint voluntariae, sed potius hoc in eis facit: operatur enim in unoquoque secundum eius proprietatem" (S. Theol. I., 83, 1, ad 3m).

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grace is to the supernatural meritorious act, as a faculty to an act, and actual grace is nothing else than the divine actuation of this very faculty. Man cöoperates with God both in the meritorious act with natural merit as well as in the meritorious act with supernatural merit.[22]

As supernatural reward comes only from God, so does natural. We must bear always in mind that even in the natural order human acts fall under the Divine Providence, that the success of the natural works is not the result of hazard, but the goal to which God directs us through them. Even in this order God did not prepare reward for the act, but disposed the act for the attainment of reward.

Let us suppose, then, that God, having endowed man with the natural faculty to work naturally in a given order, He moves him with His physical and natural motion or premotion to the actuation of that faculty; and let us suppose, at the same time, that man moves himself, according to his way of doing, to perform an act without decreasing the divine motion. In this case man will attain through his own work to such and such good results, which, though they may appear a natural consequence, are really the reward to the attainment of which God had foreordained him and led him.[23]

Whenever we see a natural good of the agent, which is the effect proportionate to his virtuality and act, we might regard it as a reward naturally merited "inasmuch as men are moved by God to do temporal works, in which, with God's help, they reach their purpose":[24] this God-given help explains it all.

The greater the treasury of natural energies, the more perfect the use made of them, the greater the reward will be.

Man is naturally a social being. God did not make him to

[22] " . . . Ut sicut vita aeterna est simpliciter praemium operum iustitiae per relationem ad motionem divinam, ita temporalia bona in se considerata habeant rationem mercedis, habito respectu ad motionem divinam, qua voluntates hominum moventur ad haec prosequenda" (S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 10)—"Quemadmodum in merito simpliciter invenitur prima radix ordinatio divina per gratiae donum, et secunda liberum arbitrium; ita in merito secundum quid invenitur ordinatio divina, non per gratiam, quia non est aliquid excedens naturam, sed per propositum consequendi illud temporale; et liberum arbitrium operans pro consecutione illius" (Cajet. in h. 1.) "Sicut vita aeterna et omnia quibus homo adiuvatur ad perveniendum ad beatitudinem post primam gratiam, cadunt simpliciter sub merito et sunt simpliciter praemium operum iustitiae per relationem ad motionem divinam, ut Deus est auctor gratiae; ita temporalia bona in se considerata habent rationem mercedis habito respectu ad motionem divinam, qua voluntates hominum moventur ad talia bona prosequenda a Deo, ut auctor naturae est" (Del Prado, De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, Friburgi Helv., 1907, Vol. I., p. 675).

[23] "Meritum hominis apud Deum esse non potest nisi secundum praesuppositionem divinae ordinationis; ita scilicet ut id homo consequatur a Deo per suam operationem, quasi mercedem, ad quod Deus ei virtutem operandi deputavit. Sicut etiam res naturales hoc consequuntur a Deo per proprios motus et operationes, ad quod a Deo sunt ordinatae. Differenter tamen, quia creatura rationalis seipsam movet ad agendum per liberum arbitrium, unde sua actio habet rationem meriti quod non est in aliis creaturis" (S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 1).

[24] Ib. I., ii., 114, 10.

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live alone. The faculties with which God endowed him must have as their end the welfare of the person and of his neighbors.

By his natural works, then, man merits either *de congruo* and *de condigno* temporal goods for himself and for some one else. There is a proportion between the movers and the ends.

To merit is not the same as to receive the reward.

Reward is the result of God's ordinance, and God appoints the time for its reception. The just man merits an increase of grace and charity and life everlasting for each act performed in sanctifying grace: and yet he does not receive this at once. "Every act of charity," says St. Thomas, "merits everlasting life, which, however, is not to be bestowed then and there, but at its proper time."[25] "As eternal life is not given at once, but in its own time, so neither is grace increased at once, but in its own time."[26]

Further, contingent causes may fail, and he who merits either naturally or supernaturally, may lose his title to the reward before receiving it, and become unworthy of it. The just man merits with supernatural merit life everlasting by every good act performed in charity, and yet, he cannot merit restoration to the state of grace after a future sin, though it is absolutely necessary for his salvation after a fall.[27]

The natural end is subordinated to the supernatural.

Hence, the just man, who can merit temporal goods naturally, may merit supernaturally their removal, when they prove an obstacle to his spirtitual improvement and perfection. For this reason St. Thomas, commenting on those words of the Exodus: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest be long lived upon the land," . . . [28] says as follows: "Longevity is promised to those who honor their parents, not only with regard to the future life, but also with regard to the present. . . . Because although the present goods or evils do not fall under merit or demerit, unless, in as far as they are ordained for future remuneration, sometimes, according to the hidden reason of divine judgments, which look especially to future remuneration, some, who are very pious and obedient towards their parents, are snatched very early from this life."[29]

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[25] Ib. II., ii., 24, 6, ad 1m.
[26] Ib. I., ii., 114, 8, ad 3m.
[27] Ib. I., ii., 114, 7.
[28] Ex. xx., 12.
[29] S. Theol. II., ii., 122, 5, ad 4m.—"Sicut dicit Philosophus, haec bona temporalia intantum sunt bona, inquantum utilia ad felicitatem. Unde si quis haberet tantum de temporalibus, quod propter ipsa impediretur a bono virtutis et felicitatis, hoc non esset sibi ad bonam fortunam, sed ad malam, ut dicitur. Et longitudo vitae est unum de temporalibus, intantum bonum, inquantum coadiuvat ad virtutem. Aliquando autem est occassio ad peccandum, et ideo Deus aliquando substrahit eam homini, non quia deficiat a promissione, sed quia dat quod melius est. Raptus est, ne malitia immutaret intellectum eius" (S. Thomas, in I. Tim. c. 4, lect. 2).

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A mere man, who can merit temporal goods by natural merit, may also be found unworthy of them by his obstinate and wicked resistance to the divine supernatural vocation. In the same manner nations that consciously reject or abjure the Catholic faith may be punished with the deprivation of temporal prosperity, which, on account of previous services, God had pledged to give them. Does not the history of the Israelite people reveal this to us? To what is their humiliation, their slavery, their wandering life due, but to the sin committed against the trust, that, in the supernatural order, they should have placed in their God? And finally, what caused their entire ruin, but the sin of deicide, by which they filled the measure of their iniquities? "Behold your house shall be left to you, desolate."[80]

This, however, is an exceptional occurrence which does not make the rule.

The rule is, that God recompenses the merit of the action of which He was the mover; that the just man receives the temporal goods which he has won by natural and supernatural merit; that man is rewarded with worldly prosperity for those things performed through natural power.[81]

And because the supernatural merit in this order embraces a very close circuit, ordinarily speaking, for *having food and wherewith to be covered, with those we are content*,[82] when the comparison is established between the temporal welfare of unbelievers and the faithful, and between Catholic nations and Protestant countries, we must of necessity forget the religious question and do not consider but the natural order, in which the reward is apportioned to the store of energies and their use.

So it is, that prosperity found in some Protestant countries, since it is natural, does not arise from Protestantism, but from human endeavor.

A young nation of strong character, of robust constitution and of talent for enterprise, who faithfully and passionately cultivate a virgin soil, can obtain more abundant fruits than a timid, effeminate and decrepit nation, that live idly on a worn out land.

That people by exploiting their soil have followed the natural

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[80] Mt. xxiii., 38.

[81] "Hieronymus dicit: Si quando videris inter multa mala opera facere peccatorem quemquam aliqua quae ilusta sunt, non est ta miniustus Deus ut propter multa mala obliviscatur paucorum bonorum. Dicendum, quod Deus recordatur bonorum quae quis fecit in statu peccati, non ut remuneret ea in vita aeterna, quae debetur solis operibus vivis, id est ex caritate factis; sed remunerat ea temporali remuneratione, sicut Gregorius dicit in hom. De divite et Lazaro, quod: Nisi dives ille aliquod bonum egisset et in praesenti saeculo remunerationem accepisset, nequaquam ei Abraham diceret: Recepisti bona in vita tua" (S. Theol. III., 89, 6, arg. et resp. ad 3m).

[82] I. Tim. vi., 8.

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motion of God, who gave it to them in order that they might improve it:[38] and because they followed God's motion, He has rewarded them.

This is irrelevant to point its supernatural merit, as it may be null: for the reward is natural and for a natural merit it has been granted to them.

Whatsoever they have obtained being the majority Protestants, they would also have obtained if they were all Catholics.

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[38] "Quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam, ut ego veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam?" (Lc. 19, 23).

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THE CONTROL OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

PRIOR to the date when the United States became a sovereign nation, the treaty-making power was, in theory, in the Continental Congress. That body, however, could not enforce its decrees and was dependent upon the will of the several, and at that time, independent States.

When the Convention of 1787 met in Philadelphia, it was at first proposed to vest the power to declare war, to make treaties and to appoint and receive ambassadors in the Senate alone. The country had but recently felt the hand of the King of Great Britain, and it was somewhat disinclined to trust the executive in these matters. The Convention met May 25, 1787. On June 1, in the course of the debate, Mr. Pinckney observed that while he favored a vigorous executive, he did not favor granting power to him as to peace and war. Mr. Rutledge "said he was for vesting the executive power in a single person, though he was not for giving him the power of peace and war." Mr. Wilson stated that "he did not consider the prerogatives of the British monarch a proper guide in defining executive powers. Some of these prerogatives were of a legislative executive nature; among others, that of war and peace, etc. The only powers he considered strictly executive were those of executing the laws and appointing officers, not appertaining to, and appointed by, the Legislature." In the original plan offered by Mr. Randolph on May 29, it was provided that "the Senate shall have the sole and exclusive power to declare war; and to make treaties; and to appoint ambassadors and other ministers to foreign nations."—Art. VII. "The Legislature of the United States" was also given power "to call forth the aid of the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to enforce treaties, suppress insurrections and repel invasions."—Art. VI. On June 18, Mr. Hamilton suggested that the executive be granted "with the advice and approbation of the Senate, the power of making treaties; to have the sole appointment of the heads or chief officers of the Department of Finance, War and Foreign Affairs; to have the nomination of all officers (Ambassadors to foreign nations included) subject to the approbation or rejection of the Senate"; that "The Senate" "shall have the sole power of declaring war; the power of advising and approving all treaties." On June 26, Mr. Wilson observed that "The Senate will probably be the depositary of the powers concerning the latter subjects," to wit, wars and treaties.

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On August 6, the Report of the Committee on Detail provided that "the Legislature of the United States" shall have the power to "enforce treaties," to make war, etc.—Art. VII. And it also specified that "The Senate of the United States shall have the power to make treaties, and to appoint ambassadors." The President was given the power "to receive Ambassadors."—Art. IX. In the debate of August 17, on the question as to granting of power to make war, Mr. Pinckney opposed "the vesting of this power in the Legislature. . . . The Senate would be the best depositary, being more acquainted with foreign affairs." Mr. Butler advocated the "vesting the power in the Senate." "Mr. Madison and Mr. Gerry moved to insert 'declare' striking out 'make' war; leaving to the executive the power to repel sudden attacks." This was agreed to. On August 20, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, seconded by Mr. Pinckney, proposed that "the Secretary of Foreign Affairs shall be appointed by the President during pleasure. It shall be his duty to correspond with all foreign ministers, prepare plans and treaties, and consider such as may be transmitted abroad; and generally to attend to the interests of the United States in their connections with foreign powers." This was referred to the Committee on Detail. On August 23, Art. IX, Sec. 1, being resumed, to wit: "The Senate of the United States shall have the power to make treaties and to appoint ambassadors and Judges of the Supreme Court," Mr. Madison observed that the Senate represented the States alone; and that for this as well as other obvious reasons, it was proper that the President should be the agent in treaties. After debate, the matter was postponed for further consideration. The Convention adjourned September 27. It had been in session since May 23, and this was the first real proposal to permit the executive any power as to conduct of foreign relations. On August 25, the words, "the power of the President to receive ambassadors" was amended to read that he "shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers." This is the only exclusive power in the conduct of foreign relations that the Convention was vesting in the executive. On September 4, the Committee of Eleven reported, among other things, that "the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have power to make treaties; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors and other public ministers, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise herein provided for. But no treaty shall be made without the consent of two-thirds of the members present." On September 7, the first part of this section was taken up. Mr. Wilson moved to add after

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the word, "Senate" the words, "and House of Representatives." The matter was briefly debated and the amendment lost. The clause as it read was adopted *nem. con.*, and the words, "and consuls," added. Mr. Wilson raised the objection that if two-thirds was necessary, a minority might control the will of the majority. An exception was made as to treaties of peace. Mr. Madison then moved to authorize a concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate to make treaties of peace, without the concurrence of the President. The President, he said, would necessarily derive so much power and importance from a state of war that he might be tempted, if authorized, to impede a treaty of peace. Mr. Butler seconded the motion. Mr. Gorham thought the security unnecessary, as the means of carrying on the war would not be in the hands of the President, but in the Legislature. Mr. Gouverneur Morris thought the power of the President in this case harmless; and that no peace ought to be made without the concurrence of the President, who was the general guardian of the national interests. The motion was lost and the section as amended adopted. On September 12, a report was made by the committee. In this we find the provision finally incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.

From this it is apparent that the Convention intended to vest the power as to foreign relations in both the Senate and the President. At first, it was reluctant to grant any power whatsoever to the executive—but near the close of the session, on the suggestion of Madison, the President was given power to negotiate and conclude treaties, acting all the while with the advice and consent of the Senate. The only exclusive power that the President seems to have been given, in foreign relations, was to receive foreign diplomatic agents.

From this power to receive ambassadors, it is argued that the President may judge as to recognition of foreign countries and as to belligerency. The history of the Convention of 1787 does not, however, disclose this intention, and if any portion of such power be exclusively in the President, it must be as a necessary incident to his power to receive ambassadors. The power to receive foreign representatives, however, is one that must be exercised subsequent to decision as to whether there shall be any diplomatic relations whatsoever. The latter is a matter as to the very nature of foreign relations and the former as to the personnel of the agency. The latter goes to the very root of our relations with other governments and therefore is a matter that comes within neither the exclusive control of the President nor the Senate, nor, for that matter, of the Congress excepting where it involves the question of declaring war or making peace. And while the Senate

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may acquiesce or the Congress, in a proper case, may not express a dissent as to the act of the President, nevertheless that fact alone does not vest, divest or change the constitutional powers. This doctrine has been recognized by both the legislative and the executive departments of government, and President Wilson would seem to have been the first to question it. In his message to Congress, December 31, 1836, President Jackson speaks of the recognittion of Texas as "a power nowhere expressly delegated and only granted in the Constitution, as it is necessarily involved in some of the great powers given to Congress, in that given to the President and the Senate to form treaties with foreign powers and to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers and in that conferred upon the President to receive ambassadors from foreign nations." Rawle says that "the power of Congress on this subject cannot be controlled; and they may, if they think proper, acknowledge" a foreign government. Alexander Hamilton says in *Federalist*, No. 75, that "the history of human conduct does not warrant that exalted opinion of human virtue which would make it wise in a nation to commit interests so delicate and momentous a kind as those which concern its intercourse with the rest of the world to the sole disposal of a magistrate created and circumstanced as would be the President of the United States." Numerous instances may be found in Hind's "Precedents" where the Congress has acted—in some instances on the initiation of the House of Representatives.

The Constitution of the United States says that the President "shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."—Art. II., Sec. 2. This applies not only to ratification but to negotiation as well. It does not limit the participation of the Senate to adoption or rejection of the treaty, but makes it a party to every step leading up to final consummation of a binding pact. The executive in practice, acting at times nominally and at other times in fact through the Department of State, has the more active part to perform. He is ordinarily the spokesman in matters international. Through this department of his cabinet he may communicate with the governmental representative of other countries. This is done either by the channel of our diplomatic representative in the other country or directly with the foreign ambassador resident in Washington. He may do this, either orally or by written message, as to him may seem best. At times he may and does call into consultation leading members of the Senate or the House of Representatives, or of the Foreign Relations Committee of either house. A recent instance of this is where President Wilson called

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to the White House members of the Senate and explained to them the so-called League of Nations Covenant, then in the final stage of negotiation.

If written method of communication be adopted, the note is delivered to the official representative of the foreign government to whom it is addressed, either through the medium of the ambassador of such nation resident in Washington, or through our ambassador in the country to which it is directed, or directly by such special representative. The reply is made through our ambassador in the foreign country or directly to the Secretary of State at Washington through the foreign representative there resident or by special representative. Notes may pass back and forth; personal interviews may be had through diplomatic representatives; consultations with leading Senators may and do occur from time to time; until finally the terms of the proposed compact are agreed on or drafted. The President thereupon submits the treaty to the Senate. He at the same time sends a message conveying to that body such information as he may deem advisable. The Senate, acting as a committee of the whole, considers the matter behind closed doors. This is called an executive session. Public hearings, as in the case of the Panama Tolls hearing, may be held by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, or by a special committee to be appointed by the Senate at its option, and testimony and statements taken. Thereafter the matter is referred back to the Senate with such recommendations as the Committee may deem fit to make. The treaty is then considered in open session, and the Senate acts one way or the other in reference to it. If two-thirds of the Senators present vote for ratification, such fact is notified to the President, who signs it, proclaims it and notifies the other nation to the agreement of its adoption. In case the Senate refuses to ratify, further negotiations are necessary. In case the Senate or the Committee that may be considering it desires further light on the subject, it calls upon the President to furnish the same. This process continues until the treaty is finally disposed of. The Judiciary takes no part in either negotiation or ratification.

Treaties are of two kinds: those who are self-executing without an Act of Congress and those which require legislation to carry them into effect. In the former case the treaty is effective on proclamation; but in the latter case it is of no effect until the Congress shall have enacted the necessary legislation.[1] If, for instance, the execution of the provisions of the treaty requires an appropriation by Congress, it would not be effective until such act were passed and became a law. Such a bill must originate in the

[1] Foster vs. Nelson, 2 Pet. 253.

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House of Representatives, must pass both houses of Congress and be signed by the President, or, if vetoed, passed over his veto. The treaty is not a nullity—it is merely a part of one general scheme and the treaty remains dormant until Congress enables the execution of it. A good illustration is the purchase of Alaska, or of any territory requiring appropriation. There are many instances other than where expenditure of money is involved where legislation must be had. Congress, and even the House of Representatives alone, may therefore exercise negation on the treaty-making power. Other countries must take notice of this peculiarity in our system of government in dealing with us. Until all requisite branches of government act, the United States is not bound, legally or morally, in any way, shape or form.

The President executes the treaty. In so doing he may take such action as will not infringe upon the powers of the Congress or of the Judiciary. His authority is limited only by the Constitution.

The Judicial Department interprets the Constitution and all acts performed in pursuance thereof. Article II., Sec. 2, of the Constitution provides: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed."

This section was later amended to contain the following: "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against

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one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."—Amend. XI.

Any foreign government or its nationals may in a proper case apply to this department of government for redress and thereby effect an amicable adjustment of many controversies. It may even take such course prior to diplomatic negotiations or in aid of the latter. Ordinarily, however, a country will not consent to adjudication of a dispute by public officials of its adversary. Negotiations failing, resort must be had to arbitration or to war.

Arbitration is always initiated by treaty. It is necessarily an extreme remedy, adopted only as a last resort to avoid armed conflict or in matters not vital to the nation. The personnel of the board is selected from other countries. Human nature seems to be so constituted that they are never entirely disinterested. Matters that should not enter the controversy are often determinative of the award. National interest is all controlling and the hearing cannot in the very nature of things be impartial. To illustrate: In the matter of the brig of war, *General Armstrong*, the President of France acted as arbitrator. During the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain, an American privateer, bearing letters of marque from this government, was attacked by a British squadron in the neutral port of Fayal, one of the Azores, then under the control of Portugal, in defiance of all rules of international law. The authorities failed to afford the Americans that protection to which they were indubitably entitled, and Captain Reid of the *General Armstrong* was compelled to destroy his ship to prevent its capture by the British. The matter was taken up through diplomatic channels, and finally in 1851 submitted to arbitration. Because of the relations between France and England, the arbitrator arbitrarily decided in favor of Portugal. Our own Court of Claims felt constrained to give judgment to the claimants as against the United States to obviate the injustice of the decision resulting from the submission of the matter to arbitration. This case is typical and shows the practical operation of arbitration.

In recent years, the United States has entered into certain agreements establishing what is known as The Hague Tribunal. This was an attempt to create an impartial court. It was empowered to make awards in matters submitted to it—but not to enforce them. The observance of the decree was left to the honor of the contending nations. International public opinion would condemn any country that failed to conform to the recommendations of this institution where compliance with them was permissible under its governmental institutions. Such a tribunal was in the nature of

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things imperfect—but it entered the very shadowland of our constitutional system.

The so-called Bryan arbitration treaties went further and sought to secure delay before resort to war, in order that sober second thought might intervene and prevent bloodshed.

The League of Nations Covenant, so called, was an attempt to formulate a more perfect system. It was an endeavor to create a world institution with power to compel observance of its decrees. This agreement sought as a means to prevent war: (1) delay that would compel a dispassionate consideration of the controversy; (2) ascertainment and publication by a disinterested body of the facts over which the misunderstanding arose and a recommendation to the parties to the controversy of a mode of settlement, and (3) termination of commercial and other relations between the members of the League of Nations and the nation failing to act as in the covenant provided or as members of the League determine that equity and good conscience require. These were the primary means sought to be incorporated in the League of Nations Covenant. Unfortunately provisions were incorporated in that document that were not only violative of the Constitution of the United States as hereinafter discussed, but subversive of the League itself.

The negotiation of this treaty was attempted by the President in person. He seldom conferred with the Senators. He left the United States, taking with him a large number of assistants and established headquarters in France. After negotiation of the league covenant he called to him certain Senators and explained the agreement. He insisted that the instrument should be ratified as he should submit it. He procured its embodiment in the same instrument with the treaty of peace, in order that the one should carry the adoption of the other. Certain Senators, a sufficient number to defeat the covenant, inserted in the *Congressional Record* a signed statement showing their disapproval of the instrument, and sought in this way to impress upon President Wilson the futility of attempting to secure the adoption of the treaty as planned. But the President ignored this. When the treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification, the Senate refused to acquiesce in its provisions. Senators opposed it on various grounds. They objected to the alliance specified in Article X. of the instrument. They argued that it would bind this country to submit matters such as the Monroe Doctrine, immigration and domestic matters to representatives of countries not in sympathy with our point of view. They said that the council sought to be established was composed of diplomats and not arbitrators. They insisted that the treaty imposed a super-government and invaded our sovereignty. They said

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that the covenant was so drawn as to deprive the Senate of participation in foreign affairs and give exclusive control of the same to the President. They argued that it was unconstitutional. They specified numerous other objections, and refused to ratify the treaty as written. And there the matter stands to-day.

In other matters than those involving a treaty, the foreign relations are in practice conducted almost entirely by the executive. If they involve some other department of government, he consults that department. If they do not, then he acts alone.

One important power the President cannot exercise. He cannot declare war. Congress alone may do that. When matters come to such a pass that diplomatic negotiations fail to bring the results sought, and the matter of disagreement is of sufficient moment to justify in his mind a resort to arms, he communicates the facts of the case to the Congress with his recommendations. That body may then declare war or not as it sees fit. It may even on its own motion and in defiance of the desires of the President declare war. Neither the President nor the Judiciary possess any power in the premises. Once war is declared, however, the President is the Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and he executes the will of Congress as evidenced by such declaration of war.

During the continuance of the war, of course, the diplomatic relations between the belligerents are terminated. All ambassadors and public ministers are given their passports and excluded from the country.

Peace is merely cessation of war. This condition may exist either with or without a treaty so declaring; but until the President issues a proclamation of peace, either under direction of the Congress acting by joint resolution by virtue of its power over peace and war, or of his own free will, the country is still technically at war. Diplomatic relations may be resumed and a treaty ratified as in the case of any other treaty—or diplomatic relations may be resumed without a treaty of any kind. The general practice is to enter into a treaty of peace.

Once ratified and proclaimed treaties have the same effect as an Act of Congress. They may be repealed by a later Act of Congress and they cannot bind subsequent Congresses any more than an ordinary act of legislation. "By the Constitution," says the Supreme Court of the United States, "a treaty is placed on the same footing as an act of legislation. Both are declared by that instrument to be the supreme law of the land and no superior efficacy is given either over the other. . . . If the two are inconsistent, the last in date will control the other, provided the stipulation of the

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treaty upon the subject is self-executing."[2] If it is not self-executing, of course, the treaty will not supersede the prior Act of Congress until the necessary legislation be enacted to carry it into effect. Both take precedence over the constitutions and laws of the States, provided they be within the grant of power contained in the Constitution of the United States.[3] Both are subject to and must be within the delegations and prohibitions of that instrument.[4] No fundamental change in our system of government can be made by use of this power.[5] Constitutional power cannot be redistributed. The balances created by that instrument cannot be disturbed. Constitutional prohibitions cannot be dispensed with.[6] James Madison said: "I do not believe that the power is given to the President and Senate to dismember or alienate any great essential right. I do not think the whole legislative authority have this power. The exercise of the power must be consistent with the object of the delegation."

In exercising the treaty-making power, therefore, the President and Senate are restricted to the limitations of the Constitution and such as are inherent in the nature of State and Federal governments.[7] Within these limitations, however, the power is plenary.[8] And where these limitations are transcended, the Judiciary may in a proper case declare the treaty to be unconstitutional or of no effect.

Prior to the Declaration of Independence, the people of this country were subjects of Great Britain. Sovereignty was in the Crown, and from it passed to the people of the newly created States. In colonial times, the only semblance of popular voice in government was in the legislative department. That body was theoretically representative of the people at large—but even it was held in restraint by England. Its enactments were not only subject to veto by a governor appointed by the Crown, but also by the King in Council. Judges were dependent on the King of Great Britain for their tenure of office, and from the decisions of these appointees there was an appeal to the Privy Council. An Act of Parliament also took precedence over colonial legislation.

During the War of the Revolution, there necessarily was confusion, and government was ordinarily by local committees. The

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[2] Whitney vs. Robertson, 124 U. S. 190.
[3] See Re Tiburcio Parrott, 1 Fed. 482.
[4] Geofroy vs. Riggs, 133 U. S. 267; People vs. Gerke, 5 Cal. 381; License Tax Cases, 5 How. Rep. 612, 613.
[5] Holden vs. Joy, 17 Wall. 243.
[6] Geofroy vs. Riggs, 133 U. S. 266; Fort Leavenworth R. R. Co. vs. Lowe, 114 U. S. 525.
[7] R. I. vs. Mass., 12 Pet. 724.
[8] Ware vs. Hylton, 3 Dall. 199; Chirac vs. Chirac, 2 Wheaton 259; Houenstein vs. Lynham, 100 U. S.

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cities were for the most part in the possession of the British forces, and therefore controlled in the interest of the Tory landholders. The people themselves had very little power. They therefore had not much faith in either the executive or judicial departments of government, and as a result, on attaining independence, the more important powers were vested in the legislatures. Courts and executives were made subordinate and the legislative department was given supreme authority. Now and then a judge would assert his independence, only to be rebuked or possibly removed from office. Abuses naturally crept in and laws of the most vicious tendency and in the interest of certain classes were enacted. Credit was destroyed. Hard times set in. The merchant could not sell his wares and the farmer could not obtain money to pay for harvesting his crops. Laws enacted for a class would react on that class, resulting in turbulence and violence. People could not obtain the money with which to pay their taxes. Shay headed a revolt in Massachusetts that for a time threatened to extend to the other States. We read that even George Washington was two years in arrears on his taxes through inability to sell what he had raised.

The States at that time were independent of each other. There was no such thing as the United States as we understand the term now. The late colonies were, it is true, loosely joined together by the Articles of Confederation—but this was a compact pure and simple, and created no governmental agency that had the power to enforce its recommendations. Conditions finally reached such a pass that Alexander Hamilton conferred with other constructive statesmen to bring about the convocation of a convention to strengthen the bond of union and grant coercive power to the central authority. Delegates were assembled to seek a remedy. The necessity of restraint of some kind was such that a new government—not a mere league such as had existed under the Articles of Confederation, but a government national in scope and representative of the people, a "government of checks and balances," as it has been aptly called, was formulated. Theretofore the legislatures of the States had dominated—thereafter State and National governments acted in restraint of each other, and the executive, the legislative and the judicial departments were mutually co-ordinate and yet independent.

The Constitution of 1789 was an instrument national in character and superseded in many respects the State governments. Part of the powers that had theretofore been exercised by the States was withdrawn and delegated to the new government then created. In some respects the States were paramount, and in others the United States. Both operated in the same territorial limits, but as

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to different spheres. Each was sovereign in its sphere, and wherever they conflicted, the Constitution of the United States and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof were supreme. Power over peace and war and over matters international in character were taken from the States composing the Union and vested in the Federal government. They ordained that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex poste facto* law or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility;" that "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts, or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."—Art. I., Sec. 10.

This instrument of government was submitted to the people themselves in convention assembled and by them adopted; and while it is true that these conventions were selected by the proper authority with reference to State lines, nevertheless the people themselves as the ultimate sovereigns acted. This fact is important and must be kept in mind in considering our form of government in any of its relations.

In the Preamble to the Constitution, the people declare the act of government. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America." Every power in the instrument must be construed with reference to the purposes therein declared. In furtherance of these expressed objects, they "do ordain and establish" something definite, something permanent excepting in so far as it is thereafter changed by amendment or by a new delegation supplementing the powers delegated, something the limits and nature of which they specify. They had just gone through a period of stress and trouble due to lack of restraint; and they were seeking to create an agency so limited as to avoid repetition of the evils of

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the prior period. They therefore created a government wherein they delegated certain powers to certain governmental agents named, and retained all other powers. If change should be found necessary, they, the ultimate sovereigns, should determine whether it should be made or not. The fundamental idea underlying it was the mutual restraint in government. There were three co-ordinate departments in mutual restraint of each other. They vested executive power in a President, legislative power in the Congress, and judicial power, excepting as to impeachment, in a Supreme Court and such inferior—not collateral or superior, but inferior—courts as the Congress may from time to time establish. The treaty-making power was vested in the President and Senate, and impeachment was to be tried by the Senate. These three departments, co-ordinate and mutually restrictive, constitute the government of the United States.

These are all the departments of government created. To these three departments, and to no other, the people have delegated all power they have seen fit to entrust to the Federal government. This definite thing, so created, must not be altered excepting as the people shall ordain. All powers not delegated to the one or the other of these departments are reserved to the States or to the people. Excepting in so far as exercised by the States, they are still within the sovereign undelegated rights and powers of the people. No redistribution can be had, no change in the fundamental theory made, excepting by the people themselves. No third government, whether it be in the form of a League of Nations or otherwise, could be incorporated in our system—for that would in effect subvert government as created by the people.

The government of the United States is a delegated government. "The judicial power in the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."—Art. III., Sec. 2. "The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachment." There can be no Star Chamber created, nor ecclesiastical courts, no commissions, international or otherwise, to exercise judicial power excepting in conformity to these provisions relating to creation of courts inferior to the Supreme Court. Judicial power cannot be given to any body unless created by the Congress as a court inferior to the Supreme Court. Congress can create no court excepting in so far as the same be in accordance with the delegated authority. And no other body may create any other court under the Constitution.

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in the Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."—Art. I., Sec. 1. In Art. I., Sec. 8, of the Constitution is found the detail of legislative power granted.

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It includes taxation for the payment of "the debts and to provide for the common defense and general welfare *of the United States,*" for borrowing money, regulating "commerce with foreign nations and among the several States with the Indian tribes," establishment of an uniform rule of naturalization and laws on the subject of bankruptcies "throughout the United States," coining money, constituting "tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court," defining and punishing piracies and felonies within certain limitations, declaring war, granting letters of marque and reprisal and making rules concerning captures on land and water, raising and supporting armies and providing and maintaining navies, making rules for the government and regulation of land and naval forces, providing for calling forth the militia under certain limitations and for their organization, arming and discipline, and other powers. These powers are vested in the legislative department. The people have in their sovereign capacity predetermined that these powers shall be exercised by the Congress so constituted. It is to the discretion of that Congress that they have entrusted these powers and *not to any other body unknown to the Constitution.*

"The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."—Art. II., Sec. 1. His qualifications are prescribed, his term of office specified, his duties defined. "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the active service of the United States. . . . He shall nominate and by and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for and which shall be established by law; and the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments." He has power to fill *ad interim* vacancies. He shall give to Congress information, recommend legislation, convene extra sessions of Congress, receive ambassadors, commission officers of the United States, and see that the law is faithfully executed. There is no other executive provided for, and all power of an executive character that the people have seen fit to delegate to the central authority is vested in the President of the United States. It cannot be transferred to any other executive without express sanction of the people.

Congress and other Federal officials are constitutional officers. They are mere creatures of the Constitution. They have no power except as therein prescribed. They have taken an oath to support and observe the Constitution and can act only in accordance with

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the delegations of that instrument. They cannot legally do anything in conflict with it. They are created to carry on the government as it has been constituted by the people. They must not do anything that infringes on the fundamental idea of division of power as predetermined by the people—for that would be to destroy and not to uphold what they are sworn to observe.

In creating these departments, the people have created a trust for the purposes declared in the Preamble, with the limitations specified in the Constitution. They delegated certain authority to be by certain officers used for certain purposes. "The powers of government," says the Supreme Court of the United States,[9] "are delegated in trust to the United States and are incapable of transfer to other parties. They cannot be abandoned or surrendered. . . . The execution of these trusts is not the subject of barter or contract." Sovereign power has been vested in certain officers and sovereignty cannot be redelegated without express authorization from the principal, the American people.

A treaty must conform to the Constitution. It must not attempt to transfer sovereignty. It must not attempt to interfere with the execution by the Federal government or any department thereof, of powers necessary for them to function. It must not delegate any power of government, legislative, judicial or executive, to officials not known to the Constitution of the United States. It must not create an official or body of officials unknown to the Constitution and consisting partly of aliens and vest in them any power granted to the government of the United States. It must not infringe on the reserved or undelegated powers of government. It must not subordinate the discretion imposed on agencies created in accordance with the organic act of government to those not so instituted or those not recognized by that instrument. It must not delegate to a board of arbitrators or world legislature or world executive any power governmental in its nature—either authority to declare war or to make peace, to maintain an army and navy or command the same, to provide for the revenue of the like. It must not confer power over the government of the United States or any department thereof or over the States. It must not disturb the balance of power created by our institutions. And if it does, unless adopted by an amendment as provided in the Constitution, in a proper case, or assented to if supplemental and an additional grant of power as required by that instrument, the courts will declare it null and of no effect.

[9] Fue Yue Zing vs. U. S., 149 U. S. 698; Chae Chan Ping vs. U. S. 130 U. S. 581.

Oakland, California. FRED B. HART.

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ON PROGRESS

LIKE all vast generalizations, the idea of human progress and the conscious sense of a common civilization were a very slow movement built up gradually by partial enlightenment and fitfully seen by poets and thinkers in special manifestations.

During the past century progress has lain chiefly in the domain of the mechanical and material. The progress has been admirable, and has led to natural rejoicing and legitimate pride. It has also led to a supposition that all possible scientific advance lies in this same direction, or even that all the great fundamental discoveries have now been made! Discovery proceeds by stages, and enthusiasm at the acquisition of a step or a landing-place obscures for a time our perception of the flight of stairs immediately ahead.

The familiar question, familiar to Seneca and even earlier thinkers, is whether great communities and historic civilizations are subject to diseases similar to what senility is to man, and, like it, the precursor and cause of final dissolution. Some seem to think that certain races are incapable of advance beyond a certain point, but leave the reader in the presence of a variety of possible explanations of arrested development.

Through mere weariness of spirit, the community resigns itself to a contented stagnation; or it shatters itself in pursuit of impossible ideals, or, for other and obscurer reasons, flags in its endeavors and falls short of possible achievement. If history teaches anything, it teaches that times of high emotion and spiritual exaltation are followed, if not by an orgy of frivolity, at least by some relaxation of morals and some declension of conduct.

One novel hope, denied to past ages, is open to ours. In the modern alliance between pure science and industry, in the improvement in material conditions under which societies now live, and in the new relations to be established between the highest intellectual achievements and the wants of average humanity he sees a new and potent antiseptic against the causes of decadence in the past.

If progress be arrested, as presumably it must be, by the limitation of human faculty, we should expect the ultimate boundary to be capable of indefinite approach, and we should *not* expect that any part of the road towards it, once traversed, would have to be retraced. Even in the organic world, decay and death, familiar though they be, are phenomena that call for scientific explanation. And Weismann has definitely asked how it comes about that the higher organisms grow old and die, seeing that old age and death

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are not inseparable characteristics of living protoplasm, and that the simplest organisms suffer no natural decay, perishing, when they do perish, by accident, starvation, or specific disease. The answer he gives to his own question is that the death of the individual is so useful to the race, that natural selection has, in all but the very lowest species, exterminated the potentially immortal. As matter cannot be divorced from gravity, so life cannot be dissociated from either its inheritance or its progress. Life is its own principle. Seek progress by casting aside tradition and progress is stayed; the life must sleep.

Investigation is laborious and unexciting; it takes years, and progress is slow; but in all regions of knowledge it is the method which in the long run has led towards truth; it is the method by which what we feel to be solid and substantial progress has always been made. In many departments of human knowledge this fact is admitted—though men of science have had to fight hard for their method before getting it generally recognized. In some departments it is still contested, and the arguments of Bacon in favor of free experimental inquiry are applicable to those subjects which are claimed as superior to scientific test. Still, all movement is, as movement, a real progress towards something. There is a distinction of real and apparent, or right and wrong progress, says Professor Cronin, "according as it is or is not progress towards the particular end which we wish to attain. The man who while intending to go east by mistake goes west, is not progressing truly. Hence, mere movement as such could not be the end of one who wishes to reach an end, since movement may not be true progress."

There can be no question as to the increase of organic complexity in the age-long course of the development of life on the globe. The advance has not been general or universal. There is still the amœba —but there is also man. Assuredly we have here an instance of continuous progress. Not that mere complexity in itself necessarily implies increase of real value. But the complexity does not stand alone; it has been accompanied by a concurrent development of psychical powers. It is debated, however, whether, in man's case, there is any further improvement in physique—strength, beauty, and the rest. Now suppose the decision to be in the negative—we then seek for the cause. And we find it in the influence of social relations. Civilization protects the physically unfit. Huxley went so far as to affirm that this elimination of "natural" selection amounted to a reversal of the cosmic process. Social relations, mark, are to the fore. But this same eliminating influence may reverse its action, and reintroduce selection in a new guise. The science of eugenics is even now coming to the birth. The diffi-

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culties in its path are enormous; but there is ample time before it in which it may learn how to surmount them. And thus the fact (supposing it to be such) that there is an arrest of human physical development is seen to be of secondary importance. The real stress is on the social factor. The case of mental development is strictly parallel so far as brain-power is concerned. Have we advanced on the Cromagnon standard? He would be a bold man who would dogmatize; for we know too little about the Cromagnon race and too little about the brain.

"Civilization has throughout meant, and still means," writes Mr. Hyndman, "the degradation and embrutement of vast numbers of the men and women who exist under its social system. In the most highly civilized countries, in the greatest and richest of civilized cities, crowds of people pass their lives in wretchedness and misery, from which the higher barbarians shrink in disgust. So little has humanity as a whole thought of this, so natural and inevitable has the squalor and suffering of millions of human beings seemed to the ablest brains of each successive period of civilized life, that it has all been taken for granted, and no organized collective effort has yet been made to attain to a less deplorable form of human association. Nor, on looking back over the long records of history, does it appear possible that the intermediate stages of unconscious social evolution could ever have been overleaped. Certainly, the forcible revolts of outraged human nature against intolerable suffering almost invariably fail to secure improved conditions, or, where accidental success was achieved, it meant only that the victors placed the vanquished under the yoke from which they had freed themselves." Some love to dream of the universal republic—it has immense artistic attractions—the fiercely yelling crowd, the savage faces, the red caps, the terrible mænad women urging the brawny ruffians on to shed more blood, the lurid light of burning churches, the pale and trembling victims dragged beneath the poised knife—ah, it is superb, it has stupendous artistic capabilities!

Modern democracy and the poverty of St. Francis differ by the whole of heaven. The love of God and the desire for union with Him is not the guiding principle of modern democracy, nor are the many schemes of official poor relief inspired with the desire to serve Christ in serving His members. The modern democrat does not propose to renounce money; he intends to gain more of it under his reformed political system. He does not propose to live upon crusts and scraps; he intends to have his luxuries and necessities at a considerably reduced rate. He does not propose to help and elevate the poor because he sees in them the representatives of His

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Master, but because if so elevated they may become useful and reputable members of society, will be happy, prosperous citizens of a great empire, and will be less of a burden on the race. We are not saying that he is not perfectly right, only he is not thereby a Friar Minor inchoate.

The "good life" of pagan tradition, the vital ecstasy of the Christian spirit, in so far as it is to-day attainable from its many and varied civic sources, issues from springs of renewal and inspiration, not so long ago united in the cloister, but nowadays trickling in the more or less isolated streams we call Drama, Music, Art, Literature, Poetry, Architecture and the like. Each of these streams singly pursues its own independent course, flushing, to be sure, many a soul with the waters of ecstasy. But something is lacking, as must be evident from the restless pursuit of emotional variety. What lacks is the power to compose fragmentary dreams into unity of design and to transform this into the deeds that express personality in full communion with society. The problem and the task, in which our "intellectuals" and our creative artists have so far respectively failed, is to build up a framework of thought and compose an orchestra of feeling in which all the scattered and disunited elements of the broken cloister may take their place and do their proper work.

If now the State ceases to protect rights, it will not hold together. The binding cement has crumbled. Once there are classes denied their rights, threatened with death though innocent, they will ask themselves (as they would have asked when first the State was formed): "Why should I belong to a society which does not give me my rights? I will fight for my own hand. I have at least the same rights here as I would have on a desert island; and if these people are banded together to destroy me who have done no wrong, I will fight first." And they will be right. Once the State begins attacking the rights of its members, it can give no reason for its own existence. Its argument to the victim is: "We are a gang of murderers; you are a member of the gang; come quietly and be killed."

We may have driven firm piles in that morass into which past civilizations have constantly relapsed. The last of the barbarian invasions may be over; our scientific fabric may not, within thinkable time, collapse; the ordered progress of the Victorian vision may be ahead and may last through aeons. But even so—and it is a large postulate—the vessel's wake cannot indefinitely be kept in sight. There will be a horizon to each age, beyond which the knowledge and interest of details far behind will fade. They will have new Shakespeares and new Spencers; our sonnets will have gone

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like our marble and the gilded monuments of our princes, beyond the range even of archæologists. And in the end what prospect does reason, working on the supposed facts that are now provided her, offer? A cooling and a disappearance. A void and frozen world circling in space, and a watching moon that has outlasted all mortal fames and seen the ultimate Shakespeare pass and die, leaving no more permanent trace than Hodge at his plough or the slaves that worked on the Pyramids. We know all that, yet knowing it makes no difference. For fame after death, however uncertain and however perishable, men will work, starve, and bear with cheerfulness the neglect of their contemporaries.

For some, nothing that mankind has ever done has been right. All history shows (an expression which Leslie Stephen once said was equivalent to "I choose to take for granted") that the "degradation and embitterments of vast numbers of men and women" is the invariable accompaniment of every stage of civilization; or rather of nearly every stage. War and competition, potent instruments of selection and evolution in one epoch, become ruinous instruments of degradation in the next. The man who has only one prescription to offer, who, for instance, always preaches action and energy, or always rest and quietness, always liberty or always discipline—has an insufficient conception of the largeness of life. Truth is a globe, and he only sees one side of it, and always the same side. We, tossed about by circumstances as we are, see now one side, now another, and want the right word for each. Only genius can say it, for only genius, not driven by circumstance, but in the exercise of its own free activity, has seen all the sides of the truth's round and built up a wisdom including them all.

Now experience is the contact with reality. Concrete events and personal facts chiefly concern us, since they make us what we are. The general ideas and cosmic conceptions of science are but pictures and symbols of reality, useful in their way as special, hampering us if we do not outstep them, as indeed we do and must in the daily business of life. Physiology has its range of experience, and psychology overlaps it. And both have their postulates, not to be proved by their own data, opening out into metaphysical considerations. There will always be an illusion of progress, because wherever we are conscious of an evil we remedy it, and therefore always seem to ourselves to be progressing, forgetting that most of the evils we see are the effects of long-continued retrogression.

Our experience, which is ever pointing us beyond its immediate form, is only explicable on the footing that we are more than we take ourselves to be. Otherwise we could not know. I am not merely object for knowledge but subject also. These appear to

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be aspects only distinguished within a greater entirety. When I ask what this entirety is I find it is no particular object or set of objects. It cannot be a substance; it can only be mind within which the notion of substance arises only as one due to itself, a distinction or category which its activity has established. The harmony and soundness of society depend upon its inner unity of mind. Social organization does not mean only an external fitting together, but an internal equality of mind. Society profits from contrasting views.

The power of the crowd over its members is sufficiently explained by the principle of "primitive sympathy," the principle, namely, that "in man and in the gregarious animals generally each instinct, with its characteristic primary emotion and specific impulse, is capable of being excited in one individual by the expressions of the same emotion in another, in virtue of a special congenital adaptation of the instinct on its cognitive or perceptual side." In an organized group as distinct from a crowd, on the other hand, collective action is the fruit of collective volition; it is action willed by the members of the group from a consciousness of their solidarity with the group.

The leading civilizations are threatened at the present moment with a serious deterioration in quality due to the increasing tendancy among them to breed from the inferior stocks. In the higher social strata formed and maintained by social and economic competition the economic stress is now so great as to discourage large families; at the same time the weakening of religious and customary sanctions owing to free speculation increases the unwillingness of these classes to undertake burdens opposed to the pleasure and welfare of the individual. Meanwhile, the "social ladder" has been so perfected in this democratic epoch that the more intelligent and strenuous elements in the lower strata mount swiftly to the summit, where they are drained off by the prevailing infertility. Nor is it to be forgotten that the growth of humanitarian ideas and social reform tend "to consummate by social organization the abolition of natural selection; that is to say, these changes are putting a stop to the repression by natural laws of the multiplication of the less fit, those least well endowed mentally and physically. The fact that the road to ruin is paved with so much comfort that the travelers themselves have forgotten where it leads and see a rose-garden, whereas outsiders see an abyss is due to the make-believe of a revolutionary bureaucracy.

The greatest and most determined of wars has just been dealing terrific blows to the civilization in which the theory of progress has been built up. It needs a well-founded faith to resist depression

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when one tries all in vain to realize the loss of brilliant life, the vast destruction, the crushing weight of debt, the legacy of hate. Modern civilization was wrecked on the fire-blasted fields, though they led to what we called "victory." More died there than the flower of youth and German manhood. The old order of the world died there, because many men who came alive out of that conflict were changed, and vowed not to tolerate a system of thought which had led up to such a monstrous massacre of human beings who prayed to the same God, loved the same joys of life, and had no hatred of each other except as it had been lighted and inflamed by their governors, their philosophers, and their newspapers.

The roots of war are deep-spread in the foundations of human society, with its national suspicions, individual and class greeds, and distrust in Christian charity. The only hope is in a change of heart, which will enable all classes to combine under leaders of unselfish purpose and fine vision, who will give us a new order combining the virtue of patriotism with a generous spirit to other peoples across the old frontiers of hate.

> They marched—and each, where every man was bold
> Sought to be keenest and surprise his mate.
> So must their joyous souls in rivalry
> Have raced the heroes' road to Heaven's gate.
> They laughed, but laughing well the fate they knew
> Of those who in that royal humor run
> To the assault as to a game. They drew
> On their white gloves, as though the enemy gun
> Had been a bride, and like a bridegroom flew
> Each to encounter that fierce kiss that lies
> Now on their crushed and ever-darkened eyes.

It seems obviously of the most supreme importance, if the world's civilization is to be saved from destruction, that in the future the great moral principles should be universally recognized by civilized nations. They should be upheld and maintained by every means possible, and for this there is not only required a sacred league of all Christian peoples, to enforce them by arms if necessary, but the association with those of the supreme moral authority, recognized as such by the world and able to speak to its subjects in every Christian nation.

Ever since the Reformation had destroyed the Christian basis of civilization, and Christendom had been torn in two by that irreparable disaster, the problem has had to be confronted as to what kind of basis society could be built upon. The gospel of the French Revolution was the idea that you could build a society without theological sanction, upon the self-evidence of human rights. Jefferson laid that down as the basis of the great American Re-

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public. Both Robespierre and Jefferson assumed the being of God. There was in Europe in the generation which preceded the French Revolution, a man who founded a State upon the denial of God and all that was implied in the existence of God. That man was Frederick the Great. The fact that he subsequently made Catholic allies, and that his State was supported by Catholic nations, proved nothing except that Catholics, like everybody else, could be blinded to the real obligations of their faith by all sorts of temporal necessities. The wealth of our inheritance is not measured by our successes, nor, we may hope, are the possibilities of progress encompassed by the poverty of our poor ideas as to what progress implies.

And if Christianity is, as it must be, the reproduction of the life of Christ, it, too, must expect to rejoice as Christ rejoiced, and to be troubled as Christ was troubled. For Christianity is not, as we are so often told, a set of rules; nor is it merely a set of principles—though that it is. Christianity is the reproduction of the life of Christ. This is the real test. Look at Christ and look at Christianity, and ask: Do the colors match? If they do, we shall expect to find the same two-sided vision as we saw in the face of Christ. And we find it. Looked at from the angle of vision it, too, is winning, drawing, attractive; there is nothing, literally nothing, like it. Looked at from another point of view, it is despised and rejected; it, too, is like "a dead man out of mind." The colors match.

Conspectuses of history are in the air just now. Mr. Wells has put his masterpiece into the form of an outline of the world's history. Mr. Chesterton, having taken the Cross and followed Godfrey of Bouillon to Jerusalem, has come home in a historic ecstasy. Mr. Belloc urges the view of history that the Vatican would urge if the Vatican were as enlightened and as free as Mr. Belloc. And all this at a moment when the threatened dissolution of European civilization is forcing us to turn in desperation to history and social theory for counsel and guidance.

When we look into the inner spirit and meaning of civilization, we see at once how many kinds there are. What will satisfy one group of people or nation will never satisfy another: as the occupants of each can live entirely apart from the others, it is clear that each are not really essentials of civilization. And to understand what things are really essential we must see what then is common to all of them, however different their externals may be. Justice, security and toleration are the necessary requisites. Of course it is not every one who can apply principles to practice, nor is it easy to refer to abstract ideas in concrete emergencies. "When we look at

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the various civilizations," says Professor Flinders Petrie, "which there have been, there is perhaps no one moral law or table which is not absent from some of them. It is open to a people to live their lives on moral tables without civilization, or on civilization without moral tables. Either frame is one-sided." The acquisition of fresh knowledge is a function of only a very small part of any community. One in ten thousand is really all that our civilization depends upon. The rest are copyists, the best stimulated to some new ideas by example, the worst entirely creatures of habit who cannot do anything but that they are taught. "Does any man seriously believe," says Bernard Shaw, "that the *chauffeur* who drives a motor car is a more highly evolved man than the charioteer of Achilles, or that a modern Prime Minister is a more enlightened ruler than Carson because he rides a bicycle, writes his dispatches by electric light, and instructs his stock broker through the telephone?" When we note that all the gain by invention has passed within a generation into increases of wage and conditions to the hand-workers, the loss of inventive ability will be reflected in stagnation of the general conditions of all. It is the first step in decivilization.

Landor, in one of his "Conversations," makes Machiavelli say that "democracies have enemies in most of the rich, in more of the timorous, and nearly in all the wise." This always has been true, and still is: must it always remain so? Monarchies and aristocracies have commonly died of the worship of an inequality false to nature; and of forgetting that change is of the essence of life. Democracies have died, even more surely and much more quickly, of the opposite things, of the worship of an equality as false as the inequality of the others, and of forgetting that the present is rooted in the past and dies if it be plucked away from its roots. If the democracies of Europe are to be saved and to build the new world, they must work out their salvation as much by their political justice, temperance and teachableness as by their tenderness to the weak, their faith in humanity, and their hope for a better and more generous order. But what do we mean by an event? The rise of seven degrees of the thermometer? The loss of a five-pound note? The death of Napoleon? To the physiologist the phrase only means that a certain organism has ceased to respond to the stimuli of its surroundings. No, the event is nothing less than a certain physical fact plus all the human feelings that led up to it, and all the human feelings that flowed from it.

The belief in the human event of progress is now so intimately blended with both public and private ethics and is so generally assumed in every call to social action, that few recognize how late

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is its development. It is, indeed, generally known that our remote ancestors placed the golden age in the past, and not in the future, that the Greeks aimed at perfect balance rather than continued development, and that one at least of the great religions of the world—and that the one long supreme and undisputed in the West—postulated the corruption of human nature. We seem to have arrived at a time when it has become clear that social, ethical and philosophical speculations will have to take history into account. Herbert Spencer brushed aside the historical record of man as a thing of no importance. Rome, France, Germany, Egypt had nothing to teach him. What mattered was the principles of biological evolution. Karl Marx, too, either neglected history, or noticed only such points as illustrated his theories. Canoste alone studied its importance. It was the growth of modern science—recognized in the famous aphorism of Pascal—that first brought the conception into vogue; but though in strict logic progress in any one department of life meant progress throughout, unless there was a corresponding retrogression elsewhere, several conditions were necessary before the belief could become generally valid. Now, looking back, we are inclined to think that these conditions were not only necessary to the acceptance of progress as an aim, but actually involved its recognition. As long as men were assured that human affairs were directly regulated by an omnipotent Providence, and that without the aid of that Power human nature was hopelessly corrupt, even a belief in progress must occupy an unimportant place as a stimulus to human action. Nor could the bare fact that our actions affected those about us, or those who would succeed us, arouse our devotion. The unity of the human race, the continuous life of mankind from age to age, gradually recognized, only became a possible substitute for ancient beliefs when men began confidently to look forward to a future ever growing happier and more glorious than the past.

In particular, philosophic materialism does not prove that economic causes are fundamental in politics. The view of Buckle, for example, according to which climate is one of the decisive factors, is equally compatible with materialism. So is the Freudian view, which traces everything to sex. There are innumerable ways of viewing history which are materialistic in the philosophic sense without being economic or falling within the Marxian formula. Thus the "materialistic conception of history" may be false even if materialism in the philosophic sense should be true.

On the other hand, economic causes might be at the bottom of all political events even if philosophic materialism were false. Economic causes operate through men's desires for possessions, and

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would be supreme if this desire were supreme, even if desire could not, from a philosophic point of view, be explained in materialistic terms.

To understand completely the history of an age must we know and understand the history of its art? It seems so. And yet the idea is intolerable to scientific historians. What becomes of the great scientific principle of water-tight compartments? Again, it is unjust; for assuredly, to understand art we need know nothing whatever about history. It may be that from works of art we can draw inferences as to the sort of people who made them: but the longest and most intimate conversations with an artist will not tell us whether his pictures are good or bad.

But we have changed all that. There is now a general appeal to history and each appellant is sure that he has secured the Elia verdict. Mr. Penty supports his doctrine of guild socialism as a wide survey of the centuries. Mr. Bernard Shaw is reported to be about to deal with the history of man in dramatic form. Mr. Wells has given us his views of creation and evolution, of prehistoric and historic man, and Mr. Chesterton has written a history in the interest of religion and politics with amazing agility of mind.

The great majority of educated persons hold the opinion that our wonderful discoveries and inventions in every department of art and science prove that we are really more intellectual and wiser than the men of past ages, that our mental faculties have increased in power. But, wrote Alfred Russell Wallace in 1913, "this idea is totally unfounded. We are the inheritors of the accumulated knowledge of all the ages; and it is quite possible and even probable, that the earliest steps taken in the accumulation of this vast mental treasury required even more thought and a higher intellectual power than any of those taken in our own era."

On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that the modern rate of progress will rule. Civilizations are no longer encircled by waves of barbarism that may destroy them, and if the lethargy of prosperity or sluggishness of administrative machinery destroy some they can now be replaced by a power that is more efficient as well as more rigorous. The imagination of the race is hit. Yet still the vast burden of armaments, taken together with the pious declarations in favor of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality is a guiding principle among the governing classes. We conclude with the following words of Wallace, which he printed in italics:

Taking account of (the) various groups of undoubted facts, many of which are so gross, so terrible, that they cannot be over-

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stated, it is not too much to say that our whole system of society is rotten from top to bottom, and the social environment as a whole, in relation to our possibilities and claims, is the worst that the world has ever seen. If we may believe Edward Carpenter, for the first time in history civilization is now practically continuous over the globe, now also for the first time we can descry forming in continuous line *within its very structure* the forces which are destined to destroy it and to bring about the new order.

The complete story of human progress is the story of ideal conception and of endeavor, and the unfailing realization of ideals in the growth of human beings with ideals uplifted and enlarged, while now it seems to be the breaking of chains and the casting off of the idea of authority. From the day that the first skin was made into a garment, the first flint shaped into an arrow-head, the first crooked stick to scratch the ground, to this age of silks, Maxim guns and electric ploughs, the victory of mind over matter has gone on progressing; for on that day the law of natural selection was vanquished: man burst the bonds in which nature was bound and asserted his freedom. Evolution is continuous, orderly change; but it is only when we regard the stream of life as a whole without fixing our attention on the pool-like tracts, that general progress is appreciable.

The drawbacks of progress are either temporary evils or permanent losses. To the first class belong all the painful effects of friction in the social machine. Change in ideas, in customs, in political institutions, always means, for a certain number and for a time, a painful sense of rupture with familiar surroundings, a feeling of strangeness and insecurity, not to speak of the grief which comes from the conviction that a trusted source of joy has proved itself to be illusory. There is no doubt that these evils are real and ought not to be lightly estimated. Yet a wise man is not likely to regard them as making the advantages of progress doubtful. Social change only takes place when the masses are ready for it, and approve of it; so that it is, after all, the minority only who suffer. But this is not all. One may reasonably urge that this evil of change is something which can be greatly reduced by the introduction of a different style of education, intellectual and moral. If men's minds were from the first familiarized with the idea of the constant flux of things, if their horizons were widened, and the partial and limited nature of their religious and other ideas made clear to them, they might be better trained to adapt themselves to the necessities of progress, and even cordially to concur in them.

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Again, if we turn to the positive evils attributed to progress, we shall see reason to temper our despondency. It is worth observing that many ills supposed to be incidents of civilization are but changed forms of ancient evils. We know so little respecting the social condition of past ages, that it is often impossible to say whether some present burden has not been handed down, so to speak, from far-off times. Thus, to judge of the significance of the bodily disease and the crime which characterize our modern civilization, it would be necessary to know something definite respecting the proportions of disease and crime in primitive modes of society; but this knowledge is inaccessible.

CLAUDE C. H. WILLIAMSON.

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THE PROBLEM OF REUNION IN EASTERN CHRISTENDOM.

IN a most valuable contribution to the *Stimmen der Zeit* (December, 1920), Father Henry Sierp, S. J., pointed out the great importance of the discussions between Orthodox and Anglicans in the Preliminary Meeting of the World Conference on Faith and Order (Geneva, August 12-20, 1920).

"In order to express an opinion on the recent attempt at reunion initiated by the Anglican churches, it is necessary to have a clear notion of the fundamental forces and processes of thought that have paved the way. The earliest impulse towards those attempts sprang from the *catholicizing* tendencies in the very bosom of the Anglican Church. They were brought to light in the second half of the nineteenth century, and took more definite shape following the *Tractarian* movement, and a deeper acquaintance with the conditions of the Church in the pre-Reformation age. The study of that period is closely connected with the above-mentioned tendencies. It throws into relief the fact that for a long interval of fifteen centuries of ecclesiastical history, more attention and a greater importance were given to the unity and authority of the visible Church of Christ than in the time of the Reformation. More than once the fact had been realized by the Episcopalian Church before the Oxford movement. The dull ecclesiology of Protestantism had been replaced by a system resting mostly on the Fathers of the Church and the old theology, and therefore nearer to the Catholic concept. The differences within Christianity, upon which Protestants looked as necessary results of living Christian thought, grieved Anglican circles, for they were in direct contradiction to the prayer of the Redeemer: *That all may be one.* On the one side, the constant orientation of many prominent members of the Anglican Church towards Rome, and, on the other, her dying influence over the great masses of the people, who were turning to the Free Churches, had convinced her leaders that some means had to be contrived in order to arrest the inward dissolution of Protestantism. The awakening of the thought of reunion appeared as the wisest means, the more so as not only among Anglican theologians, but even among the Dissenters, the conviction was growing that the numerous and often superficial divergences thwarted the spreading of Christianity in pagan lands. The bankruptcy of modern civilization, particularly during the war, and the thirst after absolute unity so as to avoid the complete ruin of mankind, have aroused or enlivened the aspirations

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towards a united Christianity. Large numbers now perceive that the Church of Christ, bleeding from thousands of wounds, is powerless to achieve the salvation of the human race."[1]

According to Father Sierp, the offspring of those aspirations and processes of thought, is the so-called World Conference on Faith and Order, appealing to all the Christian churches and denominations.

"Among its results we recall the rapprochement of several Christian denominations, the courteous and peaceful discussions of the representatives of Christian churches on the problems of reunion, the awakening of minds to the dangers that face Christianity, if the further subdivision of its already scattered masses continues. The organizers of the World Conference have stirred yearnings for reunion within the very heart of Protestantism, as well as the consciousness of the evils that from the inner conflicts of Christianity have resulted to the preaching of the Christian faith. Their policy, in summoning to the Conference only believers in the divinity of Jesus Christ, is praiseworthy. The limitation is wise, and testifies to the serious purposes of the pioneers of the movement. We must acknowledge the nobility of the motives that prompted them. We are convinced that unity will be reached if those motives inspire the members of the future World Conference, and make them free from preconceived opinions."[2]

The most eventful episode of the Preliminary Meeting of Geneva was the official participation of the Eastern Churches in its sessions. For the first time, after centuries of isolation, they came in contact with the Anglican churches and the Protestant denominations and labored with them on the problem of the restoration of Christianity. Orthodox conservatism and Protestant radicalism exchanged courtesies, and in defining their respective doctrinal positions, refrained from the use of poisoned shafts of controversy. Cordiality was the keynote of the discussions of the meeting: *Ein sehr freundlicher Ton beherrschte die Verhandlungen.*[3]

All the Eastern churches, with the sole exception of the Patriarchate of Antioch, had sent their delegates. The Orthodox churches of the Greek lineage were represented by seven Bishops, monks and laymen; while other Bishops, priests and laymen represented the Russian, Rumanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian churches. The pres-

[1] Unionsbestrebungen bei Protestanten, Stimmen der Zeit, 1920 (Dec.), pp. 184-185.
[2] Ibid., p. 191.
[3] Ibid., p. 198.

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ence of the Bulgarian delegates disturbed at first the Greeks. It is well known that by a decree issued by the Synod held in Constantinople on September 28, 1871, the Bulgarians were anathematized and rejected from the Orthodox Church as guilty of anticanonical nationalism. The Churches of Slavic lineage did not share the views of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and have treated the Bulgarians as genuinely Orthodox. The Greek Church, however, has stood firm by its decision, and accordingly the situation of its representatives in the meeting of Geneva was an awkward one. The difficulty was removed by Hamilcar Alivisatos, a lay professor of Canon Law in the University of Athens, who said the tiff between Greeks and Bulgarians was of a political character, and that in the presence of Western Christianity, it was desirable to exhibit the Orthodox Churches as a compact body. The Bulgarians had not failed in their profession of the unaltered dogmas of the Eastern Churches. They were schismatics because of their insubordination to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but their political revolt did not extend to the articles of faith. Hence it followed that as a matter of expediency their intercourse with the delegates of the other Orthodox churches was permissible.

The arguments of Alivisatos won over the other delegates of the Greek Orthodox churches, and thus, at least for several days, *theological* intercommunion between Greeks and Bulgarians was revived.

The most important document on the relations between the Eastern and the Anglican churches at the meeting of Geneva is the report issued by the three delegates of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria (Egypt); Polyeucte Kyriakides, Archbishop of Pelusium; Nicholas Evangelides, Archbishop of Nubia, and Professor Emmanuel Loukaras. It was inserted in the *Pantainos,* the official organ of the Patriarchate. The document gives us an idea of the conditions under which an understanding among the churches is possible. We say "an understanding," for several times the Eastern churches have declared that the reunion of Christianity is a problem the solution of which belongs to a far-distant future.

On the one side the divergences among churches are considerable. The Eastern church could not make concessions without the decision of an Œcumenical Council. The steadfastness of the Greek Church to its traditions or liturgical usages is so undeviating that even for the authorization of the Western practice of conferring the

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Sacrament of Confirmation considerably subsequent to, rather than immediately after, that of Baptism. Meletios, the former Metropolitan of Athens, has insisted upon the convocation of an Œcumenical Council. On the other hand, the general tendency of the Eastern churches is to aim at the preservation of their own autonomies, their liturgical peculiarities, their special points of doctrine. They are burdened with an inheritance which shows the stamp of centuries of polemics, at times of persecutions, of national struggles, of intellectual effort, of sad or glorious recollections, and it would be a great sacrifice for them to renounce a large part of the legacy of their ancestors. Thus think the Orthodox churches.

As a first step toward the reunion of Christianity, the Eastern hierarchy supports a league of the churches. The word and the idea have been suggested by the unfortunate League of Nations which, after so many dithyrambic praises of its inspirers and organizers, seems to be choked with sand. Before the war, the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople was about to launch the idea of a League of the Churches, and to send an invitation even to the Pope, in the hope that he might endorse it. They were prevented, however, by the Preparatory Commission of the World Conference, which in 1918, sent a deputation to Constantinople inviting the Patriarch to attend, either in person or by his delegates, the Preliminary Meeting of Geneva. The answer of the Patriarchal Synod was favorable to the participation of the Eastern churches in the movement of the World Conference, and their delegates submitted to the Geneva meeting the orthodox plan of the League of the Churches. This embraces the following principles:

A League of the Churches to be established under these conditions:

1. The total abolition of religious proselytism among the Christian churches, and a friendly coöperation in the field of missions among infidels.

2. Christian solidiarity and mutual love among Christian churches.

3. Alliance and coöperation of the churches for the revival and triumph of the principles of the Christian faith, and the successful struggle with any system opposing them.

4. Reciprocal study of the principles of the several churches.

5. Consolidation of smaller related religious denominations by mutual understanding and outward rapprochement so as to form great Christian families or groups.

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6. Reunion of the churches in faith and order, as the final purpose of the League.

That the League may be organized and act for the attainment of its end, the delegates of the Eastern churches proposed:

1. The appointment of a Permanent Commission of the Churches.

2. The institution of a special commission in each of the churches that participate in the League. The special commissions would work together with the central commission to reach the same goal.

3. The foundation of a special organ of the League of the Churches.

4. The periodical convocations of general meetings with the same purpose.

5. The fixing of the date and place of convocation of the World Conference.

The proposals of this plan of reunion, or League of the Churches, were explained in detail by Professor Alivisatos. His speech at the meeting of Geneva affords some glimpses into the psychological position of the Eastern churches in face of the problem of reunion.

It starts with a definition of the Orthodox Churches:

"Under the name of the Orthodox Church, we designate the aggregate of the various autonomous churches, namely of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Russia; the archbishoprics of Cyprus, and Sinai; the Metropolitan Sees of Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Georgia, and even Bulgaria. The members of these churches are to be found not only in their own respective countries, but in many lands of Europe and America and other continents. They amount to one hundred and thirty million souls. All these churches form the one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Each of them is an autonomous administrative unit. All together, however, they form an undivided and unique body, and in their mutual distinction they maintain the unity of the churches as it was in the earliest centuries of Christianity. The Orthodox Church, comprising the aggregate of all the above mentioned churches, rests on the faith handed down to us by our Lord, his Apostles and their successors. Her doctrine is based on two sources: Holy Writ and Apostolic Tradition. It continues as it was developed by the great fathers and doctors of the Church in the Œcumenical Councils. Its administration and external organization are based on the democratic principles on which the church rested in the age of the Apostles. In its most important parts, its worship remains the same as

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during the golden centuries of the history of the Christian Church. Its liturgy is that of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil. The Greek Church reads the New Testament in the original and uses it in its worship. She has permitted the several nations to which she gave Christianity, to use their own languages in their worship, and furthermore, she has created a new language when that was necessary. History knows all the services rendered by the Orthodox Church to the spreading and development of the Christian faith. Well-known are her struggles against Mohammedanism and the other enemies of Christianity. It is needless to recall the blood of her martyrs, shed through centuries, and even now in the Orthodox countries. But in spite of all persecutions, the much oppressed Church of the East has sheltered the Orthodox faith.

"Down to the ninth century, the Western Church was linked to the Orthodox Church, by the bond of a common faith and as an autonomous body. But her well-known doctrinal novelties gave rise to the sad division of the one and undivided Christianity. Yet the Orthodox Church has never ceased to pray and implore God for the restoration of friendly relations with the Western Church, and for her reunion with the Protestant Churches. She was always animated by a spirit of reconciliation and mutual love. The sincerity of her efforts for the realization of Christian unity is shown by her relations with the Old Catholics and the Anglican Churches of England and America. The same spirit prompted her to accept the invitation to the World Conference."

The League of the Churches, from the Orthodox point of view, is the providential institution for the healing of the wounds of disunion. According to the Greek champion of the League, it is well to talk about reunion, but it is well also to reflect on the spirit that characterized the relations between the churches after their lamentable separation. It was a spirit of mutual indifference, still worse—a spirit of inveterate hostility.

"How, then, could we revive Christian unity, if we refuse to be acquainted with each other, if we ignore the life of each other?"

Hence it follows that the first step towards reunion consists in ending the ignorance which dims the vision of the ideal of Christian unity.

According to the Greek theologians, the plague of Christianity is the religious propaganda carried on by the churches, at their mutual expense. Proselytism is the great and irreconcilable foe of reunion!

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> "It is known that many churches, following the suggestions of their egotism, and looking upon their sister churches as doomed to eternal damnation, leave no stone unturned to attract them into their own orbits. The Orthodox Church, on the contrary, has always refrained from proselytizing, and the same line of conduct will be followed by her in the coming days. She is even ready to lend a helping hand to the other churches that endeavor to enlighten the infidels, while regretting that she is not in a condition to perform on her own part work of a like nature. Why could not the other churches adopt the same views, and enter into the same engagement? . . . Could not the World Conference deter them from religious propaganda? . . . . The cause of reunion would reap great benefit if the churches were to agree on this point."

The writer feels that the Eastern churches, particularly those of Greek origin, exaggerate the evil of Protestant proselytism. A few of the missionaries sent to the Eastern countries by the American Mission Board—such as for instance, Rev. Jonas King, a Congregationalist minister—have indeed stirred up violent polemics, but their harvest has been extremely poor.

So far as relates to the Anglican Churches, their delegates pledged themselves to abstain from any attempt

> "to induce individual members of the Orthodox Eastern Church to leave their own communion. If some be dissatisfied with its teaching or usages and find a lack of spiritual life in its worship, they should be advised not to leave the church of their baptism, but by remaining in it to endeavor to become centres of life and light to their own people; more especially as the Orthodox Eastern Church has never committed itself to any theory that would make it impossible to reconsider and revise its standard and practice."

More than once the General Conventions of the American Episcopal Churches have resolutely condemned attempts to sow the seeds of Protestantism among the Orthodox flocks.

While theoretically aiming at reunion, the Eastern churches are in fact determined to keep a wall of division between them and the Western churches. The fear of a religious propaganda is so great that according to Meletios, formerly metropolitan of Athens, theologically the baptism conferred either by Latin or by Anglicans is valid: to oppose, however, proselytism on the part of them both, the Greek Orthodox Church considers it invalid, and requires that converts from the Catholic Church and Protestant denominations be rebaptized. The proposed League of Churches does not limit

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itself to the discontinuance of religious propaganda by Christians among Christians. Reunion must be preceded by a return to the early spirit of Christian friendship. While the spirit of indifference may fade and disappear, the churches, in the opinion of the Orthodox champions of the League, need to break the ice of the old feud and throw themselves into each other's arms. They have a formidable task to achieve in joining their separate energies. The vital principles of the Christian faith are weakened or rejected. The duty of all the Christian churches is to face the foes of Divine Revelation and their destructive systems. Coöperation of the churches is the basic foundation of the social revival of Christianity. The churches must all raise their voices when a part of the Christian world is bleeding to death, or sinking in the throes of persecution. Greeks and Armenians have been slaughtered, by hundreds of thousands, and no word of sympathy or commiseration was uttered by the other churches. Crimes, like those of the massacres of the Eastern Christians, are to be denounced and execrated by all Christians without any distinction of creeds. There are also the serious social problems of Bolshevism, alcoholism and the like which require, for their happy solution, the combined efforts of all Christianity. Social coöperation of the churches will therefore open the way to a better understanding of their leaders in the field of dogmatic divergences.

In the meeting of Geneva, the delegates of the Eastern churches left no doubt as to the unmistakable conditions of that understanding. The League of the Churches was intended to work within the limits marked off by Apostolic tradition for the ceaseless attempts of human thought to get a clearer glimpse of divine wisdom. The reunion of the churches requires a return to the ancient beliefs rather than a hare-brained adhesion to new and unsound systems. The ancient creed of the Christian faith, a creed cemented with the blood of the martyrs and the divinely inspired sanction of the Œcumenical Councils, will remain unshaken. It is the centre, the beacon light of Christian unity. This was pointed out by a learned Greek theologian in the same meeting of Geneva.

> "The younger churches of Europe and America," said Archimandrite Chrysostom Pappadopoulos, "in dealing with the divergences among Christians, lose sight of the historic past of Christianity and discuss logic according to their own personal views. They neglect to glance at the results of Christian speculation in the primitive church. The necessity of a creed in the unified church calls for no testimony. Without a creed the unity of the faithful,

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in the same faith, would be a myth. The creed is the voice of the Church. It contains the essential truths of Holy Scripture and tradition, the truths to which all the faithful are bound to adhere. Attempts to throw light upon the contents of the creed cannot be fruitful unless they start from the foundation of Holy Scripture and tradition. For the solution of the theological problems connected with the reunion of Christianity, we need to restore the theological method of Origen. Syllogisms and heated wranglings will leave things as they are. Let us explore the boundless field of Holy Scripture and tradition, with the firm purpose of gathering from the Church the divine truth and solving with its help the problems in whose solution we are interested."

These stern words of the Greek theologian were a direct retort to Protestant rationalism, which in the Geneva gathering, took shape in an aggressive onslaught on the creeds of Christian antiquity.

"The Creeds," said Professor Charles Anderson Scott, of the Presbyterian Church of England, "are a record of the thought of the church at some particular period. They purport to be based on the combined witness of Scripture and of the Holy Spirit. One of them, the Apostles' Creed, represents the slow accretion of two or three centuries. The Nicene represents the dominant faith as it orientated itself over against a lower form of Christianity. The only thing that is wrong about the credal expression of the church's past is that it stopped changing. By proclaiming the irreformability of the creed, the mediæval Church, *and every church which does the same,* does in practice, impair, if not deny, the work of the Holy Spirit."[4]

Needless to say that statements like the foregoing would mean the immediate withdrawal of the Eastern churches from any kind of doctrinal understanding whatsoever, not with the Anglican churches, but with the Protestant denominations. The consciousness of the absolute impossibility of finding a common ground with the churches with which she was brought into relation in the meeting of Geneva, seems to have confirmed the Orthodox Church in the plan of a League of Churches. By leaving untouched the theological problems of reunion, the churches could foster among themselves feelings of mutual friendship, and be of use to each other in social work. The plans are indeed worthy of consideration and sympathy, but they will not in the slightest degree promote the solution of the problem of reunion.

[4] T. Davidson: "The Five Lambeth Conferences." London, 1920, pp. 168-169.

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INITIATION.

MAN grows and comes to maturity slowly and by degrees. There are certain well-defined stages in his growth. We may consider the first stage as ending when he ceases to be a baby. He can now walk, run and play with other children. He is not carried about by his mother or by his nurse. Another stage ends when he attains the use of reason. He now knows within limits what is right and wrong and begins to be responsible for his actions. The next stage certainly ends when he comes to sexual maturity. Great and important changes take place at that time. He is no longer a boy, he begins to enter on manhood. Among modern civilized peoples this stage is not usually marked by any special observances. It is usual to wait until the end of the next stage when a young man comes of age and becomes his own master. But among primitive and uncivilized races the age of puberty is the turning point in a man's life. At that age the society of the women and children is abandoned for that of the men. Social life with its burdens and responsibilities begins. After that stage a man must help his tribe in war and he has a right to assist at its deliberations in time of peace. He may then marry and thus help to the continuance and increase of his tribe.

Among nearly all uncivilized races such as those of Terra del Fuego, North and South America, Australia, Polynesia, Melanesia, New Guinea, Africa, and the Arctic regions, the stage is marked by solemn rites of initiation. In substance, the following is Monsignor Le Roy's description of the rites in use among the tribes of Central Africa. When the day arrives the boys from fifteen to eighteen or twenty years of age are subjected to certain tests of endurance under the supervision of an expert. They enter upon a sort of retreat, living, eating and sleeping apart, usually in the bush. During this time they repeat certain chants and dances, receive secret instruction in what is allowed or forbidden, new taboos are communicated to them, and they learn what concerns the traditions, customs and interests of the tribe. On this occasion they renew their alliance with the totem of the tribe by symbolical ceremonies, sacrifice and communion. All this lasts several days or weeks and often even months and years. Their black skin is made white, the color of spirits, with powdered chalk or flour. They adorn them-

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selves with ornaments and dance continually. A new name is given them, they are born again and discard the taboos of infancy. The distinctive marks of the tribe are put on them, they are tattooed and their teeth are filed. They finish up with a grand festival, comprising solemn processions, dances, presents and a banquet.[1]

All the world over initiation rites contain striking resemblances. They are summed up by M. G. D'Alviella in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. They comprise: (*a*) Mystic dances; (*b*) the use of the turndun or bull-roarer; (*c*) daubing with clay and washing this off; (*d*) performances with serpents and other "mad doings"; (*e*) a simulation of death and resurrection; (*f*) the granting of a new name to the initiated; (*g*) the use of masks or other disguises. In any case we may say that initiation ceremonies include: (1) A series of formalities which loosen the ties binding the neophyte to his former environment, among which circumcision and ritual burial are often found; (2) another series of formalities admitting him to a new society; (3) an exhibition of sacred objects and instruction on subjects relating to them; (4) re-entry or reintegration rites facilitating the return of the neophyte into the ordinary world.[2] Other authorities note that the completion of initiation rites at puberty is often marked not only by dancing and feasting but by great license and the indulgence of lust.[3] The instruction given during the initiation ceremonies embraces moral and religious as well as social and political subjects. Howitt knew little of the inner religious beliefs of the tribes of Australia until he himself was initiated. He and later writers have told us how in the initiation rites the existence and name of a Supreme Being are communicated to the neophyte. An image of the Supreme Being is made during the rites and immediately afterwards destroyed. Worship and prayer are offered to Him. The secrecy ordinarily observed about these matters explains how it has happened that some travelers and anthropologists have asserted that the native tribes of Australia have no knowledge of a Supreme Being and no religion.

In order to explain the resemblances which have been observed in the initiation rites of widely different peoples it is not necessary to suppose that one has borrowed from another. The passage from boyhood to manhood is a fact of human nature and it is natural

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[1] "La Religion des Primitifs," p. 283.
[2] Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, VII., 317.
[3] Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, X., 445.

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that among primitive races the period should be signalized by ceremonies. Those ceremonies will also naturally express the facts of the case. There is necessarily a dying to the past and a rising again to a new life; a death and a rebirth; a putting off of the old man and a putting on of the new. The symbolism employed has to express those facts and it is natural that similar symbols should be universally employed. Water everywhere is employed to wash off the dirt contracted yesterday in order to begin to-day fresh and presentable. What wonder then that initiation rites, used to symbolize the passing one stage of human existence and the beginning of a new and more important stage, should embrace all the world over such ceremonies as the daubing of the body of the neophyte with clay or chalk and the washing of it off by baths, aspersions and lustrations? Instruction, too, on the more important duties of manhood naturally also comes in at this period which is the beginning of manhood.

It is interesting and not surprising to find that several of the rites which characterize the initiation of boys into manhood among savage races appear also in the ceremonies of initiation into the mysteries in vogue among the ancient Greeks. On this subject A. Lang writes:

"It would be tedious to offer an exhaustive account of savage rites analogous to these mysteries of Hellas. Let it suffice to display the points where Greek found itself in harmony with Australian, and American, and African practice. These points are: (1) mystic dances; (2) the use of a little instrument, called turndun, in Australia, whereby a roaring noise is made, and the profane are warned off; (3) the habit of daubing persons about to be initiated with clay or anything else that is sordid, and of washing this off, apparently by way of showing that old guilt is removed, and a new life entered upon; (4) the performances with serpents may be noticed, while the 'mad doings' and 'howlings' mentioned by Plutarch are familiar to every reader of travels in uncivilized countries; (5) ethical instruction is communicated."[4]

In addition to the foregoing certain other details are recorded in connection with initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. Such are the viewing and handling of certain sacred objects, the solemn drinking of the sacred kukeon, or gruel of meal and water, and the magical pouring out of water from sacred vessels with the appropriate spells in order to bring about a regular fall of fain.

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[4] "Myth, Ritual and Religion," I., 271.

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We have already seen that all initiation rites must necessarily comprise ceremonies which symbolize the abandonment of a former stage and other ceremonies which symbolize the passage into a new stage with appropriate instruction concerning the latter. The rites adopted at Eleusis to symbolize the passage of the initiated to their new state were and have remained secret to a great extent. But what that new state was is well known. It was a state of assurance that the future life after death of the initiated would be happy. In all probability this was brought about at least partially by means of a sacred drama exhibiting the death and resurrection of Persephone, the goddess of vegetation. Magical actions and spells which guaranteed a regular rainfall and the rising of a plentiful harvest from the dead grain that had been sown in the earth would avail also for the resurrection of the initiate to a happy life after death. This was certainly the case with the mysteries of Osiris. The same magical rites which were effective in the restoration of the murdered Osiris to a new life would avail to ensure to the initiated a new and happy life after death. That was the essential element in many of the mysteries of the ancient world. The initiated obtained by initiation the assurance that their life after death would be happier and more blessed than it would be without initiation. Initiation put the initiated in possession of that benefit. Initiation with puberty rites made the competent member of the tribe, initiation with mystery rites made the happy shade, and placed him in the Elysian fields in the underworld. Many of the rites used in the two initiations were outwardly similar, but they acquired a totally different meaning from the different nature and intention of the two rites. Washing in the puberty rites meant the passing away of boyhood, washing in the mysteries meant the putting off of mortality and the being clothed in immortality.

We can now approach the question of chief interest in this matter. The modern student of the science of religion regards all things from the point of view of evolution. All things, including the Christian religion, have been gradually evolved from preëxisting materials. As the editors of a recent book say: "The claim of Christianity to be a 'faith once delivered to the Saints' cannot bear the scrutiny of the historian of religions. To him it appears not a single religion but a complex of many, justified in claiming the name of Christianity by reason of the thread of historic continuity which runs through and connects the components parts." [5]

[5] "The Beginnings of Christianity," p. 265 [1920].

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According to this view Jesus Christ may almost be discarded. He had very little to do with the foundation of Christianity. Its elements are to be found in the religious ideas, rites and ceremonies of the early centuries of the Christian era. The name Christianity may be given to this synthesis and syncretism of religions, and in that sense the name may be justified historically.

One of the chief sources of Christianity, according to this view, are the mystery religions which were so common in the ancient world. In fact, Christianity may be called a mystery religion. One of the chief types of ancient mystery religions was that of Osiris. Osiris was murdered by his brother, but by means of magic spells he was restored to life again. His passion, death and resurrection formed the subject of the sacred drama which those initiated in his mysteries were privileged to behold. Through similar magic spells the initiated were assured of immortality. Through the god's passion and death, and by means of the lustrations and magic rites of initiation they would rise to a new and everlasting life after death and obtain salvation. Such ideas and practices as these were adopted by St. Paul and others, and they thus became the real founders of Christianity. It is not surprising then to find Origen and other Fathers of the Church writing of "our mysteries" as distinguished from the pagan mysteries, and to find them applying to Christian baptism such technical terms borrowed from the pagan mysteries as *illumination, seal,* and practicing similar rites of initiation.

It cannot be denied that there is a certain analogy between initiation into the pagan mystery religions and initiation into the Christian religion. There are obvious resemblances between the two. Such resemblances there must be in the circumstances. All religions, whether of divine or of human institution, must correspond more or less to the needs and facts of human nature. All to some extent must exhibit a process of turning away from earth and self to heaven and God. It is natural for man to express such ideas as these by rites and ceremonies. Such rites and ceremonies will necessarily resemble one another to some extent as we have shown that they do in the case of puberty rites and mystery rites. But the resemblances between the pagan mystery rites and the rites of admission into the Christian Church are merely superficial. There are fundamental differences in their meaning and object. We have already seen what the pagan rites meant. The Christian rites meant and expressed repentance for past sin and the purpose of leading a new and better life for the future. They were a solemn renuncia-

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tion of the devil, the world and the flesh, and a solemn engagement to lead a life for the future in conformity with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and in imitation of His example. On those conditions the rite of baptism washed away past sins and made the initiate a child of God by grace and a member of the Christian Church. All this it did through the merits of the atonement offered by Jesus Christ, who, as He Himself said, "died for many unto the remission of sins." Because He came to do that, He was called Jesus, for He was to save His people from their sins. Those who corresponded with His grace, kept their engagement and led good lives would receive from Him as Judge the reward of life everlasting after death. There is nothing corresponding with that in the pagan mysteries.

Moreover, it is futile to attempt to explain Christianity without Christ. He and no one else was the builder of His Church. According to His own teaching He was the Messias, the King of the kingdom of God on earth and in heaven, He was the Son of God as well as the Son of Man, He was the Lord of the Sabbath, He was the Light of the world, He was the corner-stone, rejected indeed by human builders, but made by God the corner of the angle. Christian faith, without which it is impossible to be saved, is a firm belief in the Gospel preached by Jesus Christ. The centre of Christian worship is Jesus Christ Himself, He is the author and finisher of our faith, He is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end.

The attempt to account for Christianity without Christ has only been rendered to some extent plausible by the ruthless excision of some texts from our documents and the violent distortion of others. If all other historical documents were treated in the same way as the Gospels have been treated by the rationalist school very little history would survive.

The theory that St. Paul and other Christian leaders of the first centuries of the Church's existence borrowed their religious ideas and ceremonies from the pagan religious mysteries is scarcely plausible. There are not only fundamental differences between the two systems, but they are strongly opposed to each other. The pagan mysteries were an important part of pagan religious beliefs and worship, and so they were idolatrous. St. Paul and the early Christians were at least as strongly opposed to idolatry as were the Jews. St. Paul writes: "What participation hath justice with injustice? Or what fellowship hath light with darkness? And what concord

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hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?"[6] Elsewhere he says: "The things which the heathens sacrifice they sacrifice to devils and not to God. And I would not that you should be made partakers with devils. You cannot drink the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils; you cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils."[7] These latter words of St. Paul are merely an application of the words of the Psalmist: "All the gods of the Gentiles are devils."[8]

This doctrine is not in favor with the modern student of comparative religion, but it is a doctrine firmly held by St. Paul and the leaders of early Christianity, and the fact must be reckoned with. The early Fathers frequently give expression to it with reference to the pagan mysteries. Thus St. Justin asserts "that the wicked demons have initiated [the Eucharist] in the mysteries of Mithras."[9] Tertullian says that the devil with the mystic rites of his idols vies with the Christian sacraments.[10] It is interesting to note that Tertullian explains the mysteries of Osiris as dramatizing the succession of the seasons in nature.[11] The most noteworthy passage in the early Fathers concerning the pagan mysteries occurs in Clement of Alexandria, "Exhortation to the Heathen," c. 2. He was obviously well acquainted with the pagan mysteries and he describes several of them in detail. He says he will not abstain from describing what the pagans are not ashamed to worship. They were exhibitions of inhuman cruelty and lust. The sacred objects which the initiated were privileged to view, touch and handle in the initiation rites were simply obscenities which cannot be described in English. There was good reason, says Clement, why the pagan mysteries were celebrated in secrecy and under cover of night. That these things were facts is attested by modern scholars.[12] There is a tendency among modern students of comparative religion to gloss over these ugly details, but they are of very great importance in our inquiry. They show the violent contrast between the pagan mysteries and the spirit of Christianity, they show that the latter could not possibly have borrowed from the former.

How then, it may be asked, are we to account for the fact that

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[6] II. Cor. vi., 14-16.
[7] I. Cor. x., 20, 21.
[8] Ps. xcv., 5.
[9] First Apology, c. 66.
[10] De præscript, c. 11; cf. De Bapt., c. 5.
[11] Against Marcion c. 13.
[12] Hastings' Encyclop. of Rel. IX., 818.

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the same technical terms are used for analogous rites and ideas in the mysteries of paganism and of Christianity? In answer to this question we may refer to what is generally admitted with regard to the term Logos. This term was used by Philo to designate a divine Being, whom he also called the Son of God. It was borrowed from the philosophy of Plato, but its meaning was also very similar to what is said of the Word of God in the Old Testament and especially in the Sapiential Books. Doubtless some judaizing Christians were abusing the term when St. John wrote his Gospel. He desired to insist on the divinity of the Son of God, on His consubstantiality with the Father and on the creation of all things by Him. St. John then adopted the term in use among the philosophers of his time while giving it a meaning and a content in keeping with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Christian writers have never scrupled to do the same. At the time of the Renaissance it became fashionable to speak of *Divus* Augustinus, *Divus* Thomas instead of Sanctus Augustinus and Sanctus Thomas. Nowadays a Catholic writer may speak of the evolution of doctrine or of religion instead of the development of doctrine without incurring the suspicion of having gone over to the ranks of the mechanical evolutionists.

The application then of such terms as enlightenment, seal, mystery, mystagogue and others to Christian ideas and rites need cause no difficulty, though they were also in use as technical terms in the pagan mysteries. The terms enlightenment or illumination and seal are frequently used in the Old and New Testament. Although mystery is found in the New Testament its meaning there is not quite the same as it has in the phrase mystery religions. It may then perhaps be conceded that when Origen speaks of "our mysteries" he is borrowing a term from the mystery religions and applying it to Christian doctrines and rites. The same may be said of the use of mystagogue and similar terms by other Fathers of the Church. The Church had learned by experience that it was advisable to use secrecy as to her doctrine and rites in certain cases, so that there is no need to explain the *disciplina arcani* by reference to the mystery religions. The same may be said of the catechumenate, a period of probation and instruction in preparation for baptism.

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INSECTS OF WATER, EARTH AND SKY and HYACINTH AND HYACINTHUS

I. ABOUT THE WATER-BEETLES.

"And o'er its surface shoots, and shoots again,
The glittering dragon-fly, and deep within
Run the brown water-beetles to and fro."
—William C. Bryant ("Noon")

IN HER book "Up and Down the Brooks," Mary Bamford devotes a chapter to each of the well-known water-beetle families, and succeeds in making the facts regarding their life cycles and her own experiences and observations read as entertainingly as a romance, even more interestingly than many a made-up tale.

She gives the family *Dytiscidæ,* or the True Diving Beetles, the name of Water-Tigers, which is more properly applied to the insects when in the larval state, but which makes a convenient name for them in any stage of development. *Dytiscus* comes from a Greek word meaning "able to dive," from the verb meaning "to sink." And as Greek and Latin names, particularly when applied to species, are supposed to have terrors for the reader, in this article Diving-Beetle or Water-Tiger will be used for the Dytiscus, whose characteristics. Buckley briefly sums up as follows:

"The true water-beetle, which dives and swims so powerfully with its broad hind legs, and carries air under its closed wing-cases, is one of the most greedy of water animals, both as a grub and beetle. Not only does it devour the grubs of may-flies, dragon-flies, and other pond insects, but it feeds on snails, tadpoles, and fish; taking care, however, to burrow deep in the earth out of the way, when its helpless season comes, lest some of these creatures should return the compliment."

Dytiscus is a well-built insect, adapted for the life he is to lead, for he passes his first and final stages in the water of fresh lakes and marshes and quiet streams of all countries. He can live on the land and also in the water, being able to fly, to remain a long time under water in pursuit of prey, or to swim on the surface with great rapidity.

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The various species are usually brownish black and shining, but are often marked with dull yellow tints; they vary in size from one and a half inches to a fourth of an inch in length. The hind legs are the longest of the three pairs, and are made for swimming, being flattened and fringed with hair. These oar-shaped legs are good swimming-organs, and the beetle possessing them uses them skillfully; like a good oarsman it always "feathers its oars" by giving the leg a dexterous twist while drawing it forward so that the flattened surface is horizontal. This feathering trick makes it a swift and tireless swimmer, so that it pursues its prey with great adroitness and cleverness.

The Diving-Beetles are oval in shape, with wing-cases flatly convex over a depressed body, which enables the insect to enclose a supply of air between body and wing-covers. As the breathing tubes are situated on the back, the pocket of air lies over them, like a bit of "open sky." When this supply of air is exhausted, the beetle comes to the surface, discharges the impure load, takes in a fresh reservoir of air, and darts again below to pursue another food-victim.

Says Mr. Comstock: "If one will approach quietly a pool of standing water, there may be seen oval, flattened beetles hanging head downward, with the tip of the abdomen at the surface of the water. The diving-beetles abound in our streams and ponds, but they are more often found in standing water than in streams. When at rest they float in an inclined position, head downward, with the tip of the hind end of the body projecting from the water."

This is the characteristic breathing attitude. For with the tip of the abdomen thrust through the surface film of the water, the insect lifts the tips of the wing-cases slightly; air pours in and is held there by the fine hairs on the back, where are also the spiracles, or breathing-openings. When the beetle goes down again it carries with ia supply of air by means of which respiration can go on for some time under water.

Miss Bamford describes "their bubbles. You should see a dozen dark-brown beetles, some of them perhaps an inch long, standing on their heads at the bottom of a jar of water, each beetle having at its posterior end a shining round bubble of air. Occasionally, from some collision or sudden calamity, one of the beetles looses his bubble. Up the round thing flies through the water to the surface, and the bubble-less beetle is seldom long in rushing up to protude the end of his body and grasp another round bubble with

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which he comes rushing triumphantly back to his brethren. Even if, in the darkness of some obscure corner of the jar, the *Dytiscidæ* cannot be seen, yet one can catch the shine of their bubbles and know where the beetles are.

"They are of a very retiring disposition as long as they think that there is any one around. They are capable of concealing themselves pretty well. There may be a dozen of these beetles in a jar, and if there are only mud and weeds enough at the bottom, the creatures, when alarmed, will conceal themselves so that one would not know that there was a beetle in the water. The dark color is easily concealed by its likeness to earth color, and, unless their bubbles betray them, the beetles are safe.

The diving beetles can be easily kept in aquariums, and the interesting habits of themselves and their young easily studied. They are very voracious in all stages, destroying other insects and even small fish. In the aquarium they can be fed upon meat of any kind, raw or cooked. The best way to obtain specimens is to sweep the vegetation growing on the bottom of a quiet pool with a dip-net, when both fullgrown bettles and young Water-Tigers can be easily captured, if they are present in the pond.

Several species of Diving Beetles make sounds, both in the air and in the water; this squeaking noise is made by rubbing the wing-covers together, or by rubbing the hind legs upon a rough spot on the lower end of the abdomen.

Should its search for food in one pond be useless, this beetle migrates to some other pool where food is more plentiful. This moving is usually done at night, and if the beetle be attracted by the glow of some electric light or even a kerosene lamp, it will join the throng of revelers and quite forget what it set out to do.

"These *Dytiscidæ* are murderers at heart, as no one can doubt who has ever seen an earth-worm in their power," says Miss Bamford. "No sooner does the earth-worm fall into the water of the bottle in which these beetles are confined, than one of the hungry *Dytiscidæ* will pounce on the unlucky creature. Another beetle, looking up from the bottom of the jar, will behold the prize to which his brother has fallen heir, and straightway, filled with covetousness, will rush upward through the water to pull the desired morsel away if possible. One beetle will tug in one direction, the other in another; they rush through the water, shaking their victim in perfect fury, till a person watching the battle might almost hear the first beetle squeak, 'I will have it,' and the other reply,

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'You shan't.' And so the fight goes on, till one of the beetles conquers, and departs to enjoy the spoils of war."

The females drop their eggs at random into the water, though some few species may deposit them in slits cut in the stems of water plants.

The long, slender, spindle-form, semi-transparent larvæ are the Water-Tigers, named from their voracious habits. Miss Bamford says: "They are furnished at one end of the body with a flat head marked with six ocelli and armed with a pair of sharp jaws like scissors, and at the other end by two breathing gills which they keep uppermost as they dart head downward through the water. Armed with his pair of shears, the gray-yellowish, two-inch long larva goes forth to prune the animal world. Is that a polliwog? Let us snip off his tail. It is too long. Or, if that cannot be accomplished, let us at least hold on to the polliwog till we have sucked him dry of juice.

"The indiscriminate slaughter of victims indulged in by these larvæ soon imparts to an uncared-for jar, an 'ancient and fish-like smell,' since the larvæ do not devour their victims whole, but suck out the juice and then drop the bodies on the bottom of the jar. A keeper of these larvæ will find himself called on often to perform the office of undertaker."

She narrates with droll humor the history of one Oliver Water-Tiger, named "because, like Twist of trite fame, he continually sighed for more polliwogs." Also his eleven brothers, each of whom she tried to raise to the transforming age, but lost prematurely, and closes with the decision: "The next time I undertake to raise Water-Tigers will probably be when I can afford to hire a small boy to bring a small pailful of black toad-polliwogs daily."

However, when a larva is fully grown it leaves the water, burrows into the ground, and makes a round cell, within which it undergoes its transformations. The pupa state lasts about three weeks in summer, but the larvæ that transform in autumn remain in the dormant condition all winter.

Another family of water-beetles is the *Hydrophilidæ*, whose scientific name Miss Bamford translates literally into Water-Lover. This is the Water-Scavenger Beetle, common in quiet pools, where it may be found swimming through the water, or crawling among the plants growing on the bottom. March is a good month to go dredging for the beetles among the aquatic plants they frequent.

They are black, shining, elliptical insects and resemble the Diving

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Beetles in general. But they have their breather tubes on the lower surface of the body, so carry a film of air on the under side, which gives them a silvery appearance when seen from below, as if washed with quicksilver. They obtain their tank of air by bringing the head to the surface of the water and projecting the antennæ, which they fold back with a bubble of air when they descend.

Miss Bamford has "seen one of these *Hydrophilidæ* so interested in a dead earth-worm that when his supply of air became exhausted he would rush to the top of the bottle, poke up his head, rush down again and go straight to the worm and recommence the apparent chewing off of little pieces of flesh."

> "And see! up the dumb water-beetles dart,
> Then dive again among the swaying stems
> Our boat glides over."
> —Andrew Winter ("August, a Water Sketch")

These beetles can "squeak," and they also go armed, for "safely hidden underneath the body, at the end of the sternum, is a very short, somewhat sharp, black 'pin,' ready to be stuck into the unfortunate creature that incurs this beetle's wrath," as Miss Bamford observes. Says Mr. Packard: "How useful it may be to the insect in pushing its way through any obstacle may be demonstrated by holding the beetle tightly between the fingers; here even it manages to push its way out and drop to the ground."

These Water-Scavenger Beetles are supposed to live chiefly upon decaying vegetation or upon dead animal matter, but they feed also on living plants and insects, even their own brothers not being exempted by the stronger members of the family.

The eggs are enclosed in a ball-like, silken cocoon, water-tight and firm, and with a curious handle-like tapering curved stem or spike. Some egg cases are fastened beneath the leaves of aquatic plants; in others they are provided with wider stems which serve as floats, and are left to float about in the water. In a few species of these beetles the cases are carried by the mothers underneath the body, steadied by the hind legs. From fifty to a hundred eggs, little yellow, oblong specks, are enclosed in each sac, which is about the size of a small bean. Frequently some of the young larvæ devour their companions while still in the egg-case. So

> "When the water-beetle with great blind deaf face
> Made of her eggs the stately deposit,"

as Robert Browning remarks, she little dreamed that within the

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safety zone she had so carefully made for her young, foul fratricide was to be enacted. Or, perhaps, she had her fears, but thought it better if some of the young were to be devoured, that a member of the family profit rather than some rank stranger. The eggs hatch in about thirty days from time of laying.

The larvæ are little black worm-like grubs, about an eighth of an inch in length; they are armed with nippers for spearing and draining a captured insect, snail, tadpole, or earth-worm. "No vegetable diet was sufficient for the appetites of these little squirming larvæ," records Miss Bamford. "With their branching pincers projecting from either side of their heads, they wandered around the surface of the water, occasionally meeting and bunting into each other, interlocking horns like a couple of inimical goats. But fratricide prevailed, until, at last, one larva remained, the sole ruler of the bottle, the survivor of his brethren, illustrating in himself the doctrine of the Survival of the Fittest.

"The Fittest did not seem to be a particularly bright infant. Not that he was not willing enough, but he was clumsy. He waddled, with the hind part of his body held above, much after the manner of a misdirected parasol, while his six legs paddled through the water, and his horns turned stupidly toward any prey that he dimly saw. He had caught his brethren because they were as stupid as he."

These larvæ breathe through tiny tubes at the tail end of the body, and they come to the surface to get air occasionally. In shallow water, they simply lie with the tip of the tail projected up to the surface. When ready to pupate the larvæ leave the water, and burrowing a few inches into the ground, form rough cells in which they transform. When winter comes the adult beetles burrow into the bottom or bank of the pond or stream and lie torpid until spring.

There may be more refined æsthetic members of the great order of *Insecta,* but as these bettles, young and old, frequent the most loathsome ditches, thick with mud and putrefying matter they are acting as scavengers and so doing all they can to aid the Board of Health, even though when they come to the surface for pure air it may be strongly mixed with the spicy odors emanating from their native puddle.

II. ABOUT THE WOLF-SPIDER.

"Along the path where the lizard hides
An instant shadow, the spider glides,

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The hairy spider that haunts the way,
Crouching black by its earth-bored hole,
An insect ogre, that lairs with the mole,
Hungry, seeking its insect prey,
Fast to follow and swift to slay."
—Madison J. Cawein ("In Solitary Places")

The genus *Lycosa* is given the Greek name of a kind of spider, whose literal meaning is "a wolf." These wolf-spiders are well named, being large, dark-colored, long-legged, hairy individuals with habits and appetites to match the name. Since they construct no web, but search for their prey, hunting or running spiders is another name for them. They are swift of foot and depend on their spry legs to overtake food-victims. The most celebrated member of the family is the tarantula of southern Europe; other species are very common in this country.

Whatever the species, the wolf-spider is savage, voracious and quarrelsome. Night is their favorite hunting-time, though a keen appetite will bring them out to prowl during the day. Mr. Weed describes such a venture:

"One day early in October a large grayish-drab spider was found in a house attempting to climb the attic stairs. It had reached the second story and apparently desired to ascend to the third; but instead, it was trapped in a box and assigned commodious quarters in a large glass jar.

"The captive was recognized as one of the ground spiders, and of the family *Lycosidæ*, and belonged to the typical genus *Lycosa*. Under natural conditions out-of-doors I had seen these spiders eating a variety of insect food, so it seemed probable his spidership would not be over-fastidious in confinement. I soon found that crickets were especially esteemed, and fed him these chiefly.

"If he had not broken his fast for several days, the poor cricket, after entering the jar, had short shrift; the spider would pounce upon it like a flash, and the victim was held in the palpi up to the mouth, where its body juices were eagerly sucked. So intent was the spider upon his meal that there was little difficulty in photographing him in the act, even when the conditions of light required an exposure of more than half a minute.

"Ordinarily he would stand on all eight legs, with the body somewhat elevated, manipulating the cricket with the palpi. If disturbed during the meal, the spider would raise one or both of his front legs and wave them up and down slowly."

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Wolf-spiders may be found under stones and logs, but self-made hiding-places are popular. These are tunnels dug by the spiders, each having a den to itself where it lurks during the day, or hibernates from fall to spring.

One of these tunnels shows considerable ingenuity. The shaft usually runs straight down for ten inches or so, though in one instance a depth of between twenty-two and twenty-three inches was reached. The tunnel will be perfectly round, just large enough for the spider to move up and down. It may widen out at the bottom into two enlarged chambers, an upper and a lower one, but the tunnels of many ground-spiders are of the same diameter throughout. The mouth of the tube has a ring made chiefly of silk, to strengthen it generally and to prevent the soil from breaking away when softened by rains.

The most interesting feature of the den is the entrance, which, when present, is in the form of a turret. It varies in shape and material and construction, depending on the species of spider building it, the materials at hand, or perhaps the individual's notion of how a turret should be made.

For instance, the opening may be covered, or partly obscured, by a mass of dead and dry leaves heaped about and over it. Or there may be a ring of sticks and leaves loosely fastened together with fine threads of silk. The turret of a burrow dug in soft sand will have a foundation of small pebbles around the burrow, perhaps surmounted by several tiers of sticks, leaves, grass-stems, weed-stalks, and so on, lashed together with silk. If one will carefully scoop the sand away from around the burrow, the silk lining will hold the sandy walls up quite firmly for two or three inches, giving the wall "the appearance of the leg of a wee lace stocking dusted over with sand," as one writer describes it.

The typical turret resembles a miniature chimney of mud and sticks, in the form of a rude circle, or rather pentagon. It will be composed chiefly of grass-straws and weed-stalks, crossed at the corners log-cabin fashion and built up to the height of two inches or more; this material will be cemented together with earth and silk, so that it can be removed intact, if handled with reasonable care.

The turret is begun when the burrow is about two inches deep. First a stick is placed at the edge of the tube, and lashed down with a strong silk thread. Another is laid in place, and another, until there are four or five encircling the hole. This one tier of

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its foundation laid, the spider brings up the earth he excavates in little pellets which are packed above and inside the sticks, pressing them down with feet and body as he works around the circle. Another layer of sticks, more plaster, another layer, and so on, completes the turret and at the same time deepens the den. When the turret is high enough, the inner surface is smoothed and lined with silk, the lining also extending down into the tube. Thereafter any earth brought up as the den deepens is carried up in the jaws, in tiny balls, and tossed off the turret with sufficient force to scatter them a foot or more away from the place.

The reason for the turret is obvious. It may serve as a watch-tower from which the spider may lie in wait for approaching prey or enemies, and the builder will often be spied crouching atop the tower, legs drawn up and head peering over the edge, wolf-fashion. Again, the small elevation forms a tempting perch for insects, making the spider's hunting that much easier. It is also thought that the turret serves to protect the interior from being flooded by the water that gathers upon the ground during a hard rain.

When finished, the turret is a neat little affair, resembling a tiny bird's-nest without a bottom. One variation favored by a certain species of *Lycosa* is a canopy web overlaid with leaves, blades of grass, and such material, the whole being securely fastened down except at a place of entrance and exit, which is only discovered with the closest search. This opening will often be found closed securely for two or three weeks in the autumn, in order to frustrate the plans of wasps engaged in provisioning their cells. For the wasp that finds one of these cells unsealed has no scruples about darting below and if she can get in her sting before the spider can use its claws, she will carry her paralyzed victim off to her own burrow. During the winter these burrows are sealed over with silk and other material.

One writer gives an interesting instance of spider adaptability: He had put a plug of cotton batting in one of these burrows, to keep the owner in while he cut the cell out, preserved entire in the midst of the surrounding sod, which was put in a keg. The loose cotton plug was left in the tower. A few days later the spider had her tower lined from top to bottom with cotton, the lining even extending an inch or more below the surface and over the edge, and was "laid on as smoothly as though done by the delicate hand of an upholsterer. Perhaps by the contact of her highly sensitive feet and mouth organs with the soft fabric the suggestion was raised

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that it might be utilized for lining her nest, or perhaps the sensation produced by handling the soft cotton started a train of associations that led her to deal with a substance quite foreign to her, as she habitually deals with the silk which she secretes."

If one of these wolf-spiders be put in a glass candy jar nearly filled with earth, and provided with some loose turret material, it will be very likely to construct a burrow right before the observer's eyes, tower and all. Of course, the observer will need to turn market-man and supply the worker with flies, grasshoppers, crickets, and other insects.

Another use for the dungeon is that it serves for a brooding chamber for a female spider. For two months or more a mother carries her young around with her wherever she goes, which makes a retreat quite necessary when she is not actually on the hunt for food. There is but one brood of young a year, usually from June into the summer; during this time a wolf-spider can often be found dragging after her a large gray ball attached to the rear end of her body.

This egg-sac is made of strong silk, and when the young are about ready to issue, it will have about the size and shape of a a grape. It is lashed to the spinning-tubes at the end of the mother's abdomen, and this cradle is carried bobbing along behind whenever the creature must stir abroad. It contains about a hundred eggs, or young, and is a most precious possession. She rarely, if ever, abandons this cocoon, and will die in its defense if necessary.

"No miser," says Kirby, "clings to his treasure with more solicitude than this spider to her bag. She carries it with her everywhere. If you deprive her of it, she makes the most strenuous efforts for its recovery. If you restore it, her actions demonstrate her joy. She seizes it, and with the utmost agility runs off with it to a place of security."

Miss Buckley testifies: "If you try to take it away she will fight for it as courageously as any human mother. I took away one three times from a mother, and each time she seized it again and went off gaily with it at last, none the worse for the struggle."

Bonnet's experience affords a striking parallel to those often recorded of other animals when robbed of their young. To put her affection to the test, he threw her into the pit of a large ant-lion, in the sand. The fierce ant-lion seized her bag, when she struggled till its fastening gave way. She then regained it with her jaws, but by superior strength he pulled it into the sand, into which, rather

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than forsake her treasure, she suffered herself to be dragged also. Bonnet forced her from it, but, though repeatedly pulled away, she would not leave the spot.

Her maternal tenderness is shown not only in the carefully treasured silken cradle enveloping little senseless eggs or unseen but living spiderlings; she is equally devoted to the young after they are out of the bag. When the proper time comes for the young spiders to leave their cradle, she makes an opening in the bag. Out they tumble in groups and balls, and gather at once on her back and legs.

Perhaps a brood of a hundred or more will be swarming upon her, hanging in a close cluster upon her back and abdomen, so that her body is almost hidden by the wriggling mass of wee spiderlings. This gives her a peculiarly nervous appearance, and one seen crouching in her hunting attitude on top of her tower will seem to be quivering with eagerness, as the young cling to her and crawl about her and over each other. Yet so great is her love for them that she will carry them about with her, feeding them until they are able to help themselves.

"During the first three weeks," says Doctor McCook, "the little things are piled all over the head and back of the mother, often appearing to blind her. They seem ambitious to reach the highest point, and jostle and crowd one another in their efforts to be at the top of the heap. This the mother patiently endures for a time, but when the younglings thicken too closely over her eyes she reaches up her forelegs, scrapes off an armful and holds them straight in front of her as if disciplining them by reproving looks. Soon she releases them by slowly opening her legs, whereupon they quietly take their places around the edge of the tower where they usually remain until the mother goes below, when they all follow. Upon her reappearance they are again mounted upon her back.

"Her body is covered with soft hairs to which her babies hold by their feet, or fasten themselves by delicate threads spun from their spinnerets. When they are two weeks old, they 'molt,' or cast their skin, a process which spiders undergo several times until they are quite mature. The molting of the young turret spiders is a curious sight. They stretch a line across the back of the mother's abdomen to which they fasten themselves. Then they begin to undress.

"The skin cracks all around the chest, which is held by the front edge alone; next the abdomen is freed, and then comes the struggle

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to free the legs. By dint of regular pullings, repeated at short intervals, the old skin is cast in fifteen minutes or more, and the spiderling appears undressed but quite exhausted. It lies limp, pallid and motionless for a little while and then gradually resumes its activity. Sometimes the mother's back will be covered with taut lines decorated with these cast-off molts, reminding one of the dainty pieces of a baby's toilet hung up to dry in the laundry.

"When the young are about three weeks old a few begin to leave the maternal care. They have been long enough 'tied to mother's apron string,' to quote a common saying that has quite as much fact as figure in it for our spiderlings. They climb up a grass stalk, then venture upon a higher weed or shrub, thence they reach the trunk of a tree, and, grown bolder, now, climb out upon the branches.

"After another week the mother shows a disposition to send her brood adrift. The time for weaning has come, and occasionally a little one is reminded of this fact by being tossed away into the grass. A bright, warm autumn day follows, and then the entire brood, moved by the resistless instinct of migration, leave their mother without further ceremony, run here and there upon plants and trees, or are distributed over the vicinity by webby balloons. Later in the season or in the spring one will find a number of tiny burrows, the very counterpart of the mother's, in which the young have set up housekeeping, or cave-keeping, for themselves. As they grow in size the burrows are enlarged, until at last the babes have themselves become mothers and repeat among their own broods the maternal instincts that fostered their baby days." Gossip has it that her young often devour the devoted mother before abandoning her.

The wolf-spider, common in Massachusetts and similar latitudes, is bluish black, one of the largest species of the *Lycosa*. It is about one and a half inches long, about the size of the tarantula of Europe, and is very savage and tenacious of life.

A still larger American species is the one called tarantula in the Southern States, which attains a length of two inches, with a leg extent of four inches. It is mouse-colored above, with white sides and whitish dots and lines on the abdomen, blackish below, legs whitish tipped with black. It makes deep excavations in the ground, which it lines with silk. Its poison is active as regards small creataures, but man rarely if ever suffers from its fangs. The

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southwestern tarantulas are not wolf-spiders, but members of the trap-door spider family.

The tarantula of southern Europe received its popular name from being common in the vicinity of Taranto, in southern Italy. It is the largest of European spiders; its color is ashy-brown above, marked with gray on the thorax, triangular spots and curved streaks of black bordered with white on the abdomen, saffron below with a black band. Its bite was once considered highly poisonous, producing the nervous febrile condition called tarantism, which was supposed to be curable only by dancing to lively music until the person fell exhausted. Modern investigation has found there is no connection between the animal and the disease.

III. ABOUT THE MONARCH BUTTERFLY.

Whether you call this butterfly the Monarch or the Milkweed, it is well named. In the words of Mr. Comstock: "'I am monarch of all I survey' is exemplified in the confident, serene flight of this butterfly; the species is nauseous to birds in both the caterpillar and adult stages, and by their bold actions they show the result of this immunity. . . . Well is it named the monarch, for it is the most daring and indomitable butterfly that we know."

"The all-conquering American butterfly is the monarch," says Mr. Kellogg. "This great red-brown butterfly king ranges over all of North and South America, and has begun its invasion of other countries by getting a foothold on the west coast of Europe and in almost all of the Pacific islands and in Australia. I have found the monarch the most abundant butterfly through all of the Hawaiian Islands, two thousand miles from the California coast, and still two thousand miles farther into the great Pacific; in the Samoan Islands it is also the dominant butterfly species.

"Its success is due to its hardiness, its strong flight power, the abundance and cosmopolitan distribution of its food-plant, and finally and most important its inedibility—to birds."

Still another entomologist must stop studying the species long enough to admire it—a Mr. J. A. Moffat, of Canada: "I regard it as a particularly interesting creature in every respect; although so common it is never 'vulgar,' never in a hurry; it has the easy grace of the leisurely class. I have thought that one who has seen it only in an open country can form but an inadequate conception of the diversity of its movements on the wing. To see one, on a bright summer day when a stiff breeze is blowing, disport itself about the wide-

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spreading top of a high tree, is a choice pleasure. It seems fairly to revel with delight in a gale; now it rolls, and tosses, and heaves, always heading against the wind; now it spreads its sails to the breeze and is hurried violently backward and upward; again it furls them, and slowly descending and advancing it describes a variety of the most charmingly graceful curves and waves and adulations imaginable; a thing of beauty to look at, and a joy to think of forever after. Attempts have been made to attach to it common names. I have thought when watching one at such a time that 'the storm king' would be very appropriate and quite befitting its regal character."

Mr. Kellogg discusses its migratory habit, which has been observed frequently in different parts of the country: "The monarch in the Eastern States has a migratory habit not unlike that of birds, great swarms flying south in the autumn to the Gulf States and the West Indies, returning north again in the spring, not in swarms, however, but singly. It ranges as far north as Canada. It has, too, a curious habit of assembling in great numbers in a few trees, like blackbirds, or crows in a 'roost,' and hanging there quietly in masses and festoons, many individuals clinging only to each other and not to the branches at all. On certain great pine trees near the Bay of Monterey on the California coast I have seen myriads of monarchs thus 'sembled.' "

Mr. Scudder, too: "It is found in the summer time over almost the entire continent, certainly as far north as into the Dominion of Canada; and yet it is probable that it does not exist in the winter further north than the Gulf States. It has extraordinary powers of flight, more so than any known butterfly, and every autumn when abundant (after first collecting in vast flocks or bevies of hundreds of thousands, changing the color of the trees or shrubs on which it alights for the night) migrates southward in streams, like our migrating birds.

"After passing the winter on the wing, without so far as known hibernating in torpidity, it leaves its winter quarters in the extreme south with the opening spring and flies northward, not in flocks or streams, but singly. The females lay their eggs when they are ripe wherever they may chance to be, some flying even as far as southern New York and Minnesota before concluding their life-duties. The caterpillars born from these eggs develop into butterflies, many of which again fly northward before they lay their eggs; while the butterflies developing from these last do not lay

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eggs the same season (unless possibly in the warmer south), but migrate southward at the end of the season, to return again the next spring. North, therefore, of the farthest points to which the wintering butterflies have journeyed in the spring, there appears to be but one brood a year, south of it two, and in the extreme south possibly more.

"As a further proof of the transcendent powers of flight of this butterfly, it may be mentioned that it has been seen at sea 500 miles from land and has within thirty years spread over nearly all the islands of the Pacific and even to Australia and Java. Undoubtedly carried in the first place by trading or other vessels to the Hawaiian Islands and thence to Micronesia, it has unquestionably flown from island to island many hundreds of miles apart. It has also appeared at various times in different places on the seacoast of Europe, here also probably transported accidentally by vessel."

One observer, a Mr. William Edwards, reports a swarm of butterflies over Pegan Hall, in Natick, Mass.: "The day was warm and summer-like, with no wind to disturb the flight of butterflies, which was remarkably steady and even like the flight of migratory birds, and very unlike the usual zigzag movement of butterflies. We watched them for nearly an hour as they appeared in view from the north and moved steadily onward toward the south. Sometimes they appeared singly, sometimes in groups of three or four, but oftener in pairs and flying six or eight feet apart.

"Being anxious to obtain a specimen, that the species might be determined, we made several vain attempts to bring one down by sending our walking-sticks after them. This put them in great confusion, entirely breaking up their line of march and causing them to dodge rapidly to the right and left and frequently to drop down several feet; although they continued on at the same rate of speed, they seemed unable to gain their former even flight, but kept up this zigzag motion till lost sight of in the distance.

"They were apparently one of our largest species, and were visible at least one-eighth of a mile as they appeared in sight. It seems an important fact that they did not change their altitude in passing over the hill. We also noticed when descending the hill to the north that they were flying at the same level till we were so far below them that they appeared but mere specks in the air above our heads, and before we had reached the plains below we had entirely lost sight of them. There was no reason to suppose that the butter-

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flies changed their course in order to pass over the hill, or that the flight did not extend over the surrounding country."

Of course, migration is a severe wing-test, but after all it is a pleasant plan to pass the winter in the warm sub-tropics, rather than hibernating it through cramped up in some chrysalis in a numb frozen condition.

This Monarch starts life in a pale, greenish-yellow egg, not one-sixteenth of an inch in length, of a conical shape, and under the magnifying-glass showing a most perfect geometrical pattern of twenty ridges tapering from the base to the tip of the cone, the area between ridges marked with evenly-spaced parallel stripes. The egg is deposited under a milkweed leaf, usually upon the mid-rib of one of the young leaves near the top of the plant.

It hatches in about four days, into a tiny caterpillar about one-tenth of an inch in length, pale-green with a black head. It feeds first on the empty egg shell, then nibbles at the milkweed leaf steadily for about a week, taking no pains to hide itself, but usually resting upon the under surface.

At this age, it becomes restless, spins a thin layer of silk upon the leaf, and prepares to moult. The skin splits open along the back, and the caterpillar crawls out in a new and larger coat, showing two little black horns on the back at each end of the body, each pair pointing outward. This task accomplished, the caterpillar eats on until it must stop for another moulting. In about three weeks it is full-grown, about two inches in length, and is a gay fellow, of a lemon or greenish-yellow, conspicuously banded with black and white.

He is a bold and fearless fellow, as Mr. Comstock says: "They are smug-looking caterpillars, and flaunt their gay stripes without any attempt to hide, for they seem to know that the birds will not touch them." Its youthful black horns have grown long and slender, and are used as whip-lashes to keep off those misguided female insects that might wish to lay eggs on his back. He has no desire to become the larder of a set of hungry young caterpillars of the ichneumon-fly tribe.

His gay colors advertise him to the birds as the species to be left severely alone, as a most vile-tasting, acrid, nauseous mouthful. A bird that has once tried to eat a monarch caterpillar never tries it again. For in the caterpillar stage, as in the adult form, this insect is able to secrete a most ill-tasting, blistering fluid that birds cannot endure.

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When full-grown, the caterpillar becomes restless, and begins seeking out some place where he can hang himself up in peace and quiet and safety for about two weeks. Sometimes he merely moves down on a lower, larger, and uneaten leaf; sometimes he leaves its host plan and seeks out a bush, a fence-post, board, stump, log, or woodpile.

In the more or less protected and concealed site he has chosen, he spins a little tuft of silk on some projecting surface, beneath an oblique branch, a level plane, or the under side of a leaf. He entangles the two feet on the extreme hind-end of his body in this tiny silk "button," lets go with the fourteen legs down the middle of his body, and hangs head downward. In about twenty-four hours the skin splits open along the back and shrinks upward around his two hind feet, revealing a soft-bodied creature considerably different in appearance from his former caterpillar likeness.

The newly-formed pupa, or chrysalis, must now get rid of its cast-off skin, still anchored by those two hind feet. Dr. C. V. Riley tells how this delicate task is performed without the chrysalis actually losing its foothold.

"The soft and supple chrysalis, yet showing the elongate larval form, hangs heavily from the shrunken skin. From this skin it is to be extricated and firmly attached to the silk button. It has neither legs nor arms, and we should suppose that it would inevitably fall while endeavoring to accomplish this object. But the task is performed with the utmost surety, though appearing so perilous to us.

"The supple and contracted joints of the abdomen are made to subserve the purpose of legs, and by suddenly grasping the shrunken larval skin between the folds of two of these joints as with a pair of pincers, the chrysalis disentangles the tip of its body and hangs for a moment suspended from this bit of old skin. Then, with a few earnest, vigorous jerking movements, it succeeds in sticking the horny point of its tail into the silk, and securely fastening it by means of a rasp of minute claws with which the point is furnished. The moment the point is fastened, the chrysalis commences a series of violent jerkings and whirlings to dislodge the larval skin, after which it rests from its efforts and gradually contracts and hardens until it is a beautiful object, and as it hangs pendent from some old fence or board, it reminds one of some large ear-drop."

The chrysalis is about an inch long, plump, smooth, and rounded like a bit of polished stone, in the general outline of an acorn in its cup, being largest in the middle, where it is transversely ridged.

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In color it is a bright pea-green, with a few black and gold spots and bands.

The pupal stage lasts from nine to fifteen days. For the first few days the wings are perfectly transparent, but about five days before the butterfly is ready to come forth the wings are covered with pure white, perfectly-formed scales. In about forty-eight hours the coloring pigment begins to develop, the parts of the wing that are to be colored turning a dirty yellow. In the next stage, the black has begun to appear in the central and outer part of the wing, the veins remaining white; then the dirty-yellow ground-color deepens to a red-brown, and the black appears along the edges of the veins. Finally the black veins are complete and the tawny-orange is rich and deep.

When the fully-formed butterfly bursts from its chrysalis, it is that well-known tawny and black creature with a wing spread of four inches, and with a vitality which makes it the longest liver of any of its tribe, in the adult stage.

The amateur collector may find that one specimen has a black blotch on each hind wing, near the centre and beside a vein, while another specimen will not have this decoration. Mr. Comstock explains: "The male monarch is the dandy among butterflies *par excellence*. He is not only trig in figure and gorgeous in color, but on each hind wing he carries a black sachet bag for the allurement of his lady-love. And she is as brilliant as he, but lacks the perfume pockets."

The Monarch belongs to the family of brush-footed butterflies, in which the fore legs are atrophied to useless, little hairy, brush-like processes without tarsal claws on the feet; in both sexes these fore feet lie folded on the thorax, tippet-like, as Mr. Comstock describes them.

Monarch gets along well enough with two rather shriveled front-legs, possessing as he does such powerful wings. Even though Jack Frost gets many a Monarch during some sudden sally south, a sufficient number escape him and the perils of a semi-annual migration to keep the species abundant.

"Lazily flying
Over the flower-decked prairies, West;
Basking in sunshine till daylight is dying,
And resting at night in Asclepias' breast;
Joyously dancing,
Merrily prancing,

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Chasing his lady love high in the air,
Fluttering gaily,
Frolicking daily,
Free from anxiety, sorrow, and care!"
—Dr. C. V. Riley ("To the Monarch Butterfly")

IV. ABOUT THE LEAF-MINERS.

You may know the Leaf-Miners by their work, for that is much more easily discovered than the insect itself. For leaves of various trees and shrubs often show white or grayish blotches, or long, twisted lines, or brownish, "blister"-like spots—the abiding places of certain tiny burrowing and feeding caterpillars of the Tineid tribe of insects. To quote Mr. Comstock:

"Surely Mr. Lowell must have had these in mind when he wrote:

" 'And there's never a leaf nor a blade too mean
To be some happy creature's palace.'

"Not only are very many kinds of plants infested by them, but the mines in the leaves differ greatly in form and in their position in the leaf. These differences in food-plant and in the shape and position of the mines do not indicate that these larvæ are inconstant in their habits. In fact, the opposite is the case. Each species infests a particular species of plant, or, at the most, several closely allied plants. And each species makes a mine of definite shape, although some species exhibit different habits in the different stages of their growth. So constant are these creatures in their habits that in most cases an expert can determine the species of Tineid that made a mine by merely examining the infested leaf.

"The various kinds of mines can be classed under a few distinct types. The long, narrow and more or less winding mines are described as *linear mines*. Some of these are very narrow at their beginning and gradually enlarge, resembling in outline a serpent; frequently the larger end is terminated by a blotch-like enlargement, suggesting a head. Such mines are termed *serpentine mines*. The leaves of the wild columbine are often marked by serpentine mines. Other mines that start from a narrow beginning enlarge more rapidly and extend in a more or less regular curve; these are *trumpet mines*. The mines of many species are mere disk-like blotches; these are referred to as *blotch mines*. Blotch mines differ in position; some are immediately beneath the upper epidermis, while others are nearer the lower surface of the leaf. This distinction exists also in most of the other types of mines. In some

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of the blotch mines the epidermis of one side of the leaf is thrown into a fold by the growth of the leaf; these are *tentiform mines.* In addition to peculiarities in shape, many mines are marked by characteristic lines or spots composed of the droppings of the larva."

Of all the Moth Tribes, none are more richly ornamented, in proportion to their size, than these minute moths. For instance, as one writer describes a certain miner of the alder-leaf: "The upper wings shone and glittered most gloriously with crescents of gold, silver and brown, surrounded by borders of delicate black. They are tiny miracles of nature, in little." But they are so small that it is necessary to examine them with a magnifying glass to appreciate, or even see, their full beauty.

As for the Miner, the moth in the caterpillar stage, one anonymous old writer says that though he "holds his verdant estate by the slight tenure of a fragile foot-stalk, his lot seems a highly favored one. His path, a covered way, is through a leaf, often of the rose; and each step of progression (for labor he has none) would seem an act of self-gratification, as the little Sybarite, lodged between the upper and the lower membranes of the leaf, eats onwards through its soft green pulp, from the point whence he issued from the egg even to that which terminates his caterpillar career.

"Thus eating and progressing, he produces, by removal of the excavated pulp, a visible track, appearing on the leaf's surface like a broad, white tortuous line, with a dark one running through its centre. This has been compared to a valley watered by a winding stream—a 'happy valley,' we may well suppose it, to its little solitary inhabitant, because, unlike the Abyssinian prince, he knows no wish to leave it. And truly, as we have said, the leaf-mining caterpillar would seem to have drawn a prize in the lottery or allotment of insect life, inasmuch, at least, as his covered position serves as a defense from various perils and enemies to which some of his brethren are openly exposed, and from which others are only protected by laborious exertion of mechanical skill.

"On first waking into life, the leaf-miner finds himself, through the exercise of maternal care instinctively and prospectively employed, placed on the surface of his green patrimony—the leaf exactly suited to his appetite, into the depths of which (a depth comprised within the thickness of a sheet of paper) he at once plunges—pursues, for his appointed span, his safe and luxurious way—then, in a quiet little plain or dell, which forms the termination of his 'happy valley,' passes the period of his aurelian slumber, to emerge

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thence a minute moth, one of the most brilliant and beautiful of nature's miniature gems, wanting only augmented size to vie with the diamond-beetle and the humming-bird in metallic lustre."

One of the Blotch Miners is found on the oak leaf. It started life as a tiny egg laid on the upper surface of the leaf, which in a few days hatched into a little caterpillar not quite a sixteenth of an inch in length, which burrowed through the thin tissue of the leaf surface and at once began feeding upon the green pulp cells beneath.

As it fed, it formed a hollow cavity in which it could turn about, until when full grown it had made a whitish blotch in the upper side of the leaf, irregular in size and shape, but approximating a rude rectangle about half an inch wide and an inch in length—say from the midrib of the leaf out almost to the edge of a lobe, and mined between two veins.

Often there is more than one mine in a leaf, and there may be a dozen, in which latter case the leaf generally dies an untimely death, all its green flesh having been transformed into caterpillars.

Every few days the miner must moult, until at the age of two weeks he has shed his skin five or six times, and is a flattened worm about one-fifth of an inch in length, having a row of shiny plates along the back, only the faintest rudiments of feet, but a pair of jaws well adapted to cutting and chewing. It is of a tadpole shape rather than the usual cylindrical form, until after the seventh moult, then it becomes the same thickness all the way from head to tail, and takes on a round tube appearance. After this seventh moult there are fourteen well-developed feet, larger eyes, and a more generally caterpillarish appearance.

Thereupon the caterpillar ceases to eat or to mine, having other business on hand. This is the spinning of a thin silk covering over one end of the floor of the mine, a delicate, semi-transparent, circular sheet of white floss forming a sort of cocoon.

Beneath this the larva takes its place, sheds once more, and is a dark-brown pupa with a toothed crest on the top of its head, the saw by which it will cut its way out of the cocoon when, after a week or so the insect is ready to change into a moth. Before shedding this brown pupa skin, therefore, the Leaf-Miner first saws its way out of the cocoon and through the leaf-skin of its mine. The brown pupa covering then cracks open and the moth emerges from skin, cocoon and mine, into the outside air.

It is a delicate sprite, with wings mainly fringe, and measuring

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but about a fourth of an inch from tip to tip when spread wide. The forewings are white, with three broad, irregular, bronze bands across each, each band lined with black on the inner side. The hind wings resemble two silver rods with fringed edges, the fringe longest next the body.

There are several broods during the summer, the last brood in the fall wintering within the mines in the last, cylindrical, larval stage, pupating early in the spring. The best way, therefore, or at least a good way, to check its ravages when it becomes a pest is to rake up and burn such leaves.

The puckered appearance of many leaves having dry, brownish patches on them is caused by the Tent-Miners, such as those living on the apple, pear, wild cherry and quince foliage. One certain tentiform mine is made by a tiny light yellow caterpillar only a fifth of an inch in length when full-grown, which makes a small mine about half an inch long on the lower surface of the leaf, which causes a slight crumpling of the leaf, thus giving the mine a tent-like appearance. From the upper surface the mine has a spotted appearance due to the caterpillar's not mining out the whole interior, but eating a little here and there in the mine. The mines are finished in September, the caterpillars transform to pupæ therein, and the winter is passed in this stage on the fallen leaves. The minute moths which emerge in the spring have golden brown forewings marked with white streaks and spots, and a black eye at each tip. It is a European species quite common on apple leaves in the Eastern States.

Another Tent-Miner also found on the apple and related trees is a grayish caterpillar about one-fourth of an inch in length with a row of six black spots across the head and four larger ones across the first segment of the body. These caterpillars make larger mines, and eat out the whole interior except the veinlets, so that the mine appears brownish but not spotted on the upper surface. When nearly full-grown the caterpillars leave their mines, and rolling over the edge of the leaf feed beneath for a short time, then line these retreats heavily with a silken cocoon within which they pupate. There are several broods each season. The tiny, dark, steel-gray moths emerge in the spring, and measure only one-third of an inch across the expanded wings.

There is also an Apple-Leaf Trumpet Miner, the most common and destructive of the insects making mines in apple leaves. The brown, blister-like, trumpet-shaped mine is about half an inch in

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length and is always made just beneath the skin on the upper side of the leaf, being scarcely noticeable from the underside unless the leaf is held to the light, when it appears of a lighter shade of green.

These mines begin at the point where the tiny, elliptical, greenish-yellow, disk-like, iridescent eggs are laid, the tiny caterpillars entering the leaf beneath the edge of the eggshell. The mines continue for a short distance as a narrow line, gradually growing wider, and then often suddenly expanding into a broad blotch mine of a balloon, or trumpet, or tadpole outline. The first half of the mine is usually crossed by several crescent-shaped stripes of white.

The full-grown caterpillars are flat-bodied, about one-fifth of an inch long, without legs, of a light-green color except for the brown head. In the North there are two broods of this miner annually, the first brood of caterpillars working in June and July and the second in August and September. Four broods have been observed in the latitude of Washington, the mines being made in May, July, August and September. The life-cycle of a generation is about thirty-three days.

The larva grows slowly and casts its skin occasionally. The excrement is deposited without the mine through one or more openings which are situated at one end and on the lower surface of the mine. The upper and lower surface of the mine is densely lined with silvery-white silk, and within these clean and comfortable quarters the larva passes the winter.

Early in spring it changes to a pupa within the mine, making no cocoon. A fortnight later the pupa pushes part way through the upper surface of the mine, cracks along the top, and the moth emerges, a minute winged creature with shining dark-brown front wings, tinged with purplish and dusted with pale yellowish scales that measure across when fully expanded only about a fourth of an inch. The broods emerging in the summer pupate without the silk lining.

Sometimes the mines are so numerous as to involve much of the leaf, which curls and finally drops two or three weeks earlier than usual, thus preventing the full development of the fruit and reducing the vitality of the tree. Sixty-eight caterpillars have been found working on a single leaf.

The apple tree often harbors a serpentine leaf-miner, a tiny, dark, emerald-green caterpillar about one-tenth of an inch long. It makes a narrow, tortuous or serpentine mine, often two inches in length and less than a sixteenth of an inch wide, just beneath the upper

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surface of the leaves of the apple and pear. The first half or two-thirds of the mine is broader and nearly filled with a continuous zigzagging thread of black excrement. In October the tiny green caterpillars are sometimes seen hanging by silken threads from the leaves. They soon find their way to the twigs, where they spin small, oval, dense, brown cocoons about one-eighth of an inch long on the bark, often in a crotch. In May the caterpillars transform through brilliant green pupæ to the minute, shining, purplish-black moths with tufted, reddish-yellow heads that emerge in June.

Serpentine Leaf-Miners of different species are found on the hazel, the buttonwood, Juneberry and other trees. A nut leaf containing from twenty to thirty larvæ is no unusual sight. The mine is always on the upper surface, and varies much in form, being sometimes a slender gallery or line, either simple or enlarged towards the end into a head-like blotch. When the larva is full-fed it quits the mine, sometimes cutting for pupating purposes the mined loose skin, to add to the cocoon. The moths are very small, but excessively beautiful, resplendent with burnished copper, gold and silver scales. They may be seen in May and June, perched on tree trunks, palings, and so on, but to discover these atoms requires an experienced and keen eye.

The resplendent Shield-Bearer is not merely a miner, but a sac wearer, also. The name refers both to the brilliantly colored moth, and the shield, or sac, the caterpillar makes for its later days. The moth is a tiny one, but a perfect gem, with a golden-dusted head, fore wings of a resplendent light slate gray lustre on the inner half, and beyond bright orange, enclosing two white bands that almost meet in the centre, then a black velvet patch ending in black fringe. Once out of the egg, the caterpillar makes an irregular dark-colored blotch-mine; when full-grown it lines a portion of the mine with silk, deftly cuts out both leaf and silk, and binding the edges together with silk, wriggles into this straight jacket and walks off as if it had been born with this shield on its back.

Like a boy walking on his hands and with a meal-sack draped around his uplifted legs, the little caterpillar pokes its head out of its case, extends its six fore legs like so many hands, and pulls itself along over the leaf. Soon it is ready to seek a safe place to spend the pupa state, or even the winter, if it be a second crop caterpillar. So spinning a silken string it drops from the leaf, and reaches the bark, a twig, or the ground, where it attaches itself firmly.

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It does not desert its case, but hangs it by a few threads to the bark of the tree. These curious little oval disk-shaped, seed-like yellowish cases only about a tenth of an inch long may often be found attached to the bark of apple, pear, quince, thorn-apple and wild cherry trees, by a silken button at one end. The hibernating brood comes out in May; their offspring in July. In serious outbreaks of this pest, the bark of the trunk and larger branches will be fairly covered with hibernating cases, forty-seven having been counted on a spot not larger than a dime.

The Ribbed Cocoon-Maker is the fabricator of those small but conspicuous whitish, distinctly ribbed cocoons about the length of a grain of rice but slenderer, often found in large numbers in autumn closely packed on the underside of the smaller branches of certain trees. *Bucculatrix* is the entomological name of the genus, with species choosing the apple, the oak, and a few other kinds of foliage.

The moth is only about a tenth of an inch in length, and is of a general light-brown color with front wing markings of dark brown. The eggs are laid on the upper surface of the leaf, and in about a week they hatch into minute caterpillars that burrow into the leaf, where they burrow narrow mines in serpentine fashion. But after about a week of tunnelling, the caterpillar comes out and makes a moulting cocoon—a round smear of silk under which the skin is shed.

Says Mr. Comstock: "Stretched out on this network the larva, which is now about one-tenth inch long, makes a small hole in it near its edge, then, as one would turn a somersault, it puts its head into this hole and disappears beneath the silken covering, where it undergoes a change of skin. It remains in the moulting cocoon usually less than twenty-four hours. After leaving this cocoon it feeds upon the leaves without making a mine; and in a few days makes a second moulting cocoon which differs from the first only in being larger. After leaving this it again feeds for a few days, and then migrates to a twig where it makes the long ribbed cocoon within which the pupa state is passed."

It requires three or four hours to build one of these ribbed cocoons, and the pupal stage lasts from one to two weeks in the summer cocoons, most of the moths emerging by August first. In migrating from leaf to bark, the caterpillars often merely hang suspended from the leaves by silken cables until the wind blows them to a suitable landing place. The cocoons are made firmly *in situ*, and

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would never fall from the bark; if the pests are numerous the transformation chambers will need to be scraped from the tree.

Though the apple tree is a special favorite of several kinds of leaf miners, the tribe by no means limits itself to this one tree. Many plants, cultivated and uncultivated, form leafy worlds for these infinitesimal beings. Even the pine does not escape.

Mr. Comstock describes the work of this particular miner: "It often happens that the ends of the leaves of pine present a dead and brown appearance that is due to the interior of the leaf having been eaten out. At the right season it is easy to see the long, slender larva in its snug retreat by holding a leaf up to the light and looking through it; and later the pupa can be seen in the same way. Near the lower end of the tunnel in each leaf there is a round hole through which the larva entered the leaf, and from which the adult emerges. We have found this insect in several of the stouter-leaved species of pine, but never in the slender leaves of the white pine. In the North it is most abundant in the leaves of the pitch-pine."

Mines on the surface of a leaf offer interesting reading-matter to those who care to study what the busy jaws have written. Often the miner can be found at work, or perhaps he will have ceased feeding and transformed to a small light-brown pupa. Or the mine may be abandoned, and the cocoon found clinging to the bark of the home plant or one growing nearby, according to where the wind wafted the swaying caterpillar. Or the mine may be empty because one of the many parasitic flies that prey on these tiny insects may have found the mine, stabbed through it and into the miner with her egg-laying stiletto, and left a bit of life there to mine the miner.

It is an interesting experiment to make a collection of mined leaves in the fall, and watch developments.

V. HYACINTH AND HYACINTHUS.

"When the young hyacinth returns to seek
The air and sunshine with her emerald beak."
—O. W. Holmes

It may be very early in the year indeed; so early it is late, in fact, as I have seen them in shop windows and in homes blooming for Christmas. This is, of course, from the bulbs planted in water, but from the standpoint of the flowers alone, is quite as satisfactory a way to grow them as any. Authority says that "when used

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for flowering in water, the water should be kept fresh and pure in the bulb glasses; and when the bulbs are first inserted, the glass should be put in some cool, dark place to promote the growth of the fibrous roots, without a strong supply of which the blossoms are worthless. This process, however, is so unnatural that the plant is destroyed at the end of the flowering. It will be found preferable to select the earliest and single kinds for such purposes, as they always do better than the double sorts."

This advice, though coupled with the warning that the bulb will surely be destroyed if allowed to flower in water, is enough to fill us with a desire to have a dish of hyacinths in blossom the winter through; let the florists raise more blubs—that's their business, ours is to enjoy the sweet, fresh, fragrant flowers:

> "Hyacinths with their graceful bells,
> Where the spirit of odor dwells,
> Like the spirit of music in ocean shells."
> —Letitia E. Landon ("The Bayadere")

Botanically, the true Hyacinths are members of the Lily Family, as their general build indicates. They form a large genus of plants, called *Hyacinthus,* distinguished from their other lily relatives by the bell-shaped corolla with the tube portion more prominent than the flare. Without exception they are natives of the Old World. Though such a simple plant in gesture and structure, it is plainly an exotic. We have nothing quite like it native to America; though we do have a so-called "wild hyacinth," it is not a *hyacinthus.* The common hyacinth is *Hyacinthus orientalis,* though the Roman one, *H. albulus,* is almost as popular.

> "Mark the sweet lines whose matchless ovals curl
> Above the fragile stem's half-shrinking grace,
> And say if this pure hyacinth doth not seem
> (Touched by enchantments of an antique dream)
> A flower no more, but the low, drooping face
> Of some love-laden, fair Athenian girl?"
> —Paul H. Hayne ("The Hyacinth")

> "And thy most lovely purple perfume, Zante!
> Isola d'oro! Fior di Levante!"
> —Edgar Allan Poe ("Al Aaraaf")

To the Dutch is conceded the merit of improving its qualities; they were first acquainted with it in the beginning of the sixteenth century. About 1700 some seven or eight varieties were

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known in England; it is said that in 1712 the Haarlem florists had over two thousand varieties, at which time their bulbs formed a most valuable branch of their commerce. The "Fior di Levante" is no longer limited to the Orient, but thanks to Dutch brains has been carried from the Levant to the very outposts of civilization.

A good hyacinth, according to the florist's idea, is one having a strong, tall, erect stem, supporting numerous flowers in such a manner that the whole may have a compact pyramidal form, with the crown, or uppermost flower, perfectly erect; the flowers should be large and perfectly double, appearing to the eye rather convex in the centre; the colors should be clear and bright, whether plain red, white, or blue, or variously intermixed and diversified. Strong bright colors are in general preferred.

The usual colors of the hyacinth are blue, both pale and dark, red, rosy, crimson, straw-colored or yellowish, called golden, and pure white. There is as great a difference in the readiness with which they flower as there is in the beauty, grace or even splendor of their blossoms. In cultivating the several varieties, it is well to consult the different floricultural treatises in which their several merits are set forth.

The hyacinth grows readily from the seeds; they are sown in October, after they have ripened, or in the following March. The new plants usually flower in about six years from the time of sowing. Their cultivation is simple and easy, requiring essentially a soil of sandy loam and vegetable mound two feet deep; the bulbs should be planted early enough in October to insure a good supply of fibrous roots before the winter; the beds thus prepared and planted should be protected with leaves, which are to be carefully taken away in the spring when the plants issue from the earth. Some sort of protection from the rain and sun is well, as very warm weather in May is apt to injure the blooming.

The hyacinth does well in the house, if the bulbs are placed in large, deep pots in good soil in November and kept cool in the cellar until the next February, then brought into the light and warmth. Such bulbs are of little value, however, for another season's use.

The hyacinth as seen in cultivation is of two sorts, the single and the double flowered. The single hyacinth is preferable in many respects, as it flowers earlier, and its blossoms or bells are sweeter-scented and more regular in shape. The double greatly vary in

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size and number of perianth segments, and some are in this respect of extraordinary beauty.

Of course the plant would be popular with the poets. There is the item of color, so diversified; one poet, in finding comparisons for the Corn-Bluebottle, sees it, "Blue as hyacinth, blithe as iris." On the other hand, some hyacinths are a decided corn-flower blue:

"Dark hyacinth, of late whose blushing beams
Made all the neighboring herbs and grass rejoice."
—William Drummond

One always thinks of the hyacinth as being blue, so that in the following lines that is the touch the poet his given his sunset by tucking in one of these blossoms:

"How bravely Autumn paints upon the sky
The gorgeous fame of Summer which is fled!
Hues of all flowers that in their ashes lie,
Trophied in that fair light whereon they fed,
Tulip, and hyacinth, and sweet rose red." —Thomas Hood

Other lines paint the perianth in this favorite color, which caused Burns to make it the emblem of fidelity.

"Now the shy hyacinth that earliest blooms
Brings down the blue of heaven." —Anon. ("Early Spring")

"The cone-beaked hyacinth returns
To light her blue-flamed chandelier."
—Holmes ("Spring Has Come")

Browning has described one of the pale yellow ones in such a pleasing manner one longs to go right out and gather such a spray to enjoy:

"As if aloft
Yon hyacinth, she loves so, leaned its staff's
Burden of honey-colored buds to kiss
And capture 'twixt the lips apart for this." —("A Face")

Neither have the pink and the white been forgotten:

"The hyacinth in tender pink outvies
Beauty's soft cheek." —Nicholas Michell

"Nor hyacinths, of purest virgin white,
Low bent, and blushing inward." —James Thomson

Another detail worthy of poetical comment, and receiving it, is the sweet perfume the waxy petals exhale:

"On sunny banks their wine the hyacinths spill,
And self-betraying violets bloom thereunder."
—Bayard Taylor ("Sorrento")

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"And the hyacinth purple, and white, and blue,
Which flung from its bells a sweet peal anew,
Of music so delicate, soft, and intense,
It was felt like an odor within the sense." —Shelley

Then there is the shape of the blossom, tubular and flared:

"And the buds which danced in merry measure
To the chiming of the hyacinth's bell?"
—Susan Coolidge ("April")

"Then tenderly ringing old Winter's knell,
The hyacinth swung its soundless bell."
—Alfred Austin ("The Coming of Spring")

The rolled-back tips of the perianth have given the poet a particularly pleasing bit of personification:

"Here hyacinths of heavenly blue
Shook their rich tresses to the morn." —James Montgomery

"Her clustering curls the hyacinth displays." —Holmes

"The dark hyacinth,
To which Hafez compares his mistress' hair."
—Thomas Moore ("Lalla Rookh")

"The hyacinths of waving, dusky hair."
—Togray ("The Vale of Kashmeer")

"Let these hyacinth boughs
Be his long, flowing hair,
And wave o'er his brows
As thou wavest in air!" —Lord Byron

Not least of its many virtues is its early blooming, which the poets have placed in the several spring months:

"And March his stormy trumpet blew,
And tender green came peeping through,
I loved the earliest one to seek
That broke the soil with emerald beak,
And watch the trembling bells so blue
Spread on the column as it grew.

. . . . .

The hyacinth my garden gave
Shall lie upon that Roman grave!"
—Holmes ("After a Lecture on Keats")

"The honeysuckles lace the wall,
The hyacinths grow fair and tall."
—Elizabeth Akers Allen ("In April")

"Shaded hyacinths, alway
Sapphire queen of the mid-May." —John Keats ("Fancy")

In the language of flowers, the white hyacinth speaks of "unob-

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trusive loveliness," the light-blue of "playful fancy," but the purple emblematic of sorrow, is

> "The melancholy Hyacinth, that weeps
> All night, and never lifts an eye all day."

One old writer, in describing a charnel house, makes it "strewed with wither'd hyacinths." The blue hyacinth, in the calendar of flowers, is dedicated to St. Dorothy, which may be why crowns of these chaste blossoms are worn by young Greek virgins at the weddings of their friends, and by the brides themselves. Though it is also a funeral flower, according to the rhyme:

> "And so we ring a change upon these bells
> And now of death and now of love it tells."

It is one of the blossoms suitable to place upon the graves of maidens, as it was worn by them in life, and this idea is brought out by the German poet Oehlenschlager in his poem, "The Tragedy of Correggio":

> "Yet here, amid the grass,
> I shall paint one pale hyacinth. That flower,
> When beauteous maidens die, adorns their tomb,
> For me the lovely form of Hope has now
> Declined in death; and for her sake shall I,
> For the last time, here plant one flower!"

The hyacinth of the present day, though by both its English and generic names entitled to the honor, cannot trace its origin to Hyacinthus, that famous youth of Greek tragedy. It is not "the classic hyacinth steeped in dew," as one poet calls it, though some of these less classic poets would make it so.

According to the myth, Hyacinthus was the son of the Spartan king Amyclas and of Diomede, though some versions make his parents Pierus and Clio, or even Oebalus and Eurotas. He was a boy of great beauty and the favorite of Apollo, and was also beloved by Zephyrus, who from jealousy caused his death as he was playing quoits with Apollo, by blowing the discus of the sun god against the youth's head. From his blood Apollo, or Phœbus, caused the flower hyacinth to grow.

> "pitying the sad death
> Of Hyacinthus, when the cruel breath
> Of Zephyr slew him,—Zephyr penitent,
> Who now, ere Phœbus mounts the firmament,
> Fondles the flower amid the sobbing rain." —Keats

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"And Hyacinth, long since a fair youth seen,
Whose tuneful voice, turned fragrance in his breath,
Kissed by sad Zephyr, guilty of his death." —Thomas Hood

Hyacinthus, doubtless, represents the summer vegetation scorched to death by the summer sun. In Greek religious rites, the Hyacinthus was a three-days' festival held in midsummer in honor of this event. It was one of the most important festivals of the Peloponnesus, its chief centre being Amyclæ, Hyacinthus being the son of the Spartan king Amyclas. The festival began with mourning for the death of Hyacinthus and ended with rejoicing for his rebirth.

Now the plant fabled to have sprung from the blood of the youth is not determined; the letters h-y-a-c-i-n-t-h are used only as transliterating or representing the Greek or Latin word of the vegetable, and in no wise implies any member of the modern genus *Hyacinthus*. Rather, the present-day hyacinth is rejected altogether. Some authorities suppose the fabled hyacinth to be the Turk's-Cap Lily, others take it to be the iris, the larkspur, or the gladiolus.

One mark of identification is the fact that upon the petals of the classic flower appear the Greek exclamation of woe, AI, AI, AY, or the Greek letter beginning the youth's name. So it is pretty poetry, but not good mythology when the poet writes of the present-day hyacinth:

"Come, hyacinths, chime your sapphire bells,
Toll *ai ai* no more."
—Elizabeth M. Johnstone ("A Spring Song")

Meleager, in his "Anthology," includes Alcæus' hyacinth, that speaks to bards," which may be any one of the four plants named as the fabled one. It would seem that in one respect our present hyacinth would qualify, and that is in its ringlets, which was the fashionable male headdress in Hyacinthus' time:

"Drooping grace unfurls
Still Hyacinthus' curls."
—Leigh Hunt ("Chorus of the Flowers")

It may be reflected glory from the legend that our purple hyacinth is made to speak of sorrow:

"Dost love sweet hyacinth? Its scented leaf
Curls manifold,—all love's delights blow double;
'Tis said this floweret is inscribed with grief,—
But let that hint of a forgotten trouble." —Thomas Hood

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As for the marks of woe inscribed on the classic blossom, the hyacinth of Homer must have been something other than our plain-petaled one; if the Turk's-Cap Lily, it would be marked sufficiently to meet any myth-maker's demands.

"Hyacinth, thy woes thy bosom's marks declare."
—Angelo Poliziano

"The heart's blood am I of expiring strength,
Engraved on mine urn is its cry.
My dark glowing pangs, to thee are they known?"
—Per D. A. Atterbom ("The Hyacinth")

But all the pros and cons over the identity of Homer's hyacinth, why its marks of wail and what they say, is immaterial, if, as Lord Houghton complains, there is such a woeful lack of interest in Greek mythology that

"Hyacinth dwells no more in his brilliant abode, and the stranger
Reads the memorial signs he has left with a stolid amazement."

In that case, Hyacinthus should be glad to have his name and even some points of his legend kept in memory even by a spurious blossom, thankful that such a charmingly lovely and fragrant number of them make his name no dead, forgotten bit of Greek, but a well-known household word.

HARRIETTE WILBUR.

Duluth, Minn.

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Book Reviews

"St. John Berchmans." By Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J. Translated from the French by Rev. Henry C. Semple, S. J. 12mo. pp. 189. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"St. John Berchmans." The story of the Saint of Innocence. By James J. Daly, S. J. 12mo. pp. 191. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

It is seldom that two lives of the same saint appear at the same time, but there is a reason for it; in fact, several reasons. First, we are celebrating the tercentenary of the saint's death; secondly, only one of the two is original, the other being a translation; and thirdly, the subject is worthy of so much attention and more. The books are about equal in size, draw their material from the same authentic sources, present equally excellent portraits, and differ only in details.

St. John was a Jesuit scholastic who did ordinary things well. Indeed, as his biographer says, his many little everyday duties were much the same as those of all Christians. His sanctity consisted in doing them with a constancy and unflinching courage inspired by an uncommon love for God and his neighbor. But he never tired of trying to perfect them. Hence he applied everything that he heard and saw to himself: the words and acts of others were all used as guides for his own conduct; he imitated those that were good and avoided those that were bad or less perfect. One of his principal maxims was, "Something little but constant." Another one was, "My chief penance will be our common duties." He tells us that his treasure consists in three things: "My crucifix, my beads and my rules are the three things most dear to me. With them I will willingly die."

How very unlike the youth of the present day, who must have a new thrill every moment, who abhor the commonplace and who despise all rules as if they were the chains of slavery. What a pity we cannot bring St. John Berchmans to the attention of every boy and girl in the land. What a splendid model he would be for the university and the college. How sadly they are in need of standards like unto his. At least we ought to be able to enter him on the rolls of all our Catholic seminaries, colleges and convent schools. If we could induce our boys and girls and young men and women

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to model their lives on his, the future for the Church in this country would be much brighter and the hope for the country itself much stronger.

"An Epitome of the Priestly Life." By Canon Arvisnet. Adapted from the Latin original, "Memoriale Vitae Sacerdotalis," by Rev. F. J. O'Sullivan, with frontispiece. Oblong, 24mo., Morocco grain, imitation leather, flexible covers, round corners, gold edges, net, $3.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Claude Arvisenet, Canon and Vicar General of the Diocese of Troyes, was born in the year 1755 in the City of Langres. After some years of pastoral labor he was, in common with many of his clerical confrères, banished from his native country by the Revolutionists. He sought refuge in Lucerne, Switzerland, where he devoted his time to the writing of spiritual works. Of all his books, however, the "Memoriale Vitae Sacerdotalis' became his masterpiece. It was first printed in 1794 and subsequently ran through many editions. Pope Pius VII., then reigning, bestowed upon it highest praise, and it became the text-book in many Seminaries, notably that of Maynooth.

It might well be called the "Priest's Imitation of Christ," for it is written in the same style as that work, and is akin to it in its unction, piety and wealth of scriptural allusion. Our busy priests will revel in its crisp, cogent, meaty paragraphs. Covering as it does the whole range of dogmatic, moral and disciplinary matter which pertains to the priesthood, it will prove serviceable alike for meditation, spiritual reading and particular examen of conscience, and will be truly a precious "Vade Mecum" for the priest.

The translator has, in this English version, preserved all the charm, terseness and vigor of the original to the utmost extent of the possibilities of our language. Beautifully printed in large type, on good quality of paper agreeable to the eyes, and substantially bound, its portable form in the size of a pocket breviary will allow of its convenient use at any time.

This book has been well known in the original Latin throughout the countries of Europe for going on two centuries, although it has gone out of print from time to time, and has been more or less forgotten at certain periods. It was even well known to an earlier generation of priests in this country who brought it with them from the old countries and always held it in the highest reverence. It is practically unknown to clerics of the present generation, although

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they may have many other excellent books, and more exhaustive libraries perhaps than their predecessors. But books are often distracting things, and when eaten too freely or indiscriminately, they produce mental indigestion. Besides, the man who gets his principles sound, and then reasons things out for himself will certainly get more out of his reading than one who simply devours the thoughts of others ad infinitum.

The "Memoriale Vitae Sacerdotalis" is a book of this kind: it is fundamental and thought-provoking. We like the Latin name better, and respectfully suggest that in future editions it be placed before the other.

"The Word of God." By Monsignor Borgondini Duca, S. T. D., Secretary of Extraordinary Affairs of the Vatican. Translated by Rev. Francis J. Spellman, Holy Cross Cathedral, Boston. 12mo., pp. 211. New York: The Macmillan Co.

This book is a series of short meditations for every Sunday in the year and some of the holy days. The Gospel read in the Mass comes first, then a short meditation, and finally, the lesson or instruction drawn from the text. Sometimes the Gospel of a proximate feast is substituted for the Sunday Gospel, and during Lent the Gospels of the Ferials are sometimes used.

These explanations of the holy Gospels were first edited in weekly pamphlets which were published in Rome by the "Society of St. Jerome for the diffusion of the Gospel." They appeared from the first Sunday of Lent, 1919, until Quinquagesima Sunday, 1920. They were afterwards published in book form under the title of "The Word of God." One hundred and twenty thousand copies have already been published. Now they appear in English and they should be as popular in this new dress as they were in the old. The author does not attempt to explain the whole Gospel, but he picks out the leading thought in it and dwells on that, sometimes referring to the lesson of the day also, and in this manner he endeavors to get his readers to catch the spirit of the occasion. The conclusion is generally drawn from the life of some saint who practiced in a special manner the virtue which the occasion calls for.

The catechism tells us that it is not enough only to hear Mass on Sunday in order to keep it holy, but that we should also make use of other exercises of piety, practice works of mercy both spiritual and corporal, and read good books. Here is a good book for Sunday reading. If it were kept in the family and perused after

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having attended Mass, and heard a sermon or instruction, it would supplement the living word, and make it more fruitful.

"Jesus Christ, the King of Our Hearts. Elevations on the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus." By Very Rev. Alexis M. Lepicier, O. S. M., Consultor of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. 12mo., pp. 264. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author tells us that the occasion of this book was an invitation to preach a sermon on the Sacred Heart in one of the monasteries of his community. A statue had been erected and was being blessed to commemorate the consecration of local families to the Sacred Heart. The preparation of that sermon led to study and meditation, from which the thirty chapters of this book, which might be called thirty sermons, sprang. "The first thought which devotion to the Sacred Heart suggests to our minds is that of infinite love on the part of our Divine Redeemer. It was this love which urged Him to give Himself entirely to us in his passion and death, as well as in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of the altar." It seems equally manifest that while this devotion reminds us of the love of Jesus for us, it should also light up in our hearts flames of reciprocal love, which should show itself in the imitation of those virtues which distinguish the Sacred Heart—meekness, humility and charity. But to understand the full significance of this devotion, we must go further and consider the royal dignity and sovereignty of the Heart of Jesus over our hearts, which is fitly expressed in the phrase: "Heart of Jesus, King and Centre of all hearts."

The relationship between us and the Sacred Heart of Jesus is based on the fact that our Divine Redeemer has been set over us as King and Sovereign by His Eternal Father. Devotion to the Sacred Heart considered in this light includes all He did and suffered to gain His sway over our hearts. It sums up all we should do, as subjects to share in the fruits of Redemption.

This was the idea which the author sought to place before his audience in that first sermon, and which runs through all those that followed, and that make up the chapters of this book. As they are now arranged both in number and in form they serve excellently for instruction, spiritual reading and meditation during the month of June.

They are splendid, clear, devotional, instructive. In the multiplication of pious books there is sometimes distraction and weariness

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for the reader, where there should be only attraction and refreshment. Too often we are tempted to think that even writers of good books may be swayed ever so slightly by vanity. It may be our own obtuseness or coldness that is responsible, but we humbly confess that we have read pious books without becoming more pious, although we thought we approached the task with the right disposition. How seldom can we say after much of our reading, that our hearts glowed within us while we read. And yet, we should be able to say so. Father Lepicier's book is that kind: it burns.

Institutiones Theologiæ Naturalis ad usum Scholarum accomodatæ, auctore Gulielmo J. Brosnan, S. J., Theologiæ Naturalis Professore in Collegio Maximo SS. Cordis Iesu, Woodstocki in Marylandi. 8 vo. pp. 396. Chicago: Typographia Loyolæa.

Apologetica, quam in usum auditorum suorum concinnavit Joannes T. Langan, S. J., apologeticæ in Collegio Maximo Woodstockensi Professor. 8vo., pp. 434. Chicago: Typographia Loyolæa.

It is a happy coincidence that these two excellent manuals should come from the press at the same time. They are both from the hands of members of the Society of Jesus who are teachers in their respective branches in famous old Woodstock, and they contain matter which has already been taught to the students of that college, and which is now arranged and published in book form not only for the use of future students of that college, but for the use of Catholic ecclesiastical students generally. We feel that we could hardly say more to recommend these books. Of course, it goes without saying that they are complete, up to date and orderly. We might perhaps add that the Latin is correct, yet simple, and that the typographical arrangement is the very best for enabling the student to grasp quickly the relative importance of the matter, and to remember the connection between the various parts.

The mechanical work is exceptionally good. It might be objected that the paper is unusually heavy, and that makes a heavy book, but it also gives a perfectly opaque page and a wearing quality that is very desirable for a class book that is handled much and used hard.

It may be said without hesitation that these books may be adopted by any college, and that the results for both teacher and pupil will be most satisfactory.

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"The Mythology of All Races," in thirteen volumes. Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph. D., editor. George Foote Moore, A. M., D. D., LL. D., consulting editor. Vol. XI., Latin-American. By Harkley Burr Alexander, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Nebraska. Large 8vo, pp. 424. Illustrated. Boston: Marshall Jones Co.

This book, like so many other enterprises, was delayed by the war. It was ready for the printer in 1916, but only now has come from the press. It covers a very interesting and important part of the field, with a special appeal to American students, and is in accord with the previous volume on the mythology of the North American Indians. The two books correspond in form and are continuous in matter.

A large section of the present volume is taken up with Mexico, which holds much interest for the student of American mythology.

The illustrations are splendidly done, while the type work and paper could not be better.

The editors and publishers are to be congratulated on the universal excellence of this important work, and it is to be hoped that the patronage will keep pace with their efforts.

"The Hope of the Future." By Edward E. Eagle. Forewords and messages by Hon. Warren G. Harding, Hon. David Lloyd George and others. 12mo., pp. 141. Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Co.

The author says: "I have ventured to issue in this volume my frank and fearless observations based upon five years of wandering up and down the earth. . . . Writing books is not my business and never will be; international commerce is; yet many friends, knowing of my wide field of observation, have urged me to be bold, and to present here what I have gleaned in travels that have led me from the fashionable resorts of Europe to the wilds of Borneo."

The hope of the author is that by writing down his impressions of peoples and places he may bring about a better understanding among the nations of the world and a better unity. Hence the title, "The Hope of the Future."

It might be called notes of a traveler or observations in passing, because it is not a technical book. It does not lay down a series of theses and try to prove them scholastically by citation of authorities. For that reason it is pleasanter reading, but not so valuable.

Mr. Eagle shows himself a keen observer, with a clear eye and a facile pen. The reader will follow him with pleasure and will get many impressions of many lands. He should also get the im-

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pression that the differences of men and nations are due most of all, if not altogether, to misunderstandings, and if he can prevent these or remove them promptly we shall have peace.

"The 'Summa Theologica' of St. Thomas Aquinas." Second part of the Second Part. QQ. CXLI.-CLXX. Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. 8vo, pp. 315. New York: Benziger Brothers.

When this English translation of the "Summa" was announced first, some persons doubted the wisdom of it, because the original work was so well known, had been so long in use and was itself so easily comprehensible that the necessity for a translation did not seem to be very great. Others doubted the likelihood of a satisfactory translation, because St. Thomas' phraseology is so distinctive that it is not easy to translate without sacrificing something of its value. Not a few persons feared that if the translation was undertaken it would not proceed promptly and consecutively to a conclusion, but that it would be abandoned because of the difficulties in the way and for lack of patronage.

It was not surprising that in view of all these considerations the work was discussed for a long time before it was undertaken.

Now it is a great pleasure to be able to say that all these fears were groundless. The translators are doing their work so well that they are preserving all the characteristics of the original, and are giving us a living St. Thomas. Too often a translated author dies in the process.

The simplicity and clearness of the English in this book is very remarkable. Not only the student who makes the acquaintance of the Angelic Doctor in this English dress for the first time will love him, but the student who has already known him in Latin will like him better. The work is progressing uninterruptedly and without any diminution of merit, and this is something to be thankful for because it is not common.

We hope the patronage is equal to the merits of the undertaking. It would be a great pity if such enterprise and worth should not be appreciated.

The present volume treats of temperance, meaning the cardinal virtue, of course, and not the restricted application of it to moderation in the use of intoxicants only.

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"The Social Mission of Charity." By William J. Kerby, Professor of Sociology, The Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Price, $2.25. A volume in the Social Action Series of the National Catholic Welfare Council. New York: The Macmillan Co.

"The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council have in preparation a series of volumes presenting Catholic teaching on the important social and industrial problems of the day. 'The Church and Labor,' by Father Ryan and Father Husslein has already appeared. The second volume in this important series is 'The Social Mission of Charity, a Study of Points of View in Catholic Charities,' by Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D., LL. D., professor of sociology in the Catholic University, Washington. Two other volumes dealing with charity are in preparation, and also a volume on Church and State.

"The creation of the Department of Social Action of the Council, according to Dr. Kerby, indicates efforts on the part of the Catholic Church in the United States to restate in as far as restatement is needed, her philosophy and policies toward national life in its exacting problems. The Department of Social Action of the Council represents efforts toward collective thinking and concerted action in respect of pressing social problems. This volume and others to follow represent the desire of the Department to study the relations of the Church to poverty and the bearing of our new insight into social conditions and processes on the principles and methods of Catholic charity. The Church aims to give and to receive in this exchange."

To this the author adds: "The scope of this volume limits its contents to a discussion of the general points of view in Catholic charities. On this account neither methods nor problems are treated in any detail. The plans of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council provide for a number of volumes relating to practical aspects of charities. They will appear as circumstances permit. Special bibliographies on problems and agencies are reserved to them. Since the social facts dealt with in a general way are beyond dispute, although interpretations vary, it did not seem necessary to weight the pages with expressive literary references. The author has endeavored to confine his interpretations to forms which may invite but little disagreement. Exposition rather than argument was aimed at throughout in the hope of making general appeal for thorough understanding of the wider mission of charity in social life."

How to help all the poor, how to help them most effectually, how to put an end to their poverty—these are the questions that

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underlie all effort for social betterment. And before an answer can be gotten to these questions, others must be asked and answered: What is the cause of poverty, or rather the causes, what efforts have been made to remove them, and why have they failed? Finally, after we have solved all these problems, we are brought face to face with the question: Can we remedy the evil of poverty completely? And the answer is no, because the evil is also a blessing, and one of the most effective means to salvation.

"The Celestial Circus." By Cornelia Walter McCleary. 8 vo. pp. 89. Illustrated. Boston: The Cornhill Co.

Here is a jolly book for the children. Many of the poems in it have already been published in the magazines, but they are well worthy of repetition and perpetuation in permanent form.

The book takes its name from the first poem which tells us how the bear first took his place among the heavenly constellations. Then follow fifty-five other little stories in rhyme that will delight the hearts of little ones, and even make big ones smile—stories of all sorts of animals having all kinds of adventures, and passing through them as naturally as if they had full human equipment. There is even a story of a frog and a worm who were in the trenches during the late war, had a narrow escape from being gassed, and a still more thrilling escape from being eaten, for soldiers are hungry fellows.

"The Heavenly Circus" will certainly delight any youngster into whose hands it happens to fall and it will be jealously guarded as a precious treasure.

"The Potter's House." A novel. By Isabel C. Clarke, 8vo., cloth, net, $2.00. Postage, 15 cents. "Denys the Dreamer." A novel. By Katharine Tynan Hinkson. 8vo., cloth, net, $2.00. "Bobby in Movieland." A juvenile. By Francis J. Finn, S. J., with frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, net, $1.50. Postage, 10 cents. "Signals From the Bay Tree." A juvenile. By H. S. Spalding, S. J., with frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, net, $1.50. Postage, 10 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here is a notable group of Catholic fiction, all from the house of Benziger. They are from the pens of well-known authors, who have already proved themselves. The first two are for mature readers, while the second two are juveniles.

In the "Potter's House," Miss Clarke adds another interesting

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and instructive story to her long list. She is happy as usual in her description of scenes and delineation of character. The story begins in England, and moves into Italy, principally Rome and Assisi, and then returns to England for the finish. It deals with the question of mixed marriages, and brings out very clearly, but in an inoffensive way, the Catholic doctrine on the subject in contrast with the view of Anglicans and other non-Catholics.

It has been frequently said that the novelist should not instruct, and that novels are for amusement only. But that is not true. The novel may be made a most useful channel of instruction, and consciously or unconsciously the novelist must teach. What is the novel after all except a stage on which men and women move back and forth playing their parts while the scene shifts to make a setting for their movements. They are human beings with all their strength and weakness, virtues and vices, ambitions, vanities and jealousies. By word and act they give good example or bad, and they edify or scandalize the reader, while they interest him and amuse him. But the novelist cannot shirk his responsibility. He is owner and lessee of the theatre, he is stage manager, he is author.

It is common for unscrupulous and mercenary theatrical managers to excuse themselves for unworthy productions by saying that they give the public what it wants, and therefore they are not responsible. Some novelists make the same defense. As well might the druggist excuse himself for selling the most deadly poisons to the public indiscriminately. And if it be necessary to defend people against poison in the physical order, by safeguarding them with protective laws, how much more necessary in the moral order. Therefore the novelist does teach, and the novel does harm or good even while it amuses, and there are good and bad novelists, and their merits do not consist altogether, or even principally, in their power to entertain.

And so to come back to the story before us, it is interesting, it is amusing, it is entertaining, but it is at the same time instructive. It shows the evil of mixed marriages and the fallacy of the doctrine that principle is to be sacrificed for temporary happiness, which quickly changes into misery.

In "Denys the Dreamer" the scene shifts to Ireland, always the land of beauty, poetry and adventure, and very much in the eye of the world at the present time.

It is almost a truism to say that no one can write of Ireland and the Irish except an Irishman or Irish woman. There is something elusive about the land and the people which only one who is native

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to the soil with all its distinctive manners, customs and traditions can hope to grasp.

The writer, so long and so widely admired under her maiden name Katharine Tynan, was happy far beyond the common in delineating the best aspects of Irish character. Her novel is a typical and charming example of her talent and the various contrasted female figures in the story are drawn with an equally sympathetic and intelligent insight. Not a page of the book is dull.

The field for juveniles is unlimited. Children read like they eat —in chunks. And they are no less discriminating in one operation than in the other. You cannot fool them. They know a real boy when they see him. They know how he dresses, and how he talks and how he plays, and they cannot be deceived by any counterfeit. An author will not last long, nor get very far, who sets up mannikis or marionettes and calls them boys. Juveniles must be up to date. They must introduce all the latest inventions, and they must know their value in the affairs of boys.

Now, Father Finn's latest story carries a special appeal for this reason: it takes the reader into the moving picture country and into the studio; it brings him into contact with moving picture people, both producers and actors; it introduces Bobby, the hero, into the picture, and it shows the very important part which even children play in this great modern field of industry and amusement.

Whether intentional or not, there is a very striking resemblance between Bobby and the comedian in this story and a well-known boy actor and better known comedian who have recently appeared on the screen together throughout the country.

The plot of the story is very interesting and serves excellently to bring the characters and scenes together. The boys and girls are sure to like it, and boys and girls of a larger growth are sure to borrow it.

The second juvenile on our list is from the pen of a Jesuit also, and this only emphasizes what has been said about the importance of good books for young persons. No one knows this better than the sons of Ignatius, who have exceptional opportunities of learning it in the schools where they spend so many teaching years. And this experience also gives them an quipment for producing such books. They gain an intimate knowledge of the boy in their schools, and therefore it is not surprising that the best juvenile writers of the day are members of the Society of Jesus, and not the least of them is Father Spalding. He has already a goodly list of

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juveniles to his credit. His latest story of outdoor life will be devoured by the boys, for it is just the kind that will appeal to them. A description of it says:

"With all the fascination of outdoor life and adventure of his other books, Father Spalding has added such novelty and mystery to this new story that it will be read with much zest. Relating in his usual colorful style, interspersed with choice bits of bird and nature lore, the camping trip of three boys into the almost unexplored regions of the Ten Thousand Islands and the Everglades of Florida, he adds enough thrills of rattler and bear attacks, searches for a treasure chest and its subsequent robbery and the pursuit, to make the story all that a boy could desire."

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The American Catholic Quarterly Review

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

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I.

THE EARLY BISHOPS OF ICELAND

(From the Old Sagas) [1]

THE history of the Early Church in Iceland, as told in the old Sagas contained in the Icelandic "Origines Islandicæ," and translated by the late writers, Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. Yorke Powell, is a most fascinating work; it is, however, mixed up with a great deal that is likely to try the patience of the modern reader, so we propose to give here an abridged account in our own languages of the "Lives of the Early Bishops," [2] and especially of Iceland's two great saints, St. Thorlak, Bishop of Skalholt, and St. John of Holar, once Bishop of that see.

Iceland was converted to Christianity at the end of the tenth century from paganism, and at the Althing, or parliament, of A. D. 1000, the Catholic religion was made the established religion of the country, and remained so until the Protestant Reformation, which was carried out in the most drastic manner, much against the will of the people, who were then greatly attached to the Catholic Church, and had great devotion to our Lady and the saints, traces of which remain, especially in the country places, to this day. At first there was only one episcopal see, that of Skalholt in the south, established in the year 1000; some years later a second see, that of Holar in the north, was set up.

[1] "Origines Islandicæ."

[2] By kind permission of The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

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The patron saint of Iceland is St. Thorlak, seventh Bishop of Skalholt, whose story with that of his predecessors we are now about to tell, sometimes quoting some of the quaint and beautiful expressions of the old Sagas. For instance, they never speak of St. John's day or St. Peter's day, but of John's or Peter's Mass, or occasionally of Ambrose-day and Agnes-day, instead of St. Ambrose's day or St. Agnes' day. Christmas is always called Yule-day and Christmas-time Yuletide. The feast of the Invention of the Cross (May 4) was called Cross-mass; the four great feasts of Our Lady—the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Nativity—were called respectively (1) Candlemass, or the first Mary-mass; (2) Mary-mass in spring, or the second Mary-mass; (3) the latter Mary-mass, and (4) the last Marymass. Ash Wednesday was called the First Day of the Fast; Holy Week was called the Dumbbell days; Holy Thursday, Shear Thursday; the Saturday in the spring Ember week, Washing day; the feast of a martyr was generally called his Passion, as the Passion of SS. Peter and Paul; the feast of the dedication of a church was called Church-day; the consecration of a Bishop or a church was the "hallowing."

The rigor of the climate, the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, the terrible storms and violent hurricanes to which the country is subject have all combined to make life less progressive in Iceland than in more favored lands; the interior now, as in the Middle Ages, is for the most part uninhabited and uncultivated, huge glaciers and barren, volcanic plains making it impossible either to live there or to grow anything to live upon; only stunted willows and firs thrive in the so-called Icelandic forests. There were no roads then and there are very few now; the few towns were then as now by the coasts, now mostly small Danish trading stations with farms and "homesteads" a little further inland.

The custom of building a church near a homestead, or on the estate of a rich man, which still exists, began early to enable the inhabitants of the "homestead" to hear Mass and to supplement the parish churches after they were established; the Lutheran churches are now used as guest chambers.

The first Bishop in Iceland was Islaf, son of Gizor the White, who came to the country and settled in Skalholt about the year A. D. 1000, when the conversion of Iceland to Christianity took place, or in the words of the old chronicler, "when Iceland was Christened."

Gizor the White took his son to Norway to a place called Herforth,[3] and placed him under the care of an Abbess to be educated

[3] Lives of Bishops, 427.

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when he was quite a child, and he did not return to Iceland until he was ordained priest. He then married and had three sons, one of whom named Gizor succeeded him as Bishop. It was not until he was fifty that he was chosen Bishop of Skalholt, and he then went to Saxony to be consecrated. He visited the Emperor and presented him with a white bear from Greenland, which was considered "the greatest treasure." After this he went to Rome to see Pope Leo, who wrote to the Archbishop of Bremen, instructing him to consecrate Islaf, Bishop of Skalholt on Whitsunday, which was duly done, and the new Bishop returned to Iceland the same summer.

The people of Iceland were still half-pagans and very immoral, and he had a great deal of trouble with them. During his episcopate six other Bishops went to Iceland to live. One of these was an Englishman named Rudolf; another, named John, an Irishman, after living some time in Iceland, went to Wendland (Baltic province), and after converting many Wends was brutally murdered by them. Some of these Bishops lived as long as twenty years in Iceland.

When Bishop Islaf had been Bishop for twenty-four years, he was taken suddenly dangerously ill while saying Mass at the Althing, and his illness was so sudden and so serious that another priest had to put on his vestment and finish the Mass. Islaf was then taken home and a room prepared for him in the church, where he died at noon on July 5, "three nights before Selman's [4] or Seligman's Mass."

He was never rich, but he was most generous and much beloved. He was succeeded by his son Gizor, who is described as a big man, with a noble presence; he was wise, strong and "the most kindly of men." [5] He traveled a great deal in his earlier years, and after he married he went to Rome with his wife before he was elected as Bishop, and was abroad when his father died. On his return to Iceland he went to the Althing, and there he was elected almost unanimously as Bishop, in spite of the fact that Islaf had nominated one Guthrand as his successor, but Guthrand retired in favor of Gizor.

These early Icelandic Bishops were generally rich men, who farmed their own estates, for we read that Gizor had not all the land at his homestead of Skalholt for his farm, as his mother Dalla wished to live on her share of it, and only after her death did he come into the whole property, which he at once made over to the

[4] This Selman's or Seligman's-Mass was a great feast in Iceland; as it was kept on July 9 it seems to be that of "The Seven Brothers, M. M.," in the Roman Calendar. Seligman—from the German Selig—blessed.

[5] Lives of Bishops, 433, et seq.

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church which he built at Skalholt, endowing it richly with money and ornaments. Among other things he gave it a "Mass-cope," which for a long time was the best vestment there, and it is described as a "purple hackle." Besides this he gave many other treasures to the church. There was a very wise and holy priest named Sœmund living at Oddi, which is not very far from Skalholt, and he and Gizor became great friends, and together they instituted tithes in the diocese, which were to be divided into four parts, one part for the Bishop, another for the Church, a third for the clergy and the fourth for the poor.

Although it is never directly said so, the women of Iceland were evidently very capable women, and were by no means kept in subjection, as many little incidental details of life there show. Gizor's wife, Stanwer, we are told, "kept the household indoors while he ruled the see," and Dalla, while her husband, Bishop Islaf lived, did the same.

In Bishop Gizor's time the Bishopric of Holar, for the north of the island, was established at the request of the inhabitants of the Northern Quarter.

When Bishop Gizor was seventy-five years old, he had a most painful illness, which he bore with the greatest patience, and when it was suggested to him by his wife that he should have vows made for him, he refused, saying "that if any vows were made for him, they should be that his pains might increase, for a man should not be prayed out of God's battle,"[6] and he added that "up to now things had gone sunward with him," meaning happily. He died on May 28, in the year 1118, after he had been "hallowed" Bishop thirty-six years. He was deeply mourned, and all men said they would never get his equal again, and that he was "the noblest man that had ever been in Iceland." And after his death so many calamities, such as bad seasons, shipwrecks, civil war, and such a mortality as had never been seen before befell Iceland, that the people said, "It looked as if Iceland was drooping after Gizor's death as the city of Rome drooped after the death of Pope Gregory the Great."[7]

Bishop Gizor appointed Thorlak, son of Runolf (not St. Thorlak), as his successor. He was only thirty-two at the time, and was apparently insignificant in appearance, for we are told he "was of no great presence," and when he went abroad to be consecrated people thought "there could be no great choice of men in the country, for he seemed to them not the man to be presented to such an office." But when the Archbishop held conversation with

[6] Lives of Bishops, 437.
[7] Ibid., 439.

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him, he soon saw he was a fit subject, but as Bishop Gizor was not then dead, he appointed him to the See of Reekholt, in Borgfrith, in the west, and consecrated him a month before Bishop Gizor died. He went that same summer to Skalholt and was well received by the people. He took many men with him from Denmark, as scholars, and they would seem to have lived in community, since they had a common dormitory. He was married and had several sons, but he adopted one Gizor, son of Tait of Hawkdale, whom he loved as one of his own sons, and foretold that he would become a great man, as afterwards happened. Thorlak was a holy man and did much to advance Christianity in Iceland. He was never idle, but always engaged in prayer or study or teaching; he was generous to the poor, although "the commonalty called him closefisted," perhaps because he does not seem to have been a rich man, and he lived very simply and was very humble. When he had been Bishop fifteen years, he was taken ill after "Yule," and lay in the dormitory where he and his clerks were wont to sleep. When he grew worse he bade some of these clerks read to him the "Cura Pastoralis" of St. Gregory, and he seemed, after he had heard it, to be happier about his own death. He died on the eve of St. Bridget's Mass (January 31), 1133, and the day that he died a certain priest named Arne was "going on his way" at the very hour the Bishop died, "when he heard a fair song up in heaven above him, and there was sung this *cantilena* of Bishop Lambert:

'Sic anima claris cœlorum reddidit astris.'

And there was no one near at the time, so that men paid great heed to this circumstance." [8]

Many of the Icelandic chiefs gave Thorlak a good deal of trouble in his life time, "but he managed everything in the best possible way," says the old chronicler.

He was succeeded by Bishop Magnus, the son of Einar of Side. He was brought up at home by his father and stepmother, who "used to say they loved him most of all their children." He received all the minor orders and was then ordained priest, but was also "well suited either to farming or trading abroad." He is described as "a fair man to look on and of the finest presence." He was chosen Bishop six months after the death of Thorlak, but owing to civil war in Norway he was not consecrated till "Simon's Mass-day," 1174. He then went to Denmark with presents for King Harold, who had fled thither, and they became great friends, and after Harold returned to Norway, Magnus went there to see

[8] Ibid., 443.

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him, and the King gave him a gold cup, which he took back to Iceland with him and had made into a chalice. He enlarged the church at Skalholt and changed the dedication day from Cross-day (May 4) to Seligman's Mass-day (July 8). He had the church hung with some tapestry which he had brought back with him from abroad, and this tapestry was "one of the greatest treasures" of the church at Skalholt. He also brought back with him some brocade, out of which they made a "hackle," or cope, which for some obscure reason on which we can throw no light was called by the unusual name for a cope of "Scarmending." [9]

He bought nearly all the Westman Islands and some other property for the See of Skalholt, and had intended to found a monastery on the islands, but he died before this was done a most tragic death.

It seems the Bishop of Holar, named Cetil, an old man of seventy, went to the Althing in 1145, and Bishop Magnus invited him to go back with him to Skalholt to keep his "church-day," or dedication feast, which was to take place, and the "feast was so very splendid that it was a pattern after in Iceland." On the Friday evening after supper both the Bishops went to bathe at a place called Bathridge, and sad to say Bishop Cetil died there and then, and there was "great grief at this feast," till after the funeral, at which they found consolation in a not unheard-of manner at wakes. It seems there had been a great deal, of "mead mixed" at the beginning of this feast, which lasted several days, and "by the comforting speeches of Bishop Magnus, and the noble drink that was provided men got their sorrow sooner out of mind than they would otherwise have done," [10] naïvely remarks the old chronicler.

The death of Bishop Magnus was even more tragic than that of Bishop Cetil, of Holar. He had gone over with a large number of followers to the Westfriths to spend Michaelmas, and on the following day, September 30, 1148, the house they were in caught fire, and Bishop Magnus did not know of it till it was impossible to escape, and he and seven priests and seventy-two others lost their lives. The bodies of the Bishop and his chaplain were not burnt, and were taken to Skalholt for burial on Jerome's day (October 10), amid the greatest grief, for there was scarcely anyone who had not lost a friend in this calamity, for "naught more distressful had ever happened in Hot dale." It seems extraordinary that so many lives were lost, but the building was no doubt, like most of the Icelandic houses, of wood. There may have been

[9] The Faroes, south of Iceland.
[10] Ibid., 448.

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a panic as well, but the Bishop had always prayed for a martyr's death, and it seemed that he would not hurry to escape.

The next Bishop elected was Hall Tait's son, a good linguist, but he died at Utrecht on his way back to Iceland from Rome, and the next choice was Clong, from the north, who was a great lawyer, the son of Thorstan and Halldora, a north countryman, chosen by the advice of Bearn, Bishop of Holar. Bishop Clong was evidently one of the most popular of Icelanders, for the Saga tells us that when he came back from Rome after his consecration, he traveled with Gizor Hall's son, who had been at Bari, and on their arrival "men had to welcome together the two greatest jewels of men that were in Iceland." Gizor was a rich man living in or near Skalholt. The new Bishop brought with him a great quantity of timber from Norway to build a new church at Skalholt, and both the ships which brought these two great men carried timber. And when this new church (apparently the Minster) was finished, it was the most "glorious building that was built in Iceland," and as architecture is not one of the arts in which the Icelanders excel, we can well believe it.

A great deal of money was spent on the building of this church, both on the timber and the wages of skilled workmen. Then the Bishop was so hospitable and entertained so lavishly that men began to fear the revenues of the see would not bear all these expenses. Not only does Clong appear to have kept open house, but he also gave great feasts to the rich and large alms to the poor, for he was the most generous of men, and certainly one of the most popular among his countrymen. The fears of the more cautious men were not realized, for "Almighty God let him fall short of naught." Bishop Clong was such a good lawyer that he was consulted in most cases, for he was a fine orator and very wise; he was also a great poet and the best of priests. He was more ascetic than his predecessors, and besides fasting he wore haircloth and frequently walked with bare feet in ice and snow in his terribly cold country, a custom that ultimately led to "a great disease" which attacked his feet when he was old, because of this rigorous penance, which probably caused frostbite.

When this new church was finished he adorned it in every way. He had a gold chalice made, set with gems (we wonder what had become of King Harold's gold chalice). He also had a book of Hours written most beautifully, better than any they had had before, and he was most particular in teaching the young priests to sing the psalter correctly. When he thought the church ready for "hallowing," he gave a most splendid feast and invited Bishop Brand from Holar and Abbot Nicholas from Thwartwater, and on

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"the day of the passion of Vitus" (June 15), the two Bishops consecrated it, one the inside and the other the outside, and they dedicated it to St. Peter the Apostle. And Abbot Nicholas preached, or, in their quaint language, "held the discourse." Then the good Bishop let his love of hospitality run away with him, for he invited all who had been present at the dedication to dinner with him, if they cared to come, and this, says the chronicler, "was done more out of magnificence than prudence," for seven hundred men availed themselves of this princely invitation, and before the end of the dinner the stores ran short. Not content with feasting all these people, the Bishop sent the "men of worship," that is, men of rank, away with handsome gifts. This most popular of the Icelandic Bishops seems to have had the defect of at least one of his qualities; even his greatest admirers thought him extravagant.

He was popular all his life and when he was old and "this great disease" afflicted him, he wished to resign, but Archbishop Eystan, though he gave him leave to choose and send for consecration another Bishop to help him and make his visitations for him, would not let him resign and counseled him to continue preaching and saying Mass and the hours as long as he was able to do so. Clong then went to the Althing and chose Thorlak the Saint as his successor, and for that winter he kept the management of the estate and "Bishopstead" at Skalholt in his own hands, but it was difficult to make ends meet, as little was coming in and much was going out. The next year, when Bishop Thorlak came back, Clong gave up the management to him, and that winter he was bedridden and grew worse.

He died on February 28. "It was then Washing-day," that is, Saturday in Ember week after Easter. St. Thorlak was with him at his death and he buried him near the other Bishops of Skalholt.

During his Bishopric occurred the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, news of which reached Iceland, for it is mentioned in Bishop Clong's life.

There was an earthquake during his Episcopate in Iceland and also two eruptions of Mount Hecla; the earthquake caused loss of life. Pope Eugenius was reigning when Clong was consecrated and Eysted and Sigurd were Kings of Norway. He was then forty-seven; he reigned twenty-four years and died in 1176, being then seventy-one.

He was lenient to others, strict to himself, and though "a man of authority and decision," he was cheerful and full of jokes, good-tempered and greatly beloved by rich and poor, and will be remembered for his munificence, says the Saga, "as long as Iceland

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is inhabited," for there was never a man "of such magnificence in many ways" in the country before.

We now come to the life of his successor, the patron saint and Apostle of Iceland, St. Thorlak, called by his biographer "the Beam and Gem of the saints of the world."[11] He was born at the farm of Fleetlithe in 1133. His father was one Thorhall, a merchant, and his mother's name was Halla; they were both of good family. Thorlak is described as being always a good and gentle, cheerful and obedient child. When he was quite young his mother took him to a holy priest named Eyjolf to educate, and he became his foster-father. It was an Icelandic custom to put their children out to be brought up by foster-parents; they sometimes took them as far as Ireland, but Eyjolf lived at Oddi, in the south of Iceland, apparently not at any very great distance from Thorlak's home, for we are told that his mother was with him all his life, and that she taught him genealogies and tales of great men. These genealogies were those of the old settlers in Iceland, which form the larger part of the old "Landnamabok." Thorlak was ordained deacon at the early age of fifteen by Bishop Magnus, the reason being that there were very few priests in the country at the time, and after Magnus died there was no Bishop at Skalholt, so Thorlak was ordained priest at the Althing, or Allmoot, as the parliament is sometimes called by Bishop Bearn. Thorlak was very fond of children and they loved him. After he was ordained he was most punctual in saying Mass and his Office. He went abroad shortly after, and continued his studies in Paris, then he came to England and studied at Lincoln. His travels lasted from 1156 to 1161, and then he went back to Iceland, where he received a warm welcome from his relations and especially from his mother and sisters, for whom he made a home, his father being presumably dead. His sisters appear to have been worldly, for we are told they were a trial to him, as he did not approve of their conversation, but one named Ragnold married and became the mother of a son named Paul, who eventually succeeded Thorlak as Bishop.

After he had been home some time his relations urged him to marry, and they selected a certain widow as a suitable person, for in those days priests were not forbidden to marry widows, and "widows were considered the best matches in that part of the country," says the old chronicler, in whose time the marriage of priests with widows was forbidden.[12]

Accordingly Thorlak went to the house of this lady at Have, accompanied by some of his relatives, where they were hospitably

[11] Origines Islandicæ, p. 457.

[12] Thorlak's Saga, p. 465.

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received and well entertained with good cheer. But that night when Thorlak was asleep he had a vision in which a man "of a noble countenance" and fine clothing appeared to him and asked him what he had come hither for and added that he knew well his object was to seek this widow in marriage, but he told him not to ask her to marry him, for "another bride was in store for him."

When he woke in the morning, Thorlak understood what this meant and determined to lead a celibate life. How far matters had gone in the negotiations we are not told, but the incident closed by his departure with his relatives the next day, and he and the lady remained friends for the rest of their lives.

At a place called Kirkby, which stands at the head of a fiord in the south of Iceland, there lived a holy priest who was also learned and much respected, named Bearn-hedin, who became acquainted with Thorlak, and being kindred spirits their acquaintance soon developed into friendship, and after a little while Thorlak went to Kirkby to stay with his new friend and remained for "six winters" (they seem always to measure time by winters in these Sagas, not by years), working with him among all the people of the district, preaching and hearing confessions and giving their penitents "light penances," and so edifying their neighbors by their holy lives that Thorlak was already looked upon as a fitting person to succeed the Bishop then reigning, whose name was Clong. His mother went with him to Korkby, for we are told several times that his mother Halla was with him all his life as long as she lived.

When Thorlak had spent six years at Kirkby, enjoying the friendship and close companionship of Bearn-hedin, a certain rich man named Thorkell, then advanced in years, decided to spend part of his fortune in founding a religious house of Canons Regular, and he went to Kirkby, and asked Thorlak, with whom he seems to have been acquainted, and he had certainly heard of his holiness, to make a rule for the Canons. Thorkell lived about twenty-five miles from Kirkby, further south and west of it, and his homestead was said to be "the second best in that country," so he was evidently one of the chief and richest inhabitants.

Thorlak for some time wished to be a religious, so after consulting with Bearn-hedin, he consented to make the rule and establish the foundation. The parting from his friend Bearn-hedin was a great trial to both, especially to Bearn-hedin, who, however, would do nothing to hinder his friend from undertaking what they both felt was a great work. Bishop Clong was consulted and approved the plan, and the end of it was a house of Canons Regular was opened at Thickby, with Thorlak as the Superior. And when Bearn-hedin came home from the opening and saw Thorlak's empty seat in his

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hall, he said "no one so worthy would ever sit there again," and we read Thorlak was wont to say he had never been so happy in his life as the six winters he spent at Kirkby.[18] It seems that his mother went with him to Thickby, for once again we are told she was always with him, and the chronicler adds that he gave his sisters their portions before he took the vows, and became the Prior of the new foundation. He was thirty-five when he first took the vows of a Canon, and was first made Prior, and afterwards Bishop Clong "hallowed" him Abbot, when he had been there seven years. He ruled wisely, he forbade his subjects to travel unnecessarily, and was strict in enforcing silence during the hours of solemn silence. Apparently the monastery became a house of retreat, for the clergy and monks from other houses used to go to Thickby, or Wer, as it was also called, to stay for a short time and copy their customs. Many sick also came to the Abbey, and after Thorlak had blessed them and "chanted over them," they went away healed. On one occasion a fire broke out in the monastery, but when the Prior appeared and blessed it the fire went out. Live stock that were sick were brought to him and after he had "chanted over them" they recovered. The people believed that water which they brought to the holy Abbot to bless, would preserve their flocks and cattle from harm if sprinkled with it. After Thorlak became Bishop, water blessed by him used to be taken all over Iceland, the people believing that they got good from it, but, says the chronicler, wise men were careful about calling these things miracles during his life.

When Bishop Clong was old, he went to the Althing or Parliament, which met every summer at Thingvallir in olden times, and being in great suffering he had obtained leave from the Archbishop to resign, and ask the Althing to choose his successor. It happened that the Abbot of Thickby, Thorlak, was at the Althing that year on business, and he and two other candidates were named and finally Bishop Clong chose him as the new Bishop. At first Thorlak refused, but eventually he consented on condition that Bishop Clong would keep the see till the coming winter was over.

After Christmas the Abbot, now Bishop-elect, was sent from Thickby to go on visitation, for Bishop Clong was too ill to do so, and so the fees had not been collected, and the diocese was in need of them, and was in debt, and Thorlak's troubles as Bishop began. He now had to leave his monastery and live at Skalholt, and he was Bishop of Skalholt, but he could not go abroad to be consecrated on account of the war, which was then raging between Iceland and Norway, but when Bishop Clong died on February 28, 1176, he determined to go, war or no war, and so taking a very little money with

[18] Ibid., 468.

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him, and only a small escort, he sailed for Norway to Archbishop Eyestan. He was well received and entertained, but the Archbishop said he could not consecrate him without the consent of the King, since Iceland was at war with Norway. The King, Magnus, at first refused his consent, why does not appear, but in the end he consented unwillingly, and the new Bishop was consecrated and he and Magnus exchanged presents, and when Thorlak departed he left golden opinions behind him with the Archbishop, which the war presumably prevented the King from sharing. When the Bishop reached the ship which was to take him home, he saw it too heavily laden with timber, and he requested the sailors to reduce the cargo, but they refused and they set sail in what appears to have been a too heavily laden vessel. They were caught in a gale and very nearly lost, and the sailors were obliged to throw some of the beams overboard, and eventually they made land safely on the eve of "Lawrence-mass-day."

The new Bishop still kept all the rules of his Canons, and wore the habit and observed strictly all the vigils and fasts, which in that terribly cold climate and the long, dark days of winter must have been very trying. He ruled his diocese wisely and well, and managed the financial affairs excellently, and took care that his clergy performed all the services of the Church reverently and properly. He made a form of confession for all his clergy so that all "might order it one way."[14] Apparently it was then the custom in the Western Church, as it is still in the Eastern Church, for the priest to ask the penitent certain questions, to which they answered "Yes" or "No," as the case might be. Thorlak also made a rule that every one must go to confession once a year, and those who served on the altar whenever they were guilty of mortal sin before they served again.

He often preached notwithstanding the fact that he was slow of speech: he fasted most strictly and kept long vigils, he reconciled those who had quarrelled to each other, and comforted those who were in affliction. At the great feasts he invited a certain number of poor men not exceeding twelve, sometimes fewer, to a meal and washed their feet and "wiped them with his hair." It seems that he wore his hair long, for he could hardly have wiped their feet on his beard; moreover we are told that after his death his hair was cut and much valued as a relic. It may have been the custom for the Icelandic men to wear long hair and beards, for the sake of warmth in their cold country.

He sang Mass every day, and read and wrote a great deal, and besides all his choir duties and the episcopal functions he had to perform, he instructed his clergy, for he knew well how necessary it

[14] Ibid., 480.

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was for them to be well read and to keep up their studies. A long list is given in the Saga of all the vocal prayers he was accustomed to say daily besides his Office and saying or singing Mass. He had "some strict penance" and work of charity, which he told no one, but after his death his friends could not keep silence about it, but although they were certain about it, they would not reveal a secret the Bishop kept strictly during his life after his death. He was very patient with evil-doers, and if they were repentant he would give them light penances, but if they were impenitent he would excommunicate them or interdict them.

In his time "Ambrose-day, Cecil-day and Agnes-day" were made holy days and the vigils of "the Apostles-Mass and Nicholas-Mass" were ordered to be observed as fasts, but whether this was a Papal decree or the Bishop's ordering the chronicler does not say, but we are told that Thorlak himself ordered that only one meal was to be eaten on any Friday in the year, except the Friday in Easter-week, and he ate no solid food on Fridays himself if he were well, but if he were ill he would take white meat on Fridays and Ember-days if he were ordered to do so. Apparently if Christmas Day fell on a Friday it was kept as a fast in those days, for one "Yule-day" Thorlak was unwell and he ate fleshmeat and did it "as an example to others,"[15] which possibly they were not slow to follow.

The present lax marriage laws would not have suited the holy Bishop, for he laid heavy penalties on those "who made breaches in holy wedlock," and this whether the culprits were rich or poor, for he thought wisely it would do more harm "if gentlefolk were to be excused in great matters" such as these.

Although he lived in a country subject to terrible storms, intense cold, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions and climatic disturbances of every conceivable kind, the chronicler says "that he never blamed the weather as many do": a naïve little touch, showing that mankind is much the same all the world and all the ages over. He was never quite well and "he would often let the doctors perform operations on him": which was truly heroic in days when they knew nothing of anæsthetics, less of antiseptic treatment, and very little about operations. It seems a miracle that the poor man lived through them. He was very fond of poetry and songs or hymns; he was also fond of holy conversation and interested in dreams, but he disapproved of "plays," but whether this means games or the drama we cannot say.

When he had been Bishop for fifteen years, he wished to resign his see and live the life of a Canon in his monastery of Thickby, but before this wish could be realized, he was taken ill while making his visitation at a place called Borgfrith, which was northwest of

[15] Ibid., 487.

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Skalholt, and as soon as he reached his home there he went to bed, and was unable to leave it for three months, but he did not suffer much pain. He had a friend named Gizor, son of Hall, who was living at that time in Skalholt, and he frequently visited him and told him legends of the saints. He had a good many other visitors, among them his nephew Paul, who succeeded him as Bishop, and he "was the most loving of all his kinsmen."

When he found he was growing worse he sent for Thorwald, the son of the above-mentioned Gizor, who seems to have been a lawyer, for with his help the Bishop disposed of all his property; he gave his episcopal ring to Paul and his best raiment to his successor, and another ring to Brand, Bishop of Holar, his oldest clothes to the poor, and the rest of his clothing to the clergy. A week before he died he sent for some of his clergy and after making "a very long speech to them," he was anointed, and as we are told that speech was difficult to him, he probably grew worse. He then asked pardon of them all, and then Gizor spoke and said very humbly and simply: "We pray my Lord to forgive us the misdeeds we have done and we are afraid they are both many and great." Then they stood weeping round him and the Bishop "kissed all his clerks and his household and gave them his blessing." And after he had been anointed he would not speak any more. He lived a week after this, and then one morning he asked that his clothing might be changed; as the evening came he grew weaker, and asked for something to drink, "but as he turned to take it he fell asleep sweetly with God." [16] This happened on a Thursday, December 23, late in the day, in the year 1193, being the sixtieth year of his age.

Although Thorlak "would not give any hint as to who was to be his successor," people took it as a sign that Paul should succeed him, since he had left to him his episcopal ring, which does not seem an unnatural conclusion for them to arrive at. He was taken to the church on Christmas Eve, and "set up in the choir for two nights, and on the second day of Yule he was buried." As the sun does not rise above the horizon in Iceland in midwinter, it was practically dark except for the faint, weird light just at midday, all the time the Bishop's body was "set up in the choir," but we are told "that his color was much brighter than that of other dead men, and the pupils of his eyes bright for a long time after his death."

At his funeral on "Stephen's Mass" the neighboring clergy and his nephew Paul, who succeeded him, were among those present. It seems to have been the custom to make speeches over the graves of men of rank, and on this occasion, Gizor, son of Hall, the late

[16] Thorlak's Saga, 498.

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Bishop's friend, did so, preaching a kind of panegyric. There was now only one Bishop in Iceland, so his death was a great loss, especially as war was brewing, and it would not be easy for his successor to go abroad to get consecrated.

A second Life of St. Thorlak[17] was written by some monk or priest during the latter part of the thirteenth century, which tells, and was written for this purpose, the difficulties with which the good Bishop had to contend, in a country still only half-civilized, and incidentally the reason he disapproved of his sister Ragnald's conduct, nor can it be said that the cause for disapproval was a small one. It seems that she and a certain John Loft's son, who was the greatest chief in Iceland at that time, had loved each other all their lives, and Paul, who succeeded St. Thorlak, was their son. This John Loft, who lived and reigned in Oddi in the south of Iceland, was a very immoral man, for Ragnald, although she constantly lived with him, was not his wife. He had married one Halldora, by whom he also had a son, besides which he had other sons, one of whom on one occasion attempted St. Thorlak's life. John Loft was evidently a strange mixture of good and evil; he is said to have been very learned and very musical and accomplished, he was very proud and self-willed and obstinate, and while the less said about his private life the better, he took great care that all the churches in his dominions should be handsomely furnished in every way, and he is said to have been "a great chanter in Holy Church."

He and Bishop Thorlak fell out at the beginning of St. Thorlak's episcopate, concerning the tithes and church property. Archbishop Eyestein, of Norway, had instructed the Bishop to gather into his hands all the churches, and all the property of the churches in his diocese, and when Thorlak made his first visitation the trouble began, not only with John Loft, but also with other chiefs and landowners, some of whom yielded, while others, like John Loft, withstood him obstinately. It seems that one of the terrible storms, to which his country is subject, had demolished two churches on some of John's land, and he had built a new church in their place, and this church is described as being "right fairly wrought," and he wanted the Bishop to consecrate it. When Thorlak arrived at Oddi, he asked if John had heard what the Archbishop had ordered about the possession of churches, and the payment of tithes. John Loft replied that "he had heard and he had determined to pay no heed to it at all."[18] The Bishop then told him that he had the power and was about to exercise it, of excommunicating all those who refused to give up the Church lands. To this John answered: "The Bishop might excom-

[17] Origines Islandicæ, pp. 570 et seq.

[18] Ibid., 574.

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municate whom he liked, but he for one would never give up what belonged to him."

All through Thorlak's episcopate, the holy Bishop had trouble with John Loft and other chiefs, on account of their refusal to pay tithes and other Church dues, and to give up the immoral lives they were living. Several times he was waylaid by some of these chiefs, who with their adherents lay in ambush to kill him, as he made his visitations, and he had several miraculous escapes from their machinations. Once a wicked man, named Swayn the Unlucky, hired a gang of men to kill the Bishop, as he passed on his way to visit some church, but a sudden fog came on and hid the ambushers, while Thorlak and his adherents passed on in clear sunshine. Another time one of John Loft's illegitimate sons, named Thorstan, determined, apparently with his father's connivance, to kill the Bishop when he was making a visitation at a place named Vallir or the Fields, and while Thorlak was indoors sitting at dinner or supper, Thorstan sent in word that he intended to kill him as he came out, and he armed himself with an axe for the purpose. The Bishop's followers implored their master not to leave the house, feeling sure Thorstan would carry out his threat, but Thorlak, when it was time for him to go to the church to say his Office, told his clerks not to fear and insisted on going. When he got outside, Thorstan caught up his axe to fell the Bishop to the ground, but as Thorlak looked at him without speaking a word, his arm became stiff and he could not raise the axe, and the Bishop passed on into the church. When John Loft asked his son why he had not killed Thorlak, Thorstan said because his arm became stiff as the Bishop looked at him. John replied that he had anticipated this result.[19]

A little later John Loft himself was about to kill the Bishop, because Thorlak had threatened him with excommunication, unless he put away his sister Ragnald, but friends of both parties persuaded the Bishop to delay his sentence, and John Loft to postpone his murderous design for a little while, and in the end John Loft, who had given in on every other point, now agreed to send Ragnald away, and they both went to shrift and got absolution. This John Loft was the grandson of Saemund, the celebrated Icelandic historian. Besides this second life, which is concerned with these and similar trials and incidents in the life of Thorlak, a book of his miracles was written which led to his local canonization, but the editors of these Sagas have not translated it. At the Althing held in 1199 Bishop Paul read this book of the miracles out to the assembly, and there are several editions of the miracles attached to other lives of the saint.

[19] Ibid., 585.

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St. Thorlak was succeeded by his nephew Paul,[20] but we are not surprised to hear that there was considerable difficulty and hesitation and a very long discussion on the matter, under the circumstances, and it was finally left to Bishop Brand to settle, and he decided in favor of Paul, who at first firmly refused to accept the charge.

He is described as a "very goodly man to look on," with fair, curly hair and a fair complexion, well made and with the most courteous manners. He seems to have inherited some of his mother's beauty and charm, for we suspect she was a beautiful woman, and his children, for he married young, were all handsome, and, moreover, exceedingly well brought up. He was a learned man, wrote excellent Latin verse, was very musical and he sang beautifully. After he had been married a year, he went to England to study, and when he returned he surpassed all his countrymen in his learning and accomplishments. He now settled with his wife and children at Scard, and farmed, but they had hard times and many losses, which they bore bravely, but eventually with the help of friends, of whom we may be sure Bishop Thorlak was one, they prospered.

Paul was forty when Bishop Thorlak died, and he was chosen to succeed him. After refusing Bishop Brand's offer of the bishopric at the Althing, Paul went home to Oddi, and on Selman's Mass-day he went to church and while praying there in great distress for guidance, it was revealed to him that it was God's will that he should accept this charge with all its anxieties, so, as he wished only to do God's will, he consented.

He then moved to Skalholt and his wicked old father, John Loft, must needs move with him and all his brothers, and Paul took possession of the bishopstead. He begged his late uncle's friend, Gizor, to remain at Skalholt, and he agreed to do so. Paul was only in deacon's orders at this time when he went abroad to Norway to be ordained and consecrated, and he left his wife, Herdis, to manage the estate and farm at Scard, while he was absent, which she did excellently. He went first to Nidaros, in Norway, afterwards to Sweden and Denmark. While in Norway he went to see the King, Swerre, who received him with the greatest honor, and invited him to stay with him, which he did before and after he was ordained priest. After this he went to stay with Archbishops Absalom and Eirik, who also received him with "the greatest honor," and he spent Easter-week with them, and then he went to a monastery called Heradswade, in Sweden, to prepare for his consecration, which took place on April 23, by Archbishop Absalom, the other Archbishop being too blind to perform the ceremony. The new Bishop, on returning to Norway, met King Swerre again and stayed with him,

[20] Pol's Saga, 593.

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and then in the summer he returned to Iceland and gave a great feast to Bishop Brand and his other friends.

He took home with him two glass windows for his church at Skalholt, and he paid the church another honor—he sang his first Mass there not only as Bishop but as priest, for he would not say his first Mass anywhere else, and, says the chronicler, "in all lands it is esteemed as good for a man to hear a priest's first Mass as to hear an every-day Bishop's Mass, how much better must this have been, seeing it was the first Mass of a Bishop and priest at once."[21]

There was a large number of people to hear him, and we are glad to know old John Loft was among them, and two of his brothers and Gizor. The next spring Herdis, his wife, came to Skalholt to take the management of the household, which numbered a hundred people, of whom seventy or eighty were servants, and she did this so excellently that she is said to have been the greatest "prop and stay," and her household after a few winters never wanted for anything, which certainly speaks well for her housewifely skill, in a country where almost all the supplies except fish (but the fish is salmon and cod), beef and mutton in limited quantities, potatoes and a few other vegetables and a few berries, have to be imported. No wheat will grow, only rye, of which the peasants' bread is made, and some of this is imported. Fortunately for Herdis and other Icelandic housewives fewer luxuries were required in those days than in ours.

One of Bishop Paul's first acts was to have a steeple or campanile made for the bells, which Bishop Thorlak had bought for Skalholt, and they were the best bells in Iceland. This bell tower which Bishop Paul built was the highest wooden building in Iceland, and there was a church in it, which he had painted and decorated and hung with hangings, and dedicated to St. Thorlak, and he bought other bells to put in it, as well as those St. Thorlak had given, and he had a crypt made also. On All Saints' day, in the third year of Paul's episcopate, his father, John Loft, died, and "it was a great blow to him, for he was then the noblest chief in all Iceland."

The question of Bishop Thorlak's claims to canonization now arose, and in this matter Paul acted with the greatest caution, for no one desired it more than he did, yet he saw how necessary it was to exercise prudence, so many signs and wonderful things were being attributed to Thorlak. At length Bishop Brand ordered the translation of the late Bishop's remains, which he had foretold in a vision to a priest named Thorwald, son of Gizor.[22] The translation took place in the summer, preceded by a "mighty feast," given by Bishop Paul, to which he invited Bishop Brand, and some of the

[21] Pol's Saga, 509.
[22] Ibid., p. 19.

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chiefs and his dearest friends, and after the feast the body was translated amid "mighty tokens," and the next year, 1199, St. Thorlak's feast day, preceded by a two days' fast, was made law throughout Iceland. The tomb then became a place of pilgrimage every summer for travelers and foreigners as well as for Icelanders, from all parts of the country, and the fame of St. Thorlak was reflected on his nephew, Bishop Paul, thus fulfilling an old Icelandic proverb, says the chronicler, to the effect "that a man takes after his mother's brother."

And when Paul had collected sufficient money he had a shrine made by one Torstan, a celebrated goldsmith, and this shrine for St. Thorlak's remains was the largest and most beautiful in the country.

Greenland, or part of it, was at this time Catholic, and the Bishop named John came to visit Bishop Paul at Easter, 1203, and the two Bishops "hallowed" chrism and discussed the affairs of their dioceses, and needless to add, Bishop Paul gave Bishop John "a worshipful feast" during his visit and gave him handsome presents on his departure. In return Bishop John taught the people to make wine out of crowberries, as Swerre, King of Norway, had taught him, and as crowberries were very plentiful the next year in Iceland, a man named Eiric made some and it is satisfactory to hear "that it turned out well."

The chronicler is afraid he has not done justice to the great popularity of Bishop Paul, with whom and with his capable wife, Herdis, everything went "sunwise" until a certain day when a sad calamity befell them. It seems that Herdis had occasion to go over to their old home at Scard on business, and she took two of their children, Cetil and Halla, with her and left the other two, also a boy and girl, at home. And while they were at Scard the river there flooded and could not be forded, but Herdis was anxious to get home, so she ordered a boat to be launched and the party to be taken over in detachments. The first party, which included Cetil and all the ponies, got over safely, except Herdis' horse was lost. She remained with a priest named Sigfus, a deacon named Thorstan, her daughter Halla and her niece Gudrun, for the last party. A squall arose when they were close to the shore, the boat capsized and all were lost except Sigfus Grimson, the priest, who was driven ashore. Herdis and Halla were heard singing and commending themselves to God as they sank. All the bodies were recovered the same day. This happened on May 17, 1207.

The sad news reached Bishop Paul in the middle of the night. He is said to have borne the loss with great fortitude and resignation, but he could neither eat nor sleep till after the funerals, which he

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celebrated himself. His remaining little daughter, then fourteen, now took the management of the bishopstead and did it very well with the help of her father. After this Bishop Paul used to have more Masses and fewer sermons in his cathedral. He only preached four times a year now, saying the people would care for it more if they could get it seldom, a sentiment evidently approved by the chronicler, who knew other scrupulous and careful men who had done the same. Bishop Paul only survived his wife four years; he was taken ill during one of his summer visitations in 1211, and after being laid up for a month at Hotdale with difficulty reached Skalholt on October 25. The old chronicler gives an account of the omens which took place[28] "before the death of our precious chief, Bishop Paul," so that it seemed as if "all the elements showed upon themselves some mark of sorrow for his loss." A week before his death "the moon shone as if it were the blood-of-sacrifice and it gave no light at midnight in a clear sky." A few days before he died there was an earthquake, and "the heavens and the clouds wept, so that great part of the growth of the earth was destroyed, and the stars showed upon them the manifest tokens of death, when it was well-nigh come to the last hours of Bishop Paul, and the sea also burnt off the land to which his bishopric reached."

The first portent just mentioned looks like an eclipse of the moon, and the sea "burning off the land" like an eruption of some of the geysers which often follows an earthquake; and taken altogether these portents as interpreted by the old chronicler, making all nature sympathize with the loss the death of this beloved Bishop was to the country, show that the writer was a poet and a most devoted admirer of Bishop Paul. Bishop Paul died on November 29, 1211, and at the Althing, Tait, son of Hall, was elected in 1212 to succeed him, but he died in Norway whither he had gone to be consecrated in 1214, and Magnus II. was elected the following year, and was consecrated in 1216, but little more is known of him. His election was canceled in Norway and a Norwegian elected in his place, and another Norwegian at the same time for Holar, which see was also vacant at that time, and the two Icelanders had gone together to Norway to be consecrated and both were superseded by Norwegians.

St. John of Holar was a contemporary of St. Thorlak, who outlived him twelve years. His life was written by an unknown writer after the year of his canonization, 1200, that is nearly eighty years after his death, which took place in 1121, and the editors of these Sagas tell us that the MS. was preserved in the cathedral library of Skalholt. It is more legendary and less matter-of-fact than the life of St. Thorlak. St. John of Holar was born at a place or homestead

[28] Pol's Saga, p. 530-531.

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called Broad-Bowster: his father's name was Ogmund and his mother's Thorgerd. She was a granddaughter of Hall of Side, who was the first Icelandic chief to be baptized at the conversion of the island. From his early childhood John showed signs of sanctity in his appearance, and good men prophesied on looking at his innocent little face that he would live to be a holy man, though the only incident recorded of his childhood shows him to be very like other children of his age. When he was five years old his parents gave up their house in Iceland, and went abroad to Denmark to visit King Sweyn, who entertained them most hospitably. One day at dinner Thorgerd was sitting next to the Queen Estrith, mother of King Sweyn, with little John beside her. And when the child saw the good things on the King's table, he stretched out his hands to seize some he fancied, and his mother, shocked at his manners, slapped his hands, but the Queen said to her: "Not so, not so, Thorgerd mine: do not strike those hands, for they are Bishop's hands,"[24] the prophet's mantle having apparently fallen on her Majesty.

Long before this, when Thorgerd was a little girl, King Olaf the Saint had prophesied that the noblest family in Iceland would spring from her, and this was fulfilled in Bishop John, as the chronicler points out. The Bishop of Skalholt at this time, when John was a child, was Islaf, son of Gizor the White, a very holy man, and after Osmund and Thorgerd returned to Iceland and John is described then as "a big boy," they sent him to school with Bishop Islaf for him to educate, and placed him after the custom of the country under his "fosterage." The Bishop took care to teach him good manners, as well as to instruct him thoroughly in the usual curriculum for priests in those days, and we must not forget that the Icelanders were very learned and accomplished men, spending as they did the long dark winters in study, and in learning many arts. And when Islaf saw what good progress John made in all his studies, he grew very fond of him, and others seeing the high opinion the Bishop had of him shared it.

John is described as a big man, "the most goodly and handsome of men," he was fair and strong, and carried himself well, in fact he seems to have had an excellent presence, but he was meek and gentle to all and was beloved by "God and man." John reciprocated his foster father's feeling for him and used to say "Bishop Islaf, my foster-father was the handsomest of men, the cleverest of all men and the best of all men."[25]

John had another great gift, he had a beautiful voice, which surpassed that of all his contemporaries, as one or two charming inci-

[24] John's Saga, p. 537.
[25] John's Saga, p. 540.

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dents show. When he was in deacon's orders, which apparently were taken very early in those days, for it is said that "he was then well nigh a full-grown man," he went abroad first to Norway and then to Denmark, to increase his knowledge for "the sake of others as well as for his own good." The Icelanders were fond of travel and liked to visit the continent as part of their education. He did not stay in Norway or Denmark, but went on to Rome, "and sought the holy Apostle Peter in his own place." Then he returned to Denmark, and he arrived there on Good Friday, and when he asked for the King, he was told he was at Mass, so he went to the church, and entered just as the celebrating priest was reading the Passion, which he did so slowly and badly that the people were wearied and inclined to laugh at the priest. When John saw this he put a stole over his shoulders, and walking up to the celebrant took the book gently from him, and read the Passion in a clear and audible voice, so that all who heard him were edified, and wondered who this stranger with so beautiful a voice might be. And when Mass was over the King sent for him, and asked him to stay with him as long as he liked, and during his visit gave him a place at his table next to himself.

One day when he went to the palace, he told the king of a dream he had had, in which he seemed to be in a wonderfully beautiful cathedral, and in the choir in the Bishop's seat, he saw Our Lord sitting and at His feet was King David playing on his harp, and he played beautifully the most sweet music. Then John told the King that if they would bring him a harp he thought he could remember some of David's music. So the King sent for a harp, and John tuned it and played so exquisitely upon it that the King and the courtiers cried out how well he played.[26]

There was a certain man named Saemund Sigfusson, who had been one of the greatest benefactors of the Church in Iceland, and he went abroad, and was gone so long without any tidings of him reaching Iceland that it was feared he was dead, but John managed to find him in the south; whether this means the south of Norway or of Europe, we do not know, but at any rate they traveled back together, to what is called their foster-land, and they went to Trondjheim in the north. Here a feud occurred between some Icelanders and the Norwegians, and the King was very angry and the Icelanders were in danger of losing their lives, but John made such an eloquent speech to the King that he pardoned the offenders. Then John and Saemund went back to Iceland; John settled down at his father's place at Broadbowster, and Saemund at his father's homestead at Oddi. Saemund was a priest and he was two years younger than John, and they were very great friends and held sweet com-

[26] John's Saga, p. 542.

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munion together and beautified the churches under their charge, so that the Saga says they might well be called "the Pillars of the Church."

John was married twice, but his first wife lived only a short time, and he had no children that lived to grow up by either of them, but the fact that he had been the husband of two wives was an obstacle in his path, when the question of raising him to the rank of Bishop arose. About the year 1105 the people of the North of Iceland began to agitate for a Bishop, urging that their part of the country was more thickly populated than the south, and that it would be better for the country to have two Bishops, so that in the event of one dying the land should not be Bishopless. After many discussions between Bishop Gizor and the wisest men in his diocese, it was settled that there should be a Bishop for the north and Bishop Gizor agreed to give up one-fourth of his diocese. Then came the question of a house and church and estate in the north for the new Bishop's see, and at last one man named Hilarius in Latin, Illoge in Icelandic, came forward and offered his homestead and estate at a place called Holar, or the Kolls; he was a priest and he consented to forsake his father's heritage for God's sake and the Church.[27] He afterwards went to Broadbowster to live, which looks as if he exchanged with John, who was unanimously chosen as the new Bishop. The Icelandic Bishop had to go to Norway in those days to be consecrated; later when Iceland became a Danish dependency they went to Denmark. Accordingly in the summer after he was elected to the new Bishopric of Holar, John went to Trondjheim to Archbishop Auzor, with letters from Bishop Gizor explaining his errand. And when he arrived the Archbishop was in the cathedral at Vespers or Compline, called in the Saga by the beautiful old English word "evensong," and the service was nearly over when John and his clerks entered what must have been the cathedral, for we learn that he took his place outside the choir, where the Archbishop and his choir were singing, and he and his clerks began to sing "evensong," and as soon as the Archbishop heard John singing, he looked down the church from the choir, to see who it was that had such a beautiful voice. Now it seems the Archbishop had forbidden his clergy and choir to look out of the choir during Office, so when they left the church the clergy told the Archbishop that he had broken his own rule and asked him why, and he said it was true he had done so, but he had never heard such a voice before in his life, and it "was more like the voice of an angel than of a man."[28]

When John had finished his Office, he went to call on the Arch-

[27] John's Saga, p. 546.

[28] Ibid., 547.

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bishop, who invited him and his clergy and attendants to stay with him, but when the Bishop-elect presented his letters from Bishop Gizor, the Archbishop said that although John had every qualification for the see, he dare not consecrate him without permission from the Holy See, because he had been the husband of two wives; he therefore advised him to go as quickly as possible to Rome and ask the Pope for a dispensation, and to come back as quickly, and if he were successful he would consecrate him.

Accordingly John and his retinue, which seems to have been large, set out for Rome, where he was received in audience by the Pope, Paschal II., who, after reading the Archbishop's letter, gave the asked-for permission, and wrote to Arhbishop Auzor under his seal to this effect, and gave the letter to John, who returned quickly to Norway, where he and his "following" stayed with the Archbishop until it pleased His Grace of Trondjheim to consecrate the new Bishop of Holar, which he did on April 29, 1106, John being then fifty-four. That same summer the new Bishop returned to Iceland, and great crowds came to meet him as soon as they heard the news that the ship he was in was sighted. He probably landed at Akureyri, the old Icelandic capital, now the second town in the island,[29] which stands at the head of one of the fiords, and is about twenty miles north of Holar. As there were then no roads, only bridle-paths, the last part of the journey must have been performed on the celebrated Icelandic ponies, which to this day are the only means of inland transport, except on the few roads near Reykjavik, the present Danish capital in the southwest.

He stayed at Holar all that winter, but in the following summer went to the Althing at Thingvallir, and then began his first visitation. When he arrived at Holar, he found the church there, which is described as having been the "biggest church under wooden shingles in all Iceland," and was built in 1030, roofed with lead and beautifully fitted up, had been destroyed by fire, and the first thing the new Bishop did was to set about building a new church, on which he spared no expense, choosing the best architect and builders and paying them high wages, and using the best materials and beautifying the new church, so that it might surpass the former one in beauty. It was really a cathedral, of which the site only now remains. John's next care was to build schools, and what was really a theological college close to his "bishopstead," and the remains of this beautiful building were standing in the days of the chronicler. And he sent for a very learned man from Gothland named Gisle, to teach his "priestlings" and to preach and teach the people, and he paid him also "a great wage." This Gisle was a young man, and although

[29] Across Iceland, by W. Bisiker, F. R. G. S.

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very learned, he was also very humble, so when he preached to the people "he had a book lying before him so that they who listened might lay more store by it when they saw that he took what he taught out of holy books and not out of his own breastwit."[30] And on all the great feasts there came great crowds to hear either John or this Gisle, and to hear the hours and Mass, which we are told was then "the great business of many men to do."

The holy Bishop seems to have been a strict disciplinarian, for we learn that though he was gentle to good men he was "full of chastisement to men of ill-life." He insisted on the people coming to church on "holidays and other set days," and he counseled every man to go daily to a cross or church, and say his prayers, and he taught them to sign themselves with the cross on waking, and never to take food or drink or sleep without doing so, and he bade every man to learn the Pater Noster and Credo and Mary's verse (the Ave Maria) and to say them seven times a day, like holy David, and concludes the chronicler, "in a short time he got the ways of the people so ordered that holy Christendom hath never stood in such blossom in the Northlands Quarter neither before nor since."[31] We wonder what this good man would have said if he had lived to see Iceland under Lutheranism as she has been since the Reformation, or now when infidelity is very common.

He forbade all omens and charms and magic, and evidently fearing there should be any hankering after paganism, he objected to calling the days by their pagan names, Woden's day, Thor's day, etc., and taught them to follow the Church, and say second and third day, etc. And he would not have any love-poems or songs recited or sung, a custom the people were very fond of. He heard that Clong, afterwards Bishop of Skalholt, when he was a young priest, read Ovid's "De Arte," and he forbade him to do so, because, says the chronicler, "in this book Master Ovidius talketh of the love of women." He was a true father to the poor, and very generous to them, "he was at his prayers night and day and fasted long and mortified himself in many ways."

His wife, whose name was Waldis, appears to have been alive, for in order to have more time for prayer, he chose men to look after his "bishopstead" and also "the homestead along with that noble lady Waldis, whom he had wedded before."[32] Many pious men came to live near the bishopstead, and built their homes round the churchyard. And he made a rule that every able-bodied man in his diocese should visit him at Holar once a year, and though some

[30] John's Saga, p. 552.
[31] Ibid., 555.
[32] Ibid., p. 557.

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brought their food with them he entertained a good many, and in Holy Week as many as four hundred men and women would come to the bishopstead. In the early part of his episcopate, there was a great famine, owing to much polar ice and excessive cold, so when he went to the Althing in the spring, he made a vow to build a church and homestead for good seasons, and marked out the place for the foundations, and that week all the ice disappeared, and there was sufficient pasture for the sheep. St. John was often favored with visions, several of which the chronicler relates; in one the death of a priest at a distance was revealed to him. This was his foster-brother Thorkell, who died in Skalholt the same night that John dreamed a man whom he did not know came into the middle of the room in which he was sleeping, and said, "Thorkell sainted" and disappeared. The Bishop woke and rose and called Rikinne, his "archpriest," and told him to come at once to the church, and praise God, for Thorkell was dead. So they went to the church and said the Office for the Dead: they knew that Thorkell was ill, and they afterwards heard that he died the night the Bishop had the vision. Several other examples are given of St. John's foreknowledge of things happening at a distance. One happened when he lay on his deathbed before he was anointed, when he told his clergy of the death of a certain priest at a great distance, which turned out to be true.

After he had received the last sacraments, he began to say the Twenty-third Psalm, and his spirit departed as the words of the first verse, "Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore: semper laus ejus in ore meo," were on his lips. It seems that one of his priests made his coffin, and cut his hand very badly in so doing, but he would finish the work, and afterwards helped the other clerks to array the Bishop in his robes for burial. After the dirge was sung, and they were about to carry the body out to bury it, they found the bier so heavy that it could not be moved. A great discussion then followed as to the cause, and one of the clergy said they must have forgotten some of the Bishop's apparel that belonged to his consecration, and they must search and find out what was missing. They sought and found they had forgotten to put on his episcopal ring, which was lying on the dais, and after they had put it on his finger, the same men found the coffin quite easy to carry to the grave.[88] He was buried outside the church and remained there eighty years or winters, as they reckon time by in these old Sagas and then, so many "tokens of his glory had been made manifest by God"—in other words so many miracles had occurred—that Bishop Brand, then reigning, had the body translated into the church amid much ceremony.

A monk named Gunlaug wrote another Life of Bishop John of

[88] Ibid., p. 566.

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Holar in Latin, but only a fragment of it has been included in "Origines Icelandicæ. It tells us that all the priests in the Northlands Quarter were educated at the school St. John founded at Holar, and it mentions several of them by name, as Bishop Clong, of Skalholt, and Bishops Cetil andBeorn, of Holar. One very interesting item records that there was also in this school or college a "pure living maiden whose name was Ingun, and she was not second to any in learning." She was a teacher as well as a scholar, for she taught many "Grammatica." She was a good Latin scholar and was accustomed to have Latin books read aloud to her as she sat at her embroidery frame, or was engaged in some other handiwork, and sometimes she had them read the Lives of the Saints to her. Thus Iceland had her Hypatia as well as Alexandria.

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, England.

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II.

THE FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF ST. EDMOND OF CANTERBURY.

THE Catholic Church, in all climes and in all ages, has proved a loving mother ever solicitous for the welfare of her children. She has not only provided for their spiritual wants but she has supplied them with the means of temporal and intellectual advancement. Her religious Orders and Communities, both of men and women, have provided homes for the orphan and the aged; they have opened their doors to the crippled, the deaf and the dumb; the blind and the unfortunate of both sexes, not forgetting the leper and the cancer victim. Her educational institutions rank with the best the world affords. The Jesuits, the Lazarists, the Franciscans, the Christian Brothers, the Marist Brothers and the Xaverians; the Sisters of Charity, the Ursulines, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Sisters of the Visitation and the Sisters of Mercy, and others, conduct some of the very best educational institutions in the land, while their parochial schools leave nothing to be desired and are paving the way to real American patriotism.

Among the Communities devoted to the education of youth and for missions among all sorts and conditions of men, especially the poor, who, in many places have not the Gospel preached to them, Father Jean Baptiste Muard, of holy memory, found a field for the exercise of his labors. The Society of the Fathers of St. Edmond deserves to be better known than it is, and the object of this article is to make its work known to American Catholics.

While the fair land of France was rent apart by revolutions and the machinations of anti-Christian hostiles, a simple country *curé,* kneeling under the shadow of the sanctuary, was preparing, by prayer and mortification and tears, a work which the Church had long desired and which it clamors for, even to this day. "Any one," his biographer tells us, "who went, in 1839, into the Church of St. Martin at Avallon, might have seen between the vestibule and the altar, a young priest prostrate on the chapel floor, lost in adoration, his countenance proclaiming the ardor that was consuming the heart within him. No one would have thought that he was planning the organization of a community for the evangelization of his people. Nevertheless, the cry of his soul asked nothing less of his Heavenly Father."

Religious Communities are not founded as the result of imaginary

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inspiration; there must be a veritable *raison d'être*. They are full of meaning, are a heavy burden on the shoulders of their founders and directors, and require much thought and consideration before receiving ecclesiastical approval. Père Muard was made to realize this fact. It was not without serious obstacles in his way that this devoted priest labored for the approval of his great design by his diocesan superiors. Delay followed delay until, wearied with waiting, he threw himself upon his knees before God's holy altar and again besought aid from on high. An inspiration came to him and he made another, a supreme appeal to his Bishop. It was so touching, so full of devotion, so glaring in proof that his inspiration came from God, that the good Bishop was, at last, overcome. He wrote to Père Muard: "I resist no longer, follow your inspiration." This much by way of introduction.

Who was Père Muard? Jean Baptiste Muard, founder of the Society of the Fathers of St. Edmond, was born at Vireaux, Burgundy, France, on April 29, 1809. His Divine Master was born in a stable, and Père Muard first saw the light of day in one of the poorest cabins of his native village. His parents, Claude Muard and Catherine Paillot, good-hearted people, who, though poor in worldly goods, and living in a region only occasionally visited by a priest, still retained a remnant of the old faith, and that remnant found a home in the heart of the good old mother.

Young Muard was the elder of three children. In his early childhood he had to struggle with poverty and the religious indifference which prevailed around him. But the grace of God was in his heart, he had been singled out by Divine Providence for the accomplishment of a great work, though still too young to appreciate its importance. His heart and his mind, however, were directed and moulding for its accomplishment. His opportunities for education were very limited. For a time he attended a country school, situated some miles from his home. His aptitude and diligence were such as to attract the attention of the *curé* who lived in a neighboring village. So pleased was this good man with the poor boy's application, especially in his catechism, and in his ability to explain the meaning of the words he recited, that, one day, he called his young pupil to him and asked him whether he would like to learn Latin, and to "study that he might some day become a priest." Needless to say, young Muard was beside himself with joy. Did either of these good souls dream of what was forming in the womb of the future? Only two years before his death, we are told, Père Muard said: "When I heard these words I felt happier than if all the treasures of the world had been spread out before me." Father Muard's trials and struggles during his boyhood and youth would form an interesting and edify-

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ing chapter, but their recital here would take us far beyond the limits of a magazine article. We must confine ourselves to his progress in the preparation of his life-work. Suffice it to say that in his early struggles Père Muard sought the aid of the Marist Fathers at Lyons, and in the privacy of his cell he thought over the aims he had in view. He was to found a religious community in a district rent by all manner of disorders and hostile to the very name of religion, and yet he persevered. He consulted the saintly Curé d'Ars, and was encouraged in his work. He went to Rome to obtain for himself and for the community he was forming the blessing of the Vicar of Christ, which may be regarded as the baptism necessary for all great religious undertakings.

Père Muard, after his return from Rome to his native land, continued his mission among the poor, but never for a moment lost sight of what he considered his life-work. The good Archbishop realized the benefit of such an organization as Père Muard desired to found, but, for a time was at a loss for a place in which to locate it. Finally his eye fell on the celebrated Abbey of Pontigny, a secluded solitude in which rested the remains of St. Edmond, the great Archbishop of Canterbury.* It was a fitting place for such a foundation, beside the tomb of the great St. Edmond, who after severe trials and sufferings came to Pontigny, which, as his biographer tells us, "had sheltered St. Thomas in like straits."

The old abbey was secured and upon its venerable ruins, the home of the nascent community was established. But, the man of God was anxious to place his community on a solid basis. He inclined to a "rigid observance." He visited various Orders of this class to observe the working of their rule and their method of carrying out that rule. Thus we find him at Subiaco, the cradle of the Benedictine Order, begging the abbot to grant him some "little grotto in his vicinity, where he and his companions might do penance and where he might prepare himself for the work he felt God had marked out for him." His request was granted; and a hermitage in a deep solitude was placed at his disposal. Here, like another St. Celestine (V.), he spent his days in solitude and prayer. Here, too, he devoted much time to preparing the constitution for the government of his community. The rule of St. Benedict appealed to him

* In spite of the machinations of French revolutionists and infidels, Pontigny may be regarded as a second daughter of Citeaux. It is situated in the Diocese of Sens. It became the "cradle of the Bishops of France and the asylum of great men." Among the noted ecclesiastics whose names are associated with Pontigny may be mentioned three Archbishops St. Thomas, Stephen Langton and St. Edmond, whose remains are still there. In 1560, the monastery was pillaged and burned by the Huguenots, and nothing remained but the relics of St. Edmond. It was subsequently partly rebuilt and continued in existence until the French Revolution. As stated above, it is now in charge of the Fathers of St. Edmond.

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more than any other, but the life of the Trappist excluded the work of missions, which was nearest to his heart, and he declined to follow it. Preaching the Gospel to the poor was a necessary element in his plan. There were heathen souls in France, in his day, and home missions offered him an outlet for his aspirations. He saw souls to save and no sacrifice on his part was too great for him to make in their behalf. He saw a wave of irreligion overwhelming his country, and he heard the voice of the Most High calling him to the rescue. Thus we find him, in 1839, giving missions in various places and the success which attended them convinced him that his vocation was to labor in the missionary field. "The grace of God was on his lips and his words had a powerful influence upon souls."

In 1842 Father Muard realized the object of his desires, and the foundation of his community, its chief object being the work of popular missions. The members devote themselves to parish work, the education of youth in seminaries and colleges, along with their missionary labors.

In July, 1843, we find Father Muard and the Abbé Branard installed at Pontigny, where they were joined by the Abbé Massé and the Abbé Bernard. Among his first associates was Brother Maurus, his first Brother, who was a wheelwright by trade as well as a truly loyal and pious soul. Others were the Abbé Benoit and the Abbé Moreau.

We cannot follow Père Muard through the next six years of his holy and eventful life, restoring the ruins of the Abbey of Pontigny, giving missions, attending to the spiritual needs of the people in his vicinity and perfecting the organization and working of his dear community. But that self-denying soul was not yet satisfied; it longed for what it considered a more perfect life, and one day there came to him "a distinct and interior vision of a new religious society which was made manifest to him as needed in the present age." After a long retreat in solitude, fasting and prayer, he resolved to follow his inspiration and leave the community at Pontigny to the care of a worthy successor. He had placed that dear community, the object of so many prayers and anxieties, on a solid foundation and there was now no fear as to its future. His parting with his spiritual sons was most touching and too sacred to be recorded here. He never lost interest in the St. Edmond Fathers, now in their cradle at Pontigny. In leaving them he felt that he was responding to a call from heaven which he could not ignore. Thus, in 1849, we find him establishing a more rigid order, "the Benedictines of La-Pierre Jui-Vire.

His successor was Père Pierre Boyer, a holy priest and a worthy co-worker of Father Muard. He was born at Noyen on February 7,

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1803. At the age of thirteen we find him attending the elementary school of his native village, supplementing his work by a study of the classics. In 1823 he was a student at the Petit Seminaire at Auxerre and at the age of eighteen he entered the Grand Seminaire at Soissons. After a brilliant course here, this pious young Levite was ordained Sub-deacon on March 23, 1834. On June 18, 1835, he was made Deacon, and on February 29 of the following year he realized the hope of his life by being raised to the sublime dignity of the priesthood. After serving as *curé* at Pourrain and other places with marked success, he felt that his vocation was in a religious community and on October 1, 1845, he became a disciple of good Father Muard, at Pontigny, where he was destined to remain for half a century. On June 6, 1849, he became Superior of the Community of the Fathers of St. Edmond. Like his devoted predecessor, he never spared himself. *Orare et laborare* was his motto. Among his first works was the restoration of the church at Pontigny and revival of the devotion to St. Edmond. He began by repairing the tomb of this saint of God and making a shrine worthy of the pilgrimages which it attracted later on In addition to his duties as head of his own community he was honored by being made Superior of the Sisters of Providence and Vicar-General. His interest in the education of youth was manifest in the foundation of the College of St. Michel at Château-Gontier, and of the Immaculate Conception, at Laval, Ecole St. Edine, at Sens, and a missionary house and apostolic seminary at Mont St. Michel, in the English Channel, Diocese of Coutances.

In addition to all this, Father Boyer devoted what time he could to giving missions, a work so dear to Père Muard, as also, one of the most prominent features of his community. The blessing of God rewarded the work of the young community, but it had also its trials. Troublous times came upon France and the religious orders and communities became the first victims, and the Fathers of St. Edmond were obliged to seek an asylum elsewhere. They found it at Hilchin, England, when, in 1904, they opened a College under the invocation of St. Michael, the Archangel.

In 1893 a band of the Fathers of St. Edmond came to the United States and on the invitation of the late Bishop de Goesbriand, settled in Vermont, at Grand Lale, on Lake Champlain. The mission, which was composed of Fathers Millot, Videloerp and Aubin, was abandoned and the Fathers returned to France, except Father Aubin, who was given charge of the parish at Swanton. Soon he obtained new members from the motherhouse at Pontigny and the foundation of a novitiate was realized. At present under the Very Rev. Father Nicolle, they have charge of the parish church at Swanton, where

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they have a school cared for by fourteen Sisters of the Holy Ghost, attended by some three hundred pupils. Very Rev. F. Nicolle, who is provincial and rector, has under his care an Apostolic School and novitiate for training young men for a religious life and the holy priesthood. These fathers have also charge of St. Michael's College at Winooski Park, Vt., the president of which is the Very Rev. W. Jean Marie, who has maintained the college at the highest standard. During the summer months the fathers have charge of pilgrimages held at St. Ann's Shrine, on Lole-La-Moth, Vt.

The Diocese of Great Falls, in the State of Montana is governed by the Right Rev. Matthias C. Lenahan, D. D. It was erected in May, 1904, and covers an area of 94,158 square miles. In the summer of 1914 Bishop Lenahan appealed to the Fathers of St. Edmond for spiritual laborers for his vineyard. He was in need of missionaries not only for the whites of his flock, but for his Indian children. The Very Rev. Father Salmon, the provincial of the community, found it impossible to respond at once to this appeal because of his inability to spare a sufficient number of fathers for a canonical foundation, but he did send one, the Rev. M. J. Trigory, and during the following year the Rev. Father Ledoux and Father Arendzen arrived at Forsyth, and a house was established.

From the "Chronicle of the Fathers of St. Edmond in Montana," I learn that Father Trigory, after a hard and tiresome journey, arrived at St. Labre's mission in September. This was to be his abiding place for some time to come. Here he found "three nuns, Mother Thomas and Sisters Agnes and Francis, who endured exile and privations that they might win souls to God." They received this new pastor with great joy as they had not seen a priest for some months and had not even had the comfort of having the Blessed Sacrament in their chapel.

On the morning after his arrival Father Trigory said Mass in the little chapel and then began to acquaint himself as to the nature of the work before him. He was to be chaplain to the Sisters and pastor-missionary to the Cheyenne Indians of that region. His loneliness was relieved by the arrival of Brother Guinault, a fellow-countryman of his. These two religious, thousands of miles away from their community, were a great solace to each other. In due time Father Trigory reported to his provincial at Swanton, Vt., that conditions were favorable for the establishment of a permanent house for the Fathers of St. Edmond, and Father Total was sent to Montana to make all necessary arrangements for the new foundation. Father Ledoux was appointed first Superior and Father Arendzen was added to the community so as to complete the canonical number required for a separate religious house.

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In 1917 the mission met with a great calamity. The convent and school were destroyed by fire. These buildings, which would be regarded as very primitive by people living in large cities, had been erected after many sacrifices and anxieties on the part of the religious who occupied them, and were doing the work accomplished in the more pretentious institutions in our large cities. The good Sisters looked with despair upon the mass of ruins that had once been their home and the home of the children under their charge. But there was no time for repining; they did the best thing they could for the time being. The church was partitioned off so that the children might be provided for. The good God whom they —Sisters, priests and children—trusted, did not leave them long in their troubles. The Bishop, with the aid of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and the Marquette League and other charitable souls soon made it possible for a new and better plan to replace the old buildings, and to-day the good Sisters have a boarding school attended by some sixty Indian girls. Then, too, the Fathers at St. Labre have out-missions at Burney, Brondus, Busby, Lame Deer, Rosebud Settlement and Stacey. St. Labre is a Northern Cheyenne Indian settlement.

The Fathers of St. Edmond have also charge of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, at Forsyth, where two Fathers and one lay Brother look after the spiritual welfare of the Catholics at Big Horn, Hysham, Ingomar, Rosebut, Sanders, Sumatra, Sunny Creek and Vananda. From this it will be seen that the fathers have quite a laborious work upon their hands; they do it well and would gladly do more if they had a sufficient number of missionaries.

Father Renandin, S. S. E., gives a very interesting account of the "First Christmas at St. Labre," from which the following extract is made: "The Cheyenne Indians hold dances every year before and after Christmas. . . . Last Christmas five young Cheyennes begged me to hear their confessions. This is a good start, I thought, others will follow. By 8 o'clock, however, nobody had appeared. By 9 o'clock I had not been called for. At 10 o'clock I was still waiting. I went outside. The moon and stars lit up the dim but lonely trail; from behind the hills still came the incessant noise of the "tom-tom" intermingled with songs. Now I realized why the Indians did not come—they dance and leave the church pews empty. I resolved to take a little rest. Hardly had I begun to doze when my door shook violently and I heard confused talking outside. Here they were. Before I had time to realize what was going on, my room was invaded by some forty men and women. Some squatted on the floor while the rest sat on everything except the picture frames. Ten corn-cobs, the gift of Father Hoffer, were hanging on the wall,

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but these were not enough to go around, so the balance smoked cigarettes. A can of tobacco vanished as if by magic. In ten minutes my room was thick with smoke, but not a word was spoken. There they were seated on the floors, silent, eyes cast down and bodies almost motionless. And all this for what reason? Simply because it is their custom on state occasions, to allow the chosen chief to speak and I was the chosen chief. I told them, in a few words, the true meaning of Christmas and then invited them to go to confession. Like children they left my room and filed into the church, where I heard their confessions. During the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, when I turned to say the "Dominus vobiscum," I spoke to over a hundred Cheyenne Indians. Half of this number approached the Communion rail to receive Holy Communion. I was really edified by the behavior of these Indians, who received the Lord of Hosts with a piety worthy of a first communicant. The children sang their hymns well. When, finally, I retired to my room, I fervently prayed God that He might spare me many years to spend Christmas among my dear Indians."

The Cheyenne Mission was always very dear to the heart of Bishop Brondel and its revival is ascribed to his prayers. Catholics in the East have a very vague idea of the hardships the Missionary Bishop is called upon to endure. One Bishop told me that he made a visitation of a part of his diocese in an ox-cart, sleeping under it at night in constant fear of a raid upon him by "the terrible Apaches." Bishop Brondel died on November 3, 1903, after an episcopate of nearly a quarter of a century of hardship and good works.

The mission at the Tongue River Reservation and vicinity had, for a long time, to depend on the ministration of only one priest, but later on, the Very Rev. Father Salmon, then provincial of the Fathers of St. Edmond, sent the Rev. Charles Renaudin and the Rev. William Arendzen to help out at the mission and thus enable the Indian Catholics to hear Mass and receive instruction more frequently than they did up to this time, at St. Labre's and at Lame Deer.

The Fathers of St. Edmond have been helped to a very great extent by a colony of Ursuline Sisters. These devoted *religieuses* began their ministry in a one-story log-cabin convent, far from a railroad, where they cheerfully endured the pangs of hunger and cold, not to speak of poor ventilation for years, but they never complained and heroically continued their work of charity despite their trials and the scanty religious consolations within their reach.

This colony of Sisters came from Toledo, Ohio, in 1883, sent by Bishop Gilmour to Bishop Brondel as a "Christmas present." "At this time," says the *Indian Sentinel,* "Miles City, like all frontier towns, was a 'tough place.' It was called the 'wickedest little town

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in Montana.' Such was the place when, on January 17, cattle kings, cowboys, white and Indian, turned out to see the fearless 'Lady Black-Gowns.' The country was then in a fever of excitement owing to disorders among the Indians and the whites. It was not a propitious moment in which to found a mission, but despite all this Bishop Brondel bought a site and the mission was founded. In the early spring the Sisters started up the Tongue River accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Quigley and a few soldiers, who drove the two heavy wagons containing the baggage of the party. They had two Sibley tents," continues the chronicler, "in which to camp at night. . . . They crossed the river nine times. When they came to a troublesome place, the baggage was unloaded and carried piece by piece across the river. Despite the hardships experienced on this journey, it was remarked that none of the men was heard to use profane language. Father Eyler, on being notified by an Indian that they were approaching, set out to meet them, some seven miles from the mission. When they reached their destination the Sisters fell upon their knees, near their future abode, and prayed God to bless their enterprise. There were three compartments in the shack, unconnected, and with only half windows in each. The largest room, on the south (16 by 24 feet), was selected for their classroom; the centre part became the chapel, kitchen and Sisters' apartment, all in one. Father Eyler took the room near the river. Within this humble dwelling Holy Mass was offered for the first time, on April 1, 1884." No doubt these accommodations were poor, but they were better, perhaps, than those of the stable at Bethlehem. No doubt, too, good Mother Abbess, Angela di Brescia, the foundress of the Ursulines (1537), for "aiding the poor and instructing young girls," looked down from her heavenly abode and joined with her daughters in the wilds of Montana, in prayer for their guidance and their perseverance in their exile and in the hard task before them.

Failing health compelled Father Eyler's withdrawal from the mission, and for two long months the poor Sisters were left alone in their wilderness, and though they fasted and prayed as Christmas approached for the coming of a priest, they were doomed to cruel disappointment. "The only Christmas hymn they heard on that dreary night," says their chronicler, "came from the throats of hungry wolves, which doleful musicians intermingled with the even more lugubrious yells of wild Indians." But good Bishop Brondel came to their assistance, and poor as his diocese was, he visited some of the dioceses of the East and realized what enabled him to place the Sisters and their school on a firm basis and give them a permanent chaplain.

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But hunger and cold, and exile and privations the most painful, were not the only sorrows the good Sisters were called upon to endure. Small as their community was and with all the care possible under the circumstances, necessary exposure in all kinds of weather exacted its toll. The "Chronicle" of the Fathers of the Society of St. Edmond gives us an account of the death of one of these devoted nuns, in the following words:

"January 10—The sad death of Sister Agnes brings sorrow to the small nucleus of religious life at St. Labre's Mission. Her death has been very sudden. She had gone from a warm and steamy washhouse to face a cold Montana blizzard in order to fetch the mail sack which the stage driver had thrown off at the nearest point on the Ashland trail. The sudden passing from extreme warmth to intense cold brought on pneumonia, and death followed in its course. It was a cold western winter's day when her remains was laid to rest under the hard, frozen soil of the little Indian cemetery. A priest, a few nuns and a handful of Indians committed the material remains of this devoted missionary Sister to her last resting place. Indeed, the angels in heaven said, 'Whence come these sorrowful prayers; so far off in that wild and lonely country of sandy hills and pines.' Yet happy was she who had taken up the cross of self-denial and borne it bravely for Christ's sweet sake.

" 'Blessed art thou who died for God,
And earned the martyr's crown of light.' "

As an illustration of the untutored Indian's ability to make comparisons between the works of God in nature and the work of God in the missionary, I quote the following extract from the address of welcome to Bishop Brondel by Old Wolf, a Cheyenne Indian, on the occasion of one of the Bishop's visits to St. Labre's Mission:

"There is a mountain in this vicinity known to every Cheyenne. The mountain is high and strong and many years old. Our forefathers knew him as well as we do. When children, we went out hunting and cared not whether or not we knew the way. When men, we went out to meet our foes, no matter where they came from. Though the way ran up high and down low, our hearts trembled not on account of the road, because the mountain was ever a safe guide to us and never failed us. When far away, on seeing him our hearts leaped with joy, because the mountain was the beacon which told us that our home came nearer. In summer the thunder shook him from head to feet and fire burned holes in his sides. But the noise passed soon away and the mountain still stood there. In winter the storms rushed round him to bury him

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out of our sight and covered him with layer upon layer of snow. With difficulty could we distinguish him from the rest. Only his height told us he was our mountain. But during the spring all the snow disappeared and the mountain, clothed with green grass, stood before us as of yore, and the trees upon him stood firmer. The mountain is the priest of God. White man and Indian speak evil of him. They want to estrange him from our hearts, but we know he has but one word and that his heart is as firm as a rock. He comes to instruct us, and, what the mountain is in our journeys, that is his word. He is the mountain that leads us to God."

The sons of St. Edmond have labored among the poor Cheyennes and have sought, in the words of Old Wolf, to "lead them to God," and they have done so. In their Seminary, at Swanton, Vt., they are training young men to follow in the footsteps of the laborers of to-day. Vocations for missionary work are not found every day. As Father Arendzen says, in speaking of Father Eyler's last moments, after a life of self-sacrifice in the missionary field, "Missionary life is a special vocation and not every priest has been chosen by God to withstand its hardships." St. Boniface tells us that "to him who is called to preach the Word to the heathen, it is easy to live happily, but he who hesitates or fails to follow souls who have gone astray, falls by his very silence." The good Fathers of St. Edmond realize this and impress it upon their young aspirants for a missionary life. God never fails to raise up devoted souls in every age, ready to devote themselves to the work of the salvation of those who are dwelling in the shadow of death. Good Father Arendzen, when speaking of the special vocation of the missionary evidently had in mind the sentiment expressed by the poet in the following lines:

"How beautiful it is for man to die
Upon the walls of Zion? to be call'd
Like a watchworn and weary sentinel
To put his armor off and rest—in Heaven?
His heart is with Jerusalem; and strong
And strong as is a mother's love and the sweet ties
He flings them from him in his eager race,
Religion makes so beautiful at home,
And seeks the broken people of his God
To preach to them of Jesus."

The Fathers of St. Edmond are asking for vocations of this kind, and as their community becomes better known they will not fail to receive them.

In conclusion, we have seen how the prayers and sacrifice of Père Muard and Père Boyer have brought forth good fruits. We have

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seen their sons going from the venerated tomb of St. Edmond, at Pontigny, and spreading into England and even to the shores of the New World. Père Muard, at one time, longed to labor in foreign lands for the conversion of the heathen, and his sons in America are now fulfilling these longings.

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III.

ST. FRANCIS IN LITERATURE AND LIFE.

THE literature that has accumulated about the personality and influence of the Saint of Assisi, although already very voluminous, is still being added to. Many pens have portrayed the Poverello since Thomas of Celano wrote the *Vita prima* and St. Bonaventure his *Legenda;* even Protestant writers like Mrs. Oliphant and Canon Knox Little, and non-Catholics like Paul Sabatier, have striven to do so, have traced his external lineaments while they failed to penetrate his interior or the true inwardness of his spirit and movement.

A valuable addition to this literature is one of the outcomes of the celebration in Italy of the seventh centenary of the Third Order; the publication of a series of booklets under the title of "Biblioteca Popolare Francescana," begun under the auspices of the Central Committee. The initial volume by the Rev. Dr. Frédégand Callaey, archivist-general of the Capuchin Order at the Curia Generalizia in Rome, is a very instructive study of the Third Order Secular, treating of its origin and first rule; the development of its legislation; its relationship to the Friars Minors; its internal religious life, its adaptability to various epochs; its diffusion, and its work and influence. The introduction, admirable for its lucidity and conciseness, passes in rapid review the religious situation antecedent to the establishment of the Order. The author, with the candor and strict impartiality of a conscientious historian, does not draw a rose-colored picture of the state of society, civil and ecclesiastical, in the second half of the twelfth century. The masses in Southern Europe were then agitated by a spontaneous movement ostensibly in the direction of a reform intentionally religious, but ill-regulated and more or less anti-ecclesiastical. There was truly a pressing need of reform. An excessive solicitude for temporalities predominated in the Church to the detriment of its primary apostolic mission. Bishops and abbots, who ranked as temporal lords under the regime of feudalism, too often wielded the sword better than the crozier; while laymen without any vocation got possession of ecclesiastical offices, accumulating benefices which they acquired by purchase. In many monasteries opulence and the military atmosphere of the age had by their worldliness extinguished religious fervor. Of the great monastic communities the Cistercians, Certosians and Camaldolese alone led exemplary lives. But in their life, devoted to manual labor,

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prayer and penitential exercises, there was no outlet for external missionary work; while souls hungered and thirsted for sincere preachers, animated with the apostolic spirit, who evidenced by their example as well as their exhortations the truths they taught. Popes, Councils and Synods multiplied decrees inculcating and impressing upon ecclesiastics the serious obligations of the clerical state; but too often the love of self-ease, self-interest, callous suetude—"that monster custom that all sense doth eat"—were more potent than any laws, and deplorable laxity continued to prevail. Flocks, instead of being fed and guarded, were spiritually famished and left a prey to ravening wolves in sheeps' clothing, such as the Kathari, the Albigenses, the Waldensians and others who, under guise of reforming manners, seduced and drew away the unsuspecting people by their heretical doctrines, imposing on their ignorance and simplicity; for, deprived of sound religious teaching through the culpable negligence of unworthy pastors, they were easily blindfolded.

All this explains the hidden meaning of the words addressed by Our Lord to the son of Pietro Bernardone—"Go and repair my Church, which is falling into ruin"—which, in his simplicity he first thought referred only to the local church of St. Damian, in Assisi. A much greater work of reparation was providentially assigned to St. Francis, whose influence was more powerful in combatting heresy than the sword of Simon de Montfort. "God," says Father Frédégand Callaey, "raised him up in a world swayed by passions and grown cold through selfishness to cause the eminently evangelical virtues of charity, penitence and poverty to reflourish. The means adopted by St. Francis to this end was the Third Order. Aspirations towards a life more conformable to the Gospel ideal, the dangers of moral isolation, the need of mutual support—sometimes, also identity of interests and professions—gave birth in the minds of good people to a lively desire of more intimate union with the religious and social sphere, after the example of the primitive religious communities. Up to the beginning of 1200 few could realize this desire. Thanks to St. Francis, the union of the faithful for personal sanctification and the betterment of Christian society became a universal fact."

It was not, as some have assumed, the first of the Third Orders. There had been previously a tendency among the best of the laity to association under the spiritual direction of one or other of the religious orders. Thus, the Premonstratensians had their tertiaries who, under the guidance of the Norbertine Canons, observed a certain rule of life; and the same custom prevailed in connection with the Benedictine monasteries of Hirschau in Suabia and of Squillace in Italy. The one most characteristic of this tendency,

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before the Franciscan Third Order, was that of the Umiliati in Lombardy. When Innocent III. had given to this semi-lay, semi-religious institute a monastic rule and organization for both sexes, priests and nobles, while remaining in the world, became affiliated and formed the Third Order of the Umiliati, with its own statutes (1198-1201).

All readers of the numerous Lives of St. Francis are familiar with the origin of the Third Order. There is a note of simplicity in it which is characteristically Franciscan. In the history of the Catholic Church there is no fact more striking than that all the great works to which it has given birth grew out of small beginnings.

As it has been small nations like Greece that have made the biggest mark in history, so it has often been small cities that have acquired enduring fame as the birthplaces of men or movements that have most influenced the world. Of the latter, the little city of Assisi—perched on a hillside in the midst of the beautiful Umbrian Valley, that extends from Spoleto to Perugia and from the banks of the Tiber to the base of the Apennines—is a conspicuous example. It has earned more renown and excited more interest as the birthplace of the founder of the Friars Minor than if it had produced some great monarch, warrior or statesman.

When Giovanni Moriconi* (to whom was later given the name of Francesco, because, it is said, on account of the facility with which he spoke French, or at the instance of his father, according to the Legend of the Three Companions)—the son of an Italian provincial draper, one of those thrifty and enterprising burghers who helped to found the Italian republics of the Middle Ages—first turned aside from the world, from the companionship of the gay, lively youth of his native city and astonished everybody by embracing a life of extreme poverty, austerity and penitence—though, it is assumed, he had no grave faults to atone for—many thought him eccentric, a fool, a romantic day-dreamer; and when he proclaimed himself "the herald of the great King" he was rough-handled by a lot of ruffians who looked upon him as a madman. But when he had gathered around him his earliest companions, the first fruits of his nascent apostolate as a preacher of penitence like the Baptist who, on the *grex* of what was destined to expand into a great Order, the *gente grex* of what was destined to expand into a great Order, the *gente poverella,* of whose wonderful life Dante says angelic voices were best fitted to sing the praises—people changed their minds and crowds flocked after him, as he went from place to place. Those early friars did not confine themselves to their monasteries like the monks. They were open-air preachers like the primitive Apostles,

* A branch of the Moriconi existed in Lucca in the beginning of the eighteenth century; that of Assisi up to the first half of the sixteenth.

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flying columns of religious who went among the people, assembled them in the nearest church, or in the square or the fields, teaching them in simple language the essential truths of faith, confuting prevailing errors, promoting orderly habits and restoring peace among parties in conflict with one another. They were so attracted by the magnetism of the man who drew all hearts to him, so impressed by his personality, his holiness, his transparent simplicity, unselfishness and earnestness—so different from what they had hitherto seen—that many who followed would have liked to always remain in his company. Thus, as we read in the "Fioretti"—that mediæval literary gem, a series of graphic pen-pictures of the first Franciscan Friars—when he tarried in Savurniano, the men and women of the place wanted to leave all things and follow him as the disciples in old Judea followed the Master, upon whom he modelled himself. But that was impossible. So he told them prudently not to be in a hurry, that he was thinking of forming a Third Order "for the universal salvation of all, and so left them much consoled and well disposed toward penitence."

Passing through Poggibonsi, in Tuscany, on his way from Florence to Siena, in 1221, he met one of his old friends, the merchant Luchesio and his wife, Bonadonna, in whom his influence had already wrought a saving change, and who now emulated each other in works of charity instead of being, as they had hitherto been, hard, worldly-minded and selfish. Their house became the birthplace of the Third Order which, along with its Dominican replica, so overspread Europe and inspired such fervor, such a desire to revive primitive simplicity of life and holiness in the households of its members that, as Lacordaire says, "every room became a cell and every house a Thebaid." "You have asked me," said the saint to Luchesio, "to draw out a way of perfection suited to your state of life. To meet your wishes I have thought of instituting a Third Order in which married persons could serve God perfectly; and I think you cannot do better than be its first fruits." They were. He gave them a simple, modest ashen-gray habit, like that of the primitive friars, which was an adaptation of the ordinary garb of the Apennine rural peasantry, and a rule broad and simple in its legislation and suited to every social position: the main object being to affiliate them to the First Order and enable them to participate in the merits of its good works and though living in the world, to conform, as far as possible, to the spirit and manner of life of cloistered religious. Verbally approved by Pope Honorius III. (1221), solemnly confirmed by Nicholas IV. (1289), and modified by Clement VII., it was in the nineteenth century further modified by Leo XIII and adapted to the present time, while still retaining the status of an Order, although

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the rule has been greatly simplified. These continuous Papal approvals, dating from the very beginning of the Order, refute the baseless supposition of non-Catholic writers that the Franciscan movement in the thirteenth century was a spontaneous popular movement external to the Catholic Church and independent of Rome. On the contrary, it derived its authorization and impulse from its close connection with the Holy See. "He that gathereth not with thee scattereth," was said of old. While other false reformative movements of that and succeeding epochs have disappeared and left no trace behind them, the Franciscan movement has subsisted. The others were branches detached from the trunk and were stricken with sterility and withered; while the widespread Third Order, deriving its sap and strength therefrom, exists and is full of spiritual vitality and vigor.

The erection of the Third Order was the master stroke of a master mind. As the first and second Orders, The Friars Minor and the Poor Clares, had introduced a new spirit into the ecclesiastical body, or rather a revival of ancient discipline, drawing closer to that of the Apostolic age, the Third Order diffused throughout the laity the fervor of the early times through the influence of mutual association and example in well-doing. It met the great need of an epoch of religious fermentation, a safe and salutary method of utilizing for the benefit of the Church and the Christian commonwealth those ideas of reform that, misdirected, were operating to their detriment. It was thus St. Francis repaired the ruins caused by heresies and ignorant enthusiasm and fulfilled the mission divinely entrusted to him. It was to those fervent Christians who at Cannara, near Assisi, in Poggibonsi, Faenza and Florence, expressed their desire to be affiliated to the Order—fascinated by the Franciscan ideal which drew its inspiration direct from the Gospel—that he addressed his "Letters to All the Faithful," the preamble and commentary of the Rule of the Third Order.

The Third Order was not merely a religious organization, a pious association of devout souls. It was much more. Its influence was far-reaching. The movement had its ethical, social and even political aspects. It delivered the first blow at feudalism, its members being forbidden to carry arms; a prohibition later modified when exceptions were made in favor of the Church, the faith and one's native land. As armed retainers of ambitious and bellicose nobles, who used and abused them, the people had been drawn into the oft-recurring petty wars between the numerous small States into which the peninsula was broken up, keeping mediæval Italy in a condition of perpetual turmoil. It cut across and foiled the impious projects of the then Emperor of Germany. The ministers of Frederick II.—that pro-

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tagonist of the Papacy—in a letter to his master, wrote: "The Friars predominance and wean the people's affections from us, they have publicly reproved our life and our enterprises; they have trampled on our rights and made nothing of us; and, to entirely destroy our predominance and wean the people's affections from us, they have created two new fraternities, including men and women, into which everybody is rushing, so that there is hardly any one whose name is not registered therein." As Father Leopold, of Chévancé, the French Capuchin, observes in his Life of St. Francis: "The tertiaries derived from that spirit of association powerful aid in resisting the oppression of invaders and bringing about the triumph of justice over brute force. We do not hesitate for a moment to proclaim that the Third Order of St. Francis rendered a double service to Italy: it preserved the Catholic faith and guarded the national independence." It did more. By uniting all in a bond of true Christian fellowship it largely helped to break down the conventional barriers that separated classes and prepared the way for the advent of the democratic movement that has since shaped the course of history.

St. Francis of Assisi, perhaps the most popular and universally revered of all the saints in the Roman Calendar, owes much of the popularity that has kept his memory green in the souls of generations to his Third Order. Its adaptability to people in every station of life has been abundantly manifested by the immense multitudes enrolled in it either as chapter or as isolated tertiaries. Popes have worn its insignia under their white cassocks, Cardinals under their red robes and prelates under their purple. Princes and peasants, the high-placed and the lowly, rich and poor, learned and simple, men of the highest distinction and plain people have worn and still wear the Franciscan habit, outward and visible symbol of the inner spirit, spirit of evangelical simplicity and poverty—*la santa povertade,* as the "Fioretti" quaintly phrases it in the dulcet dialect of Tuscany—incarnated in the Poverello. "You praise me for wearing the gray habit and coarse cord of your illustrious founder," wrote Cardinal Trego to Luke Wadding, the famous Irish Franciscan. "I do not deserve such praise. If this garment appears mean, I have the greater need of it, since, raised to a higher degree of honor in the Church, I ought to humiliate myself more to avoid pride. But is not the habit of St. Francis a real purple, fit to enhance the dignity of kings and Cardinals? Yes, it is truly a purple dyed in the blood of Jesus Christ and in the blood that issued from the stigmata of His servant; it invests with royal dignity all those who wear it. What have I done, then, putting on this holy habit? I have joined purple to purple, the purple of royalty to the purple of the Cardinalate.

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Thus, far from having humiliated myself, I have reason to fear I have done myself too much honor and glorified myself more than I ought." The late Supreme Pontiff, Benedict XV, like Pius X, Leo XIII, Pius IX, and many of his predecessors, was a tertiary and otherwise linked by family ties with the Franciscan Order, notably the Capuchin Observance.

The Third Order may be said to be the largest Order in the Church in its multitudinous membership, scattered all over the world. Father Frédégand Callaey, in an interesting chapter, traces its extension to both hemispheres, concluding with this comment: "Without presumption we may say that the present epoch is a Franciscan epoch. The time is propitious; for the well-disposed, in the midst of the increasing perversity of manners, the inordinate love of wealth, and the sanguinary propensity for fratricidal strife, are, at the bidding of the Supreme Pastor, eagerly striving after the ideal of penitence, charity and peace preached by our seraphic father. The duty is incumbent on the sons of St. Francis of the First and Third Orders to seize the opportunity which will, perhaps, never be more favorable, and to labor indefatigably, so that the vast multitude of tertiaries should coöperate in worth and work. It is for them to prevent the present tertiary movement passing away in outside show or in vapid sentimentalism, transforming fine discourses and numerous resolutions of Congresses, vague sympathies, platonic desires and feeble indecisions into sane and solid Franciscan reality."

Ozanam and other writers have devoted many eloquent pages to the influence of St. Francis upon literature and art, in itself a large subject upon which much might be said and written. But it is his influence upon life, upon human conduct in its relation to Christian ethics which is most beneficial and enduring. He not only influenced his own but succeeding generations. His spirit and teaching are as living and energizing an influence now as in the age in which he lived, and as much needed. Identical with the social philosophy deducible from the Gospel, which is applicable to all times, it has not grown old, out of date, or effete. Like the Church, which gave it birth, it is "ever ancient, ever new." It is now in the twentieth century, as vital as it was in the thirteenth when the saint of Assisi walked the earth; trod the highways and byways of the Umbrian Valley; preached, bareheaded, barefooted or sandaled, to the people in the marketplaces who hung upon the inspired words that fell from his lips—words that came from his heart and penetrated the hearts of his hearers—led his life of voluntary mendicancy, the poorest among the poor; and by his abnegation aroused self-loving and self-seeking, indolent Christians to the sense of something higher

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than a decorous outward observance of religious obligations, to a striving after the higher life, the life above the senses, to the spirit of self-sacrifice and generosity in the service of God and humanity, to a practical, not merely theoretical realization of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

If the Church in the thirteenth century—greatest of all the centuries according to Frederick Harrison, the century of great Pontiffs, great saints, great theologians, great sovereigns, great statesmen and great warriors—if it was then, as to its human side, "falling into ruin," as the Voice from on high told St. Francis—for it can never be ruined as a divine creation—what are we to think of it now? Has not the *zeit-geist,* the time-spirit, modern thought, a false philosophy that finds expression in an organized assault upon the basic principles of Christian belief and ethics, more or less affected too many of its members, as modernism, that synthesis of all the heresies unveiled and condemned by Pius X., has shown? Is not the spirit of revolt, sad heritage of the great revolt of the sixteenth century, abroad: witness the *Los von Röm* movement in Southern Europe? Do not divorce laws, passed in contemptuous indifference to the explicit teaching of the Gospel on the indissolubility of the marriage tie as a sacramental union, threatening the very existence of the family, its sanctity and inviolability, sapping and undermining the human basis of the Church and Christian civilization? We have had a congress of Anglican modern churchmen openly broaching opinions subversive of belief in the Divinity of Christ, for which, had they lived in the sixteenth century instead of the twentieth, Henry VIII. would have consigned them to the Smithfield fires. But then the seeds of rationalism, sown by the Reformers, had not, as they now have, fructified. Is there not, outside the Church, a loosening of the moral bond, a sickly sentimentalism and unhealthy realism debasing literature and the drama, and an immodesty in dress which has compelled Bishops, as guardians of the flocks committed to their care, to loudly protest and take drastic action? Though an eminent Jesuit has used the pulpit and the printing press to inveigh against "the sins of society," the absence of that reticence and reserve which prevailed in England during the Victorian epoch and the throwing off of nearly all restraints have, in some "smart sets" almost obliterated the dividing line between the *monde* and the *demi-monde.*

Pius X., in his first encyclical, indicated the only counterpoise, the only remedy for these corrupting and decadent influences: *reinstaurare omnia in Christo.* A large part of the modern world needs to be reconverted to Christianity, from which it has drifted, like a vessel that has slipped its moorings and, rudderless, is heading for—nowhere. History shows that moral decadence precedes and

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entails national degeneracy and disruption. It was so in the Roman Empire, as Juvenal reminds us. *Sævior armis luxuria incubuit.* Immoral license, unbridled luxury did more to bring about the downfall of that stupendous creation of human genius than the armed incursions of the Goths and Huns who swooped down upon it and found it weakened by corruption an easy prey. The Catholic Church alone can save Christian civilization by regenerating society. It will effect the moral reconquest of the world by spiritual weapons, and the most powerful in its armory is the Franciscan idea, which will be effective in proportion as those who represent it draw nearer and nearer to the primitive spirit that inspired it.

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IV.

THE CULDEES.

FOR many years the question of the Culdees has been a hunting ground for controversy. Many books have been written to explain their origin and on the public platform speakers have openly discussed their history. There would be no need to reopen the subject were it not (1) that one hears it frequently asserted that there is a link between the ancient Culdee and the modern Presbyterian and (2) that the Culdees were one and the same body as the monks of Iona. In this article I have purposely omitted all reference to their origin, confining myself to the more practical consideration of the doctrine and discipline of the Culdees. Furthermore, I have selected one monastery in particular—that of Mortlach[1] —which, by reason of its antiquity, enables one to get into immediate touch with the early Christianity of Scotland.

The present narrative is based on the testimony of men whose judgment can hardly be called in question. The names of Dr. Reeves; W. F. Skene, Historiographer Royal of Scotland; Walter Goodal and Joseph Robertson are a guarantee that the highest historical evidence has been brought forward. To this list I ought to add the name of Bishop Colin Grant, whose learned article in the Scottish Review for April, 1888, is considered by many as the final word on the subject of the Culdees. These authorities—with the exception of Bishop Grant—are all non-Catholic.

CULDEES NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH THE COLUMBAN MONKS.

It is an historical fact that Christianity was introduced into Mortlach as early as the seventh century. By what stretch of imagination can anyone call the Culdees the pioneers of the faith in this district since they did not arrive in Scotland till at least one hundred years later? Such a mistake could only arise from confusing them with the monks of Iona. Dr. Skene assures us that the term "Culdee" came into use with anything like a determined application only towards the end of the eighth century. There is no mention of Culdees at any Columban monastery in Ireland or Scotland until long after Columba's death. "In the whole range of ecclesiastical history there is nothing more destitute of authority than the application of this name to the Columban monks of the sixth and seventh centuries. Like many of our popular notions, it originated with

[1] Mortlach is a Parish in Banffshire, Scotland.

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Hector Boece, and, at a time when the influence of his fabulous history was still paramount in Scotland, it became associated with an ecclesiastical controversy which powerfully engaged the sympathies of the Scottish people; and this gave it a force and vitality which renders it difficult for the popular mind to regard the history of the early Scottish Church through any other medium."[2] The Columban Church was never called the Church of the Culdees except by writers of modern date. So far were they from being the same body that it was only the final disappearance of the Columban Church that made way for the introduction of the Culdees in Scotland.

They were not only separated in point of time, but they were also distinguished from each other in their work and mode of life.

COLUMBAN MONKS WERE CELIBATES.

1. Celibacy was an essential rule with the Columban monks; not so with the Culdees. In the third canon of Cummian's Penitential it is laid down that should a monk violate celibacy and refuse to perform the penance enjoined him "the holy Synod or the Apostolic See is to separate him from the communion and intercourse of Catholics."[3] Although these canons were written for the Irish Church, they were in full force at Iona. In the narrative of Adamnan's Life of Columba there is nothing which gives the smallest support to a married clergy.

MANY OF THE CULDEES WERE MARRIED.

How different is the history of the Culdees! With the exception of those at Monimusk who professed celibacy, by far the greater number—such as constituted the Bishop's Chapter at the time when the monastic was giving place to the diocesan rule in the Church—were laymen. At St. Andrews there were thirteen Keledei—all married men whose sons succeeded them in their benefices.[4] There were among them seculars and regulars, married and unmarried, as Dr. Reeves tell us,[5] or, to use the words of Bishop Colin Grant, "A Culdee might be either a Priest or a layman."[6]

COLUMBAN MONKS WERE MISSIONARIES.

2. The disciples of Columba were missionaries, their primary object being the evangelization of heathen countries. The Culdees as

[2] Celtic Scotland. Vol. II, p. 226.
[3] Migne. P. L. LXXXVII, p. 885.
[4] Keith's Scottish Bishops. LXII.
[5] Transactions of Royal Irish Academy. Vol. XXIV, pp. 196-201. Dr. Reeves.
[6] Scottish Review. April, 1888. Article on Culdees. Bishop Colin Grant.

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such had not the care of souls, but gave themselves up to the more solemn rendering of divine worship. For this reason, eight out of their thirteen foundations were attached to Cathedral Churches so that they might carry out the full ceremonial of the ritual. The Columban monks worked on virgin soil, the Culdees where the seeds of the faith had already been sown. At a later date in their history we find the Culdees connected with hospitals, and the name Kildey or Colidiate synonymous with that of hospital.[7]

CULDEES HAD THE CARE OF CHURCHES AND HOSPITALS.

VOW OF POVERTY KEPT BY COLUMBAN MONKS BROKEN BY THE CULDEES.

3. The vow of poverty was rigidly observed at Iona and its dependent monasteries. "Be always naked in imitation of Christ and the Evangelists," so ran the rule of St. Colum-cille, while in keeping with it was the injunction of St. Columbanus, "Nakedness and contempt of wealth are the first perfection of monks." Compare the simple apostolic life of the sons of Colum-cille with that of the Culdees who possessed private property which ultimately became the inheritance of their families, and you will see how these bodies differed from one another. This love of wealth was one of the chief causes that eventually brought about their downfall. "Church property was squandered or alienated, even the altar offering, grasped by avarice, were diverted to personal uses, and by the end of the thirteenth century the Scotch Culdee houses had in almost every case disappeared." [8]

4. It cannot be said that the Culdees ever attained the position of a religious order composed of many houses, bound by a common rule, revering the memory and imitating the virtues of their founder and looking to the parent house from which they sprang, as the Columban monks looked to Iona.[9] A rule for the Culdees of Tallaght (Ireland) was drawn up by St. Maelruan prescribing their fasts, penances, devotions and frequency of confession, etc., but there is no evidence that it was widely accepted in their other establishments. This is in striking contrast to the strong ties, the strict discipline which characterized the Columban monasteries and kept them united with the Mother House of Iona until the Nectan storm put an end to its supremacy.

With such evidence before us we cannot confuse Culdees with Columban monks or speak of them as being one monastic family

[7] Who were the Culdees? Dom Columba Edmonds, O. S. B.
[8] Catholic Encyclopedia. Article on Culdees by D'Alton.
[9] Catholic Encyclopedia. Culdees by D'Alton.

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without distorting the facts of history. It is equally clear that we owe, under God, the establishment of the faith in Mortlach, not to the Culdees, but to the monks from Iona.

A further question may here be asked. Did the Culdees occupy the monastery of Mortlach at a later date? This query is based on the supposition that the Columban monks were expelled from the locality in 717. Although Scottish history is wrapt in obscurity from the eighth until the tenth century and we lose the invaluable assistance of the Venerable Bede, there are certain facts known about the Mortlach House from which we can draw a negative conclusion.

THE EFFECT OF THE EASTER CONTROVERSY ON THE COLUMBAN CHURCH.

The Easter controversy was the occasion of breaking up the unity of the Columban Church and terminating Iona's supremacy over Pictland. From Bede's narrative which takes us as far as the beginning of the eighth century, we learn "that the monks of Hii or Iona, by the instruction of Egbert, adopted the Catholic rites under Abbot Dunchad, about eighty years after they had sent Bishop Aidan to preach to the nation of the Angles."[10] He implies that this took place in the year 716, but, as Dr. Skene remarks, "the change was not so general or instantaneous as might be inferred from the statement. The monks of Iona, or a part of them at least, had certainly in that year adopted the Catholic Easter."[11] King Nectan, who had conformed to the Roman custom at this time, issued an edict commanding the observance of the Catholic Easter under pain of expulsion from his dominions. Some dispute exists regarding this expulsion. According to Bede's account, the Iona monks had already conformed and consequently would not have been compelled to leave. On the other hand, we have the testimony of the Irish annalist, Tighernac, "that the family of Iona were driven across Drumalban by King Naiton." This would imply a rebellious attitude on the part of the monks. "It is the evidence," as Andrew Lang says, "of Bede being set up against the Irish annalist Tighernac."[12] It is possible to reconcile these two statements if we remember that there were two rival parties at Iona—one clinging tenaciously to the old established order of things, the other conforming in everything to the Roman party. The schism which began in 704 was not healed until 717, when at last there was unanimity among the brethren. The same doubt exists regarding the stand made by the monasteries in Pictland. Dr. Skene goes as far as he

[10] Hist. Ecc. Book V. Chapter 22. Bede.
[11] Celtic Scotland. Vol. II, p. 279. Skene.
[12] Lang's History of Scotland. Vol. I, p. 35.

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can when he says, "it *seems* that the Picts resisted the change . . . it is *probable* that the monks of the older foundations of Abernethy and St. Andrews were driven out."[13]

NO PROOF THAT THE COLUMBAN MONKS WERE EXPELLED FROM MORTLACH OR THAT THEY WERE SUCCEEDED BY THE CULDEES.

What happened at Mortlach? Did the monks rebel or conform to the new order of things? There is no evidence to show that they were expelled. The fact that this monastery was in a flourishing condition in the twelfth century, with its endowments intact, preserving its jurisdiction over the Cloreth House and five other churches, is strong proof of the continuity of Columban government.

We are only justified in introducing Culdees on the assumption that the Iona monks were compelled to leave. Now, it would be a simple matter to cite authors of modern date who hint that Mortlach was once the seat of a Culdee foundation. But to what purpose when the statements are based merely on supposition?

If the Culdees had succeeded at any time to the endowments of this monastery, why is it not included in the list of their foundations? There were only thirteen houses of their order in Scotland: at St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Ross, Dumblane, Caithness, Argyle, Iona, Lochleven, Abernethy, Monymusk, Muthill and Monifieth. We look in vain for the name of Mortlach on this list. Such an event as their occupation of the "chief monastery of Alba" as Mortlach was called, would certainly have been chronicled. If they had had the good fortune to inherit its rich endowments we may be sure they would have vigorously protested against their being transferred to Aberdeen.

The disputes between them and the Bishops invariably centered round money and lands. A struggle fiercer than what took place at Monymusk or at St. Andrews would have ensued over the proposed alienation of the Mortlach funds had they been in the possession of the Culdees.

But why labor this point, when there is not a shred of evidence to prove their presence at Mortlach? Why seek to instal Culdees when no proof is forthcoming that the disciples of Colum-cille were ousted from this locality?

While admitting that the Celtic Church was weakened by the royal edict commanding the observance of a Catholic Easter, we must not forget that the name of Columba was still a power in the land. As late as the tenth century the fighting men of Alba (in which Mortlach was situated) insisted on having as their standard at the head of every battle the crozier of Colum-cille.[14] This was indeed a

[13] Celtic Scotland. Vol. II, pp. 177-178.

[14] Chronicle of Picts and Scots. P. 406. Note.

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striking testimony to the continued influence of the Mortlach House. It was, moreover, a compliment to its inmates that the name of their founder should be so respected and it is strong argument that the Columban tradition was not broken by the incursion of the Culdees.

THE MORTLACH HOUSE REMAINED A COLUMBAN FOUNDATION.

Safe in her ample endowments, justly proud of her position as a Mother House in Pictland, the Mortlach monastery survived the stormy period of transition, retaining her endowments and five churches. At a time when other Columban houses wavered, Mortlach stood firm. While their brethren in Northumbria were being ousted by lay abbots and deprived of their possessions, this house lost neither its funds nor its supremacy. From her as from a recognized center came the first Bishop for the little town on the banks of the Don, which even to this day bears the name of Aberdonensis. Such a privilege would not have been accorded her had she not continued to preserve her fervor and supremacy. Founded from Iona at the beginning of the seventh century, this house remained a Columban foundation to the end.

Such an achievement, however we may look at it, was a great one; great in its visible accomplishment as its funds served as a nucleus of endowment for the Diocese of Aberdeen, greater still in its continuing results as it meant the preservation of the faith. It was a triumph of the spirit which the monks had inherited from their founder, the great Colum-cille.

So far we have been considering the various characteristics which distinguished the Culdees from the Columban monks. These differences which were mostly of a disciplinary character, in no wise interfered with their profession of the same religion. In the bond of a common faith they were at least united.

THE CULDEES WERE NOT PRESBYTERIANS.

Some historians have been anxious to prove that the Culdees were primitive Presbyterians and that they may be looked upon as a link connecting Presbyterianism with a primitive Church uncontaminated with the errors of Rome. This popular fallacy may be traced to Hector Boece, who gave the name of Culdees to the clergy of the supposed early church, *i. e.*, between the third and fifth centuries; and thus arose a belief that there had been an early Church of Presbyterian Culdees.[15]

This legend is dismissed by Andrew Lang in a single sentence: "Of course they were a much later set of men, nor were they Presbyterians."[16] Having sifted the evidence for this theory with all the

[15] Celtic Scotland. Vol. II, p. 30.
[16] History of Scotland. Vol. I, p. 26.

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acumen which marked him as a lawyer, Cosmo Innes rejects it as being against historical facts. "Sir James Dalrymple and other zealous Presbyterians of the last century, finding that the Culdees had broken their rules and vows, were willing to receive them as an anti-monastic body. They found, or imagined that they found, something of primitive apostolic manners in the lapsarian Culdees and actually adopted them as Presbyterian brethren. But the Culdees would not have adopted such fellowship. They were undoubtedly Prelatists and Episcopalians as well as Romanists, however erring."[17]

The judgment of Dr. Milroy, an eminent Protestant Clergyman, is, if possible, still stronger. "The Culdees differed widely and essentially from modern Protestantism. The sacrifice of the Mass for the living and the dead, the intercession of Saints, the adoration (?) of their relics, pilgrimages to their shrines, severe penances to mortify the flesh and win Divine favors, priestly absolution, conformity to Roman authority itself, all these are to be found in the Church of the Culdees. The truth is wherever the Culdee practices differed from the Catholic they differed for the worse."[18]

CULDEES IN UNION WITH THE HOLY SEE.

In their disputes with Bishops there was no question about matters of faith; the quarrels were over money, lands and privileges. The famous controversy at St. Andrews centered on the management of affairs in St. Mary's Church of that town. The dispute was referred to the Pope, who, in his turn, delegated the Priors of St. Oswald and Kyrkham to settle the matter. Judgment went against the Culdees and they were suspended from office. It was then asked whether, while under ecclesiastical censure, they had sung or said Mass: "Utrum divine celebraverint sic ligati?"[19] Such an appeal would never have been made to the Pope if they had not been in communion with the Holy See. It proves quite clearly that although they had fallen from their primitive fervor, they were one in faith with the rest of the Catholic world. "They differed no more in religion from the rest of the Church of Rome than Black Friars do from White."[20] Can we imagine Luther, Knox, Calvin, or perhaps any strict Presbyterian of today acknowledging as brethren a body of men who used holy water, practised confession, celebrated Holy Mass, and, in time of trouble, appealed to the Head of the Catholic Church? They would scorn fellowship with such

[17] Scotch Legal Antiquities by Cosmo Innes.
[18] Church of Scotland. Past and Present. Dr. Milroy. Vol. IV, p. 163.
[19] Keith's Scottish Bishops. LXIV.
[20] Dissertation on Culdees by Goodal. Keith's Scottish Bishops. LXXXIII.

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people on the ground that they were Papists, tainted with Roman superstitions. Whatever they were the Culdees were certainly not Presbyterians. Notwithstanding their strange customs of celebrating in a barbarous rite, and of observing the Sabbath instead of the Sunday—abuses which were eventually removed by Queen Margaret, the Culdees in matters of faith were one with the rest of the Catholic world. "There is no reason," says the editor of the Book of Deer, "for thinking that the Culdees differed in their doctrinal vicus from those which prevailed in the church around them."[21]

The result of modern investigation on this subject is summed up in an article under the heading "Culdees" written for the Encyclopedia Britannica.[22] It is the more valuable as it looks at things from a Presbyterian point of view. The writer states that it is a mistake to suppose that the Culdees differed from the teaching of the Latin Church in Scotland and on the Continent. They were one in doctrine. They differed, however, in their mode of life. They eventually fell away from their primitive observance by breaking their vows and leading disedifying lives.

GEORGE P. SHAW.

[21] Book of Deer. Preface CXXII. Note.
[22] Encyclopedia Britannica. Culdees.

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V.

THE HOME MISSIONARIES OF FRANCE

DURING the war, the soldier-priests of France earned golden opinions from friend and foe. The anti-clericals had to acknowledge that their attitude under fire was splendid, their influence over the men excellent, and in the end, an evil law, framed to injure the Catholic Church, brought ignorant or hostile spirits to a better knowledge of the Church and her ministers.

Now, the soldier-priests have been "demobilized" and have taken up their parochial or educational work that the war interrupted; their health is often shattered, but their experience of men and things has been enriched and matured. The young "Vicaire," who wears the Legion of Honor on his threadbare cassock the director of a provincial seminary, once an officer, whose leg was amputated, the young religious, who lost both legs, won many decorations, and now teaches at a college in Paris, wield an influence that, throughout their lives, will make their apostleship more fruitful and enduring.

If the soldier-priests were the heroes of the war, surely the heroes of the *after-war,* who are, at present, silently winning their laurels, are the priests of the devastated regions. They live, like their people, in shanties or in cellars; instead of a well-ordered parish, they must serve five or six ruined villages, often miles apart and their impoverished Bishops can only allow them a few hundred francs a year to help them exist. The work of these priests on French soil is as trying as that of missioners among the heathen; a personal knowledge of some among them enables me to write of their cheerful heroism.

A distinguished military chaplain, who lately visited what was once "the front," describes the sight that met him, over and over again, in the wilderness created by the war. In the midst of an area of ruined villages, he came upon a priest, sometimes gray-haired, sometimes young, having only lately doffed his blue uniform, miserably lodged, and, alas, generally miserably clad, with the Blessed Sacrament as the only Companion of his solitude. Never did the visitor realize so keenly the symbolic meaning of the lamp that burnt before the poor altar. In these desolate regions, It represented the "light that never fails," just as the lonely priest stood for civilization, faith, hope and endurance; the one moral influence among a population whose energies are centred on the building up of their poor homes and the reclaiming of their fields.

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The same military chaplain, when brought into touch with these home-missioners, marveled at their cheerful acceptance of their lot. The priests who have volunteered for the work are men whose apostolic spirit carries them through the hardships and disappointments that they are bound to meet and it speaks well for the courage of the French clergy that wherever the peasants of a district return, they find, stationed at some central point, a *curé,* who, on foot or on his cycle, radiates on his surroundings.

The material conditions in which these priests live are such as must test the highest courage. Our readers know that, since the break with Rome, the French Government has suppressed the stipend that was secured to the clergy by the "Concordat." They are, therefore, wholly dependent, unless they have private means, upon what their Bishops and the faithful can allow them. A leading French paper lately published the "budget" of a country *curé,* such as the priest himself drew it up. His parish is a very small one; it numbers only 150 people. His Bishop makes him an allowance of 900 francs a year and to this he adds 500 francs that come from the Masses, funerals, marriages and baptisms that take place in the parish. He has no private means and can only count on this yearly sum of 1,400 francs, that he lays out as follows: Bread, 250 francs; milk, 273 francs; meat, 520 francs; butter and grease, 168 francs; fuel, 200 francs. These 1,411 francs cover the bare necessaries of living, but neither a new cassock, nor shoes, nor repairs, nor soap, eggs, coffee, vegetables, oil, body linen, etc., are included.

In the devastated provinces, the priest's difficulties are increased by the wear and tear of clothes and boots and by the necessity of possessing a cycle. When he is young and in good health, he is less to be pitied, but the military chaplain, to whose experiences we have alluded, came across some old men, who, inspite of their age and infirmities, returned to the parishes that they served before 1914. When the war broke out, they were too old to go on active service, but they remained at their post, close to the front, until forced to leave by the military authorities. After the armistice, they hurried back. Thus, one *curé,* near Reims, is only sixty-four, but looks eighty. He was made a prisoner by the Germans, accused of being a spy, imprisoned for months in a cellar sentenced to death, then reprieved, but kept a prisoner till the armistice. His Bishop offered him a comfortable post in the Ardennes, but he begged to return to his old parish near Brimont. There he found the village laid low by the enemy's artillery, but the sight only stimulated his energy. With his own hands, he built a cabin to serve as a presbytery; he repaired his church as best he could and his resourcefulness and endurance exercised a bracing influence over his much-tried flock.

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The little town of Ham, in the Somme, is now a centre whence three missioners sally forth daily to evangelize an area that includes twelve ruined villages. The chief of the little group was, before the war, the *curé* of a well-ordered parish, that no longer exists. No greater contrast can be imagined than that of this prosperous village, where the *curé* directed many religious and social works, and the misson field now entrusted to his guardianship. At first, indeed, the prospect made his heart sink. Help came to him from one of the two colleagues appointed by the Bishop to share his task. This priest believed that spiritual forces are never stronger than when human means are inefficient. He proposed to face the enormous difficulties ahead by enlisting the assistance to be found in prayer, in congenial companionship, in mutual counsel, in close union with God. Why, he suggested, should not the three missioners live together at Ham, their central post, put their spiritual and material aids in common and organize, as far as circumstances would permit, a community life? The plan was started and the little community of Ham is now famous; Bishops from other dioceses write to inquire into the methods of these pioneers.

The chapel of a hospital serves as their parish church; here, before separating for the day, they say part of their Office together. Then, walking or cycling, they start for the ruined villages, where a hut or a shed serves as a chapel. Their day is spent in going from one place to another to catechize the children, visit the sick, sometimes to give medical or surgical aid, when no doctor is at hand. At midday, they pause for a few minutes meditation and at 6 in the evening they are back at Ham, where, unless summoned for an urgent case, they close their door to visitors. After reciting Matins and Lauds, they discuss the day's experiences: the failure of one is compensated by the success of the other, mistakes are cleared up by being aired, the next day's work is prepared by a friendly exchange of views. Then comes the discussion of some point of theology or of a text from the Scriptures, and after evening prayers in common, the little community breaks up for the night.

A clerical visitor who was privileged to spend some hours in the intimacy of these priests, marveled at their cheerfulness: "We have never known even one hour of depression," said one. In face of tremendous difficulties, material and spiritual, they keep an optimistic spirit and a visible blessing rests on their work.

Lately, the Bishop has reduced to seven the twelve ruined villages entrusted to their apostolic care; this does not mean that their work is less, but that they learn to know their people better, to instruct the children more thoroughly and to say Mass oftener in each village.

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The peasants of Picardy are, as a rule, an unemotional and stolid race, but they have, to a certain extent, realized the self-sacrifice of their missionaries and the latter are warmly welcomed by their scattered flock. They are successful, in spite of difficulties, in organizing religious festivals in one or other of the villages that they serve and these gatherings are popular with the people, who come from long distances to attend them.

The community of Ham is now known beyond the frontiers of the devastated provinces and, during the holidays, seminarists beg to be allowed to share its labors and act as catechists to the missionaries. Surely, there is no better school for ecclesiastical students than one where spiritual influences make stern realities, not merely acceptable, but gracious, where in the midst of material privations and moral difficulties, God's priests serve Him "in gladness."

It is hinted that the Community life inaugurated at Ham may have a wider influence than was supposed at first. Bishops, in whose dioceses ecclesiastical vocations are scarce, have inquired into the methods in use among the missioners and wonder if, given the want of priests and the cost of living, it might not be advisable to apply the principle of life in common to other regions than the devastated *départments* of Northern France. Not that it will ever become general, but there is no doubt that his loneliness among uncongenial surroundings is often a sore trial to a young prieest and, under present circumstances, material difficulties are added to the burden he must carry.

The work founded in Paris for the refurnishing of ruined churches* has helped many priests and the letters in which they recognize this are good to read. One, after describing the delight with which he unpacked the vestments and linen forwarded by the *œuvre de Secours aux Eglises dévastées,* adds: "Your work is not content with making fine speeches and bestowing empty consolations." Another describes how he shed "tears of joy" when unpacking the treasures sent from Paris and how he called in his parishioners to share his pleasure.

Monsignor Tissier, Bishop of Chalons, was asked by a stranger to his diocese whether the pastors of the ruined villages had been selected for the purpose: "No indeed," was the reply, "I simply made a general appeal to my priests and so many volunteered for

* "L'Oeuvre de Secours aux Eglises devastees," Rue Ondinot, 3 Paris, has a branch in London. In January, 1921, it was stated that, since its foundation, the "Oeuvre" had given away nine million francs, of which six million and a half were collected in France. It had refurnished 800 churches or chapels, and made possible the celebration of Mass in 2,860 parishes. There are still 1,500 parishes that have neither a hut for Mass, nor a sacristy; 1,800 "trousseaux" have been given to the most destitute pastors of the devastated area.

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the work that I had not posts enough in the devastated regions to give them."

Those among us who have seen the battlefields of the Somme, l'Aisne, la Meuse and the Pas de Calais, will realize what these volunteers had to face. A priest in the Meuse district, writing to a friend, describes his return to what, in happier days, had been a modest but attractive little presbytery. He found only one room left, the rain poured in through the shattered roof, linen, furniture and books were gone; the church had lost its steeple, stained glass and statues, its sacristy was empty. "I own," writes the poor *curé*, "that at first, I was nearly tempted to run away, but our hardy peasants are coming back and my duty is to remain with them; after all to do one's duty is the one joy left to us." A generous gift from the *œeuvre de Secours aux Eglises dévastées* did wonders to raise the writer's spirits: the sight of surplices, albs, vestments, changed his outlook on life and he cheerfully turned to the work of taking in hand his scattered people. "They have almost all of them returned," he writes, "they are full of courage and are impatient to rebuild," and, writing to a priest friend, he adds: "You promised to pay me a visit and I shall joyfully expect you, but please wait till the masons have finished your room, and, above all, prepare some good sermons. I confess that the moral ruins that surround me are often more lamentable than the material ones and, being driven from their homes has not, in general, improved my dear refugees. You must come here with a big heart, where our sinners can take shelter and whence they will issue cleansed and strengthened. You ask me if I want books. Yes, indeed, I do. A priest needs spiritual food and he starves in front of an empty bookcase."

The building of a temporary church brought comfort to some priests as early as 1920: thus, at Bibécourt, in the Diocese of Beauvais, a large wooden church was blessed in March, 1920. It has taken the place of a fine church that took forty years to build and was barely finished in 1914. At Villers Bretoimeny, near Amiens, was opened, about the same time, a temporary church, the anonymous gift of an Englishman.

In fact, all through these tragic regions, where the iron hand of war has left its mark, rise tiny or spacious buildings, as the case may be, where a lamp that burns day and night, points to the presence of the lonely priest's divine Companion. Some of these priests, who are so eager to make their oratories less unworthy, are personally in a state of dire poverty. One wrote, in July, 1920, that having no cassock, he wore for many months his soldier's uniform, then he was given a cassock, but he had to roof in his chapel, build up his presbytery and dig his garden: "My bodily strength holds out," he

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wrote, "but my poor cassock—your gift—is a huge piece of mending and must ere long be put aside like my 'glorious uniform.' But how to replace it? I have not a penny to spend."

Be it said to the honor of these priests, many of whom are literally in rags, the spiritual side of their ministry uplifts them above sordid cares. A model pastor is the *curé* of F., a village in the Diocese of Amiens, that before the war possessed a handsome church, backed by a mediæval tower. The church was, in 1918, partly destroyed by the enemy's artillery and Mass is said in a neighboring cottage. Circumstances connected with a dear, dead soldier who sleeps in the little cemetery of F., made me acquainted with this typical pastor of devastated France. Five villages have been entrusted to him by the Bishop of Amiens; they lie far apart and cycling is often impossible on ground that has been ploughed by the shells. A letter lying before me gives a sample of the daily programme of this good priest, whose humble prayer is that the Master, to whom his life is consecrated, may not find in him a "useless servant." The other day, at 6 in the morning, he started on foot for a ruined village, where he said Mass; the rain had soaked the ground and cycling was impossible. After Mass, he catechized the children of the place, visited several sick people, gave extreme unction to one, encouragement and comfort to others, and then, always on foot, he started across the "red zone," where the soil cannot be reclaimed, to visit an invalid about whom he was anxious. This woman, whose husband held an official position, was violently anti-clerical. She consented to see the priest, but rejected his ministrations, pleading that she must "think about it." As he was making his way homewards "with a heavy heart," the *curé* was stopped and begged to go out of his way to attend a farm servant, who had met with an accident. No doctor being available, the priest had to dress and bind up the wound and when, at nightfall, he reached F., he found that he had covered twenty kilometers since the morning. He had planned to keep the next day to prepare the study classes that he has organized for his boys and young men, but, as often happens, Providence sent him on another round of duties. Several pressing sick calls had to be made and the woman whose refusal to make her confession had saddened him, now claimed a visit. This time, all went according to his wish and much good will and sincere repentance atoned for long years of neglect and hostility. It was late, when in the rain and darkness, the priest arrived at F., "drenched to the skin," but "full of joy." Not only among the angels in heaven had a sincere conversion brought forth a note of unselfish rejoicing! That day the *curé* had walked twenty-four kilometers.

So, day after day, summer and winter, in fair and foul weather,

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the pastor of F. scours his enormous mission field. His letters are always bright, he never complains and prays only that his physical strength may be equal to his task. The merest present, a gift of pictures, rosaries or even prayer books that have been used, is a joy as it enables him to give pleasure to "his children." Like all the zealous priests of the devastated provinces, while full of sympathy for his people's hardships, he is more anxious to build up habits of faith, discipline, morality and devotion among them than to meet their material necessities. These, in course of time, are bound to be looked to, but the spiritual world, the one that really matters, needs a long and laborious reorganizing after an upheaval like the war. At first, he found little response, the peasants seemed stupefied by all they had endured and it was difficult to rouse them from their apathy. Now, they welcome his presence and enter into his plans, the young men and boys attend his study classes and are interested in the social and religious questions that he encourages them to discuss. The children are trained by him to share his apostolic work and, as he loves them dearly, he evidently knows how to attract and interest them. He thus describes his work during Easter week:

"I was able to carry out a programme that was somewhat audacious, but that God seemed to approve and I succeeded in evangelizing *all* my parishes. The week after was less successful because the weather was against me. I managed, however, every day, to drag along our muddy roads, where the shell holes are still visible, a small *voiturette* that was filled with all that is necessary to say Mass. My choir boys accompanied me and their fresh young voices gave life and charm to the ceremonies. Altogether, I think that my boys and I did useful work and *le bon Dieu* rewarded us by a few conversions. Of course, I hoped to win more souls, but when I feel that a heavy cross rests on my shoulders, I say to myself that it is through suffering that souls are saved." Then alluding to the military cemeteries that cover the district entrusted to his care, he adds: "This is a soil that is consecrated by sacrifice; we must make it a holy land and I labor to make my people more worthy of the dead heroes who sleep among us."

Although his parishes lie far apart, the *curé* neglects none, and frequently he goes fasting to a distant village and says Mass for the people, having taken care beforehand to prepare a *fête* on the occasion. The young girls willingly decorate the oratory and take part in the singing and are all the more interested in the service because they have worked to make it a success. This spirited attempt to make devotion attractive in spite of disheartening surroundings is all the more praiseworthy when we remember the poverty of both the pastor and his flock.

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A poor little "Bulletin" published at Arras brings home evidences of the same courage among the priests of this much tried diocese. One of these, now *curé* of Pommereuil, was arrested by the Germans and imprisoned under the false pretense that he had communicated with the French army by means of carrier pigeons. Twice he was tried and twice acquitted, proofs of his supposed guilt being wanting. In prison, he sang the *Magnificat* and the *Te Deum,* and the same spirit that counts suffering a gain, supports him now in his daily struggle with the adverse circumstances that make the work of reconstruction so hard. At Lacouture, a village that, before the war, numbered 1,700 inhabitants, the *curé* managed in the midst of the ruins, to build a temporary church, a presbytery and a parochial hall. Given the enormous difficulties that he had to face, this "miraculous undertaking" proved, not only the pastor's energy, but also the willing response of his flock. In 1919, 800 people had returned to Lacouture and were busy reclaiming the devastated land.

At Vitry en Artois, voluntary catechists, chiefly women, offered their services to the overworked *curé* of an enormous district. They have divided the different ruined villages, they prepare the children for Holy Communion, teach them their prayers and their catechism, and are, writes the *curé,* "invaluable auxiliaries." In the same region, several aged priests, thought to be too old for active work, have placed themselves at his disposal as catechists. "We beg God to bless these valuable helpers," writes the grateful pastor.

When, last year, the Bishop of Arras paid his first canonical visit to the devastated portion of his diocese, priests and people managed to give him a picturesque welcome. He was escorted by cyclists, flowers and branches of foliage filled the temporary chapels, there was everywhere a brave attempt to veil the wounds inflicted by the war and to show only a cheerful confidence in Providence and absolute faith in the final reconstruction of the country.

Of that reconstruction, the priests are the best instruments, but it is difficult, in a paper that necessarily must be brief, to describe fully their patient efforts to build up a new and better France. They are sowing seeds that will some day bring forth abundant fruit, but the task is one that must extend over many years; and it is possible that when the harvests of the future reach maturity, the pioneers who now lead the way, may be at rest in the fields of heaven.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

Paris, France.

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VI.

A PAGE FROM THE PAST.

BOSTON AND THE NATION A CENTURY AND A QUARTER AGO.

IF the reader of these lines were to be asked to define the boundaries of the State of Assenisipia or of Chersonesus or of Polypotamia, he would be apt to say: "I'm a little rusty on classic geography. Ask me something about the United States." We can picture, then, the amazed expression and ruffled demeanor of the same reader when he is told that

> by ordinance of Congress A.D. 1784, the Territory North West of the Ohio and East of the Mississippi was erected into Ten New States, by the names of Assenisipia, Chersonesus, Illinoia, Metropotamia, Michigania, Pelisipia, Polypotamia, Sylvania, Saratoga & Washington.

Such is the information published in a modest little volume whose title page reveals that it is

> Fleet's Register, and Pocket Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1800. Being the Fourth Year since the last leap year, and the twenty-fourth of American Independence, which began July 4th, 1776. Calculated chiefly for the Use of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, the Metropolis, being In Latitude 42 deg. 23 min. North, and 70 deg. 58,53. West Long. 348 Miles N.E. of Philadelphia. Boston: Printed and sold by J. & T. Fleet, at the Bible and Heart in Cornhill.

The copy of this old almanack which lies before us is that which was used by Samuel Dexter as a receipt-book for his tax payments, as several entries therein bear witness. Samuel Dexter was born in Boston in 1761, was graduated from Harvard University in 1781 and admitted to the bar in 1784. He was repeatedly chosen to the legislature of Massachusetts and in 1798 was elected United States Senator. While Senator he was appointed Secretary of War in 1800 and in the same year Secretary of the Treasury. Several foreign missions, which were offered him at different times, were refused, and in 1802 he withdrew from political life to practice his profession. He died at Athens, New York, in 1816, two years after his defeat as candidate for the governship of Massachusetts. The book before us, then, was a prized possession at one of the most eventful periods in his life, the zenith of his political career.

It is not the private record of Samuel Dexter, however, which

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will be of interest to the general reader, but the printed information and quaint statements in the almanac. There are several pages missing in that part of the volume devoted to the calendar, but beginning with March there are the following events commemorated under the heading "Observable Days, etc.":

March 5—Massacre at Boston, 1770.
18—Boston evac. by Brit. 1776
Annunciation or Lady Day, a festival of the Church on 25th March, to commemorate Christ's Incarnation.
April 4—St. Ambrose. some days,
5 considering the season.
7—Towns vote for Governor, etc.
16—Sun and Clock equal time.
17—Dr. Franklin died 1790, Et. 84
Sept. 3—Dog Days end. Expect
4 some thunder,
5 and showers of rain.
8—... Nat. B. V. Mary.
Oct. 6—Artillery train. Boston.
15—Pope Gregory first introduced new stile 1582
17—Burgoyne surrendered 1777.
19—Cornwallis taken 1781.
23—Columbus discov. America 1494.
25—Crispin patron Shoemakers.
The Medical Lectures in the University at Cambridge, commence on the 1st Wednesday of October.
Nov. 22—St. Cecilia virg. & martyr.
25—St. Catharine patr. Ropemak.
Dec. 18—The present Pope born, 1717.

We have here a new date for the discovery of America, while the reference to the Blessed Virgin and the saints is very noticeable, considering the place and date of publication.

Road-Guide.

The next thing which perhaps might strike the reader's fancy is a list of "Roads from Boston, Southward, Westward and Eastward, with the Names of Innkeepers." This was as good as a railroad guide or an A. A. A. touring directory to the travelers of that time, when so much depended on nocturnal accommodations for oneself and one's equippage. An innkeeper in those days was a personage of no little importance and influence and in this list one recognizes the patronymics of many prominent men of today.

Government: Executive, Legislative, Judicial.

At that time, as the almanac chronicles, John Adams was President of the United States and Thomas Jefferson was Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate; Theodore Sedgwick was Speaker of the House of Representatives. Under the

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heading "Departments of Government" the following list of "The principal Officers of State, &c." is given:

Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State.
Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Treasury.
John Steele, of North-Carolina, Comptroler of the Treasury.
Richard Harrison, of Virginia, Auditor of the Treasury.
Joseph Nourse, of Virginia, Register of the Treasury.
William Miller, of Pennsylvania, Commissioner of the Treasury.
Samuel Meredith, of Pennsylvania, Treasurer.
James McHenry, of Maryland, Secretary of War.
Benja. Stoddert, of Maryland, Secretary of the Navy.

Elsewhere in the book we learn that Charles Lee of Virginia is Attorney General and Joseph Habersham is Postmaster General. The latter position does not seem to have been such a distinguished position in those days as that held by Will Hays. In this connection there is the interesting statement that "The General Post Office is kept at the Seat of Government." The franking privilege was granted, even in those early days, to government officials and Members of Congress practically as at present, but newspapers to the latter were postage free only during the sessions and twenty days after. "All letters and packages to and from George Washington, late President of the United States, are continued to be free."

There were thirty-two Senators at that time (as compared with thrice that number at present), two each from the following States: New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New-York, New-Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennassee (*sic*). The Senator from Charlestown, Mass., was Samuel Dexter, junior, to whom the volume under discussion belonged. It will be seen that Maine (by the natives called Mawooshen) was not yet represented as a State, but merely as a District, while the Territory North West of the Ohio had merely a Representative in the Federal Congress, the celebrated William Henry Harrison. In the federal elections, nine of the States voted at large, while the others voted by district.

The names of the justices of the Supreme Court seem to be very representative, as far as locality is concerned, beginning with the Chief Justice, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, and continuing down the following list:

William Cushing, of Massachusetts
Bushrod Washington, of Virginia
James Iredell, of North Carolina
William Paterson, of New Jersey
Samuel Chase, of Maryland

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There were three circuits and 16 districts, as contrasted with circuits and districts a century and a quarter later.

Tariff.

Tariff experts of the present day, when the Congress is busily engaged in preparing new schedules, will be interested in the statement that certain duties are "payable on all Goods, Wares and Merchandize, imported into the United States of America if in American ships or vessels," while "an additional 10% is imposed, when imported in foreign vessels." Among the free items are "apparatus, philosophical, specially imported for any seminary of learning"; "drugs and woods for dyeing"; and "plaister of Paris." Among the items bearing a 15% ad valorem duty are the following:

Artificial flowers, feathers and other ornaments for women's head dresses
Buckles, shoe and knee
Cinnamon, cloves, currants and comfits
Cosmetics
Dentrifice, powders, tinctures, preparations and compositions for the teeth or gums
Fruits of all kinds
Hair powder
Jewelry and paste work
Paper hangings

The flapper would be forced to pay 15 cents per pair on "clogs and goloshes," while other charges range from 2 cents per lb. on soap and brown sugar and 5 cents per lb. on coffee to 22 cents per lb. on snuff.

These duties were payable in certain foreign coins which are mentioned in the almanack and the following table of equivalents of coins for estimating the duties will be of some interest in these days of fluctuating foreign exchange:

Pound Sterling (Gt. Br.)	$4.44	Ryal Plate (Spain)	.10
" " (Ireland)	4.10	" Vallon "	.05
Livre Tournois (France)	.18½	Milree (Portugal)	1.24
Florin or Guilder (Nether.)	.40	Tale (China)	1.48
Mark Banco of Hamburgh	.33 1/3	Pagoda (India)	1.94
Rix Dollar (Denmark)	1.00	Rupee (Bengal)	.55½

Local Government.

After this and similar information of a general character for fifty odd pages, the reader of the almanack is given more specific

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officers are usually chosen at the March meeting and among others we find 1 "informer of deer," 4 "fence viewers," 14 "cullers of staves and hoops," 10 "surveyors of boards and shingles," 3 "haywards" and 3 "hogreeves." Other appointments are Francis Wright as "inspector of tobacco," William Hichborn as "weigher of onions," and Hopestill Foster as "hayweigher." There is also a superintendent of police, as the following announcement testifies:

> The Pavement of the streets in various parts of the Town of Boston, having been repaired at a very great expence, the Superintendant of Police has published a caution, to all Drivers of Carts and Trucks, against carrying heavier loads than are allowed by Law.

Professional Directories.

This wonderful little book also gives a list of "Physicians and Surgeons practising in Boston With the Streets in which they have their Abode," 28 in all, and also 3 surgeons dentist. Elsewhere in the book is given a list of "Practitioners of Law in Massachusetts," another of the justices, sheriffs, etc., of various counties, and still another of the general staff of the Massachusetts militia. We are also informed that

> A Board of Health has been established in the town of Boston, and since the commencement of the last year, in consequence of the Yellow Fever, which prevailed there in the year 1798.

Paul Revere was president of this Board. The Historical Society in Boston had one James Sullivan, LL.D., as its president. He was the brother of the famous Revolutionary general, John Sullivan, who was later thrice elected president of New Hampshire. They were both born in Berwick, Maine, and, if I mistake not, were not Catholics, though sprung from a Catholic line.

Finance.

Amidst this wealth of useful information financial information is not lacking. At Boston there was a branch bank of the United States Bank located at Philadelphia. The officers and employees of the Boston branch consisted of a president, 12 directors, a cashier, first and second tellers, first and second bookkeepers, discount clerk, interest clerk, runner, 2 assistant clerks and 2 porters. Other branches were located at New York, Baltimore and Charleston, South Carolina. Other banks in Boston were the Massachusetts and the Union, while at Salem was the Essex Bank, at Newbury-Port the Merrimack Bank and banks also at Gloucester, Nantucket and "Newhampshire."

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details with regard to Boston and vicinity. For instance, the town

In this connection the following "Table for reducing the Lawful Money of Massachusetts to Dollars, Cents and Mills from One Farthing to Fifty Pounds" may be of some interest:

1£	$3.333	1s. 6d.	.25
3£	10.00	3f.	.01
6s.	1.00	1d.	.014
4s. 6d.	.75	1f.	.003
3s.	.50		

Education.

Quite a contrast to the wonderful institution of learning of 68 or more buildings now standing in Cambridge was the Harvard University of 1800 with its 6 professors, 4 tutors, librarian, French instructor, steward and butler. The student of that day did not have his commencement until the third Wednesday in July. "Other colleges, academies, etc." included Williams's (*sic*) College at Williamston, Berkshire County; Bowdin College at Brunswick, Cumberland County; Dummer Academy at Newbury; Phillips's (*sic*) Academy at Andover; and 21 other academies and grammar schools.

Religion.

There is a long list of churches, ministers and religious societies among which is to be found the following entry:

Romish Church, So. School-street, Francis Matignon, D. D.

This is the priest, exiled from France by the Revolution, to whom the Church in the United States owes so much. About that time, according to other sources, there were only 210 Catholics in Boston and very few more in the vicinity. Two or three years later they completed a "drive" for a new church, securing $16,000 from members of the congregation, $11,000 from prominent Protestants and $5,500 from Catholics elsewhere. It was Father Matignon who invited the Reverend John Louis de Cheverus, then an exile in England, to come to Boston to assist him and at the former's suggestion Bishop Carroll recommended Father Cheverus as the First Bishop of Boston.

The little almanack contains a directory of ministers and the results of election in Congregational associations. The twelve Episcopalian Bishops in America are named and the Roman Catholic Bishop, John Carroll, of Maryland, finds a unique place. In Masonry, the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts with its roster occupies some space.

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Navy.

The official list of the American Navy of December 1799 contains the names of 15 frigates (5 with 44 guns including 1 building at New York, 4 with 36 guns including 1 building at New York, and 6 with 32 guns). In the first class as the *United States* commanded by Commodore John Barry, the *Chesapeak* commanded by Captain Samuel Barron and the *Philadelphia* commanded by Stephen Decatur. There were also 11 ships of war (1 with 26 guns, 3 with 24 guns, 4 with 20 guns and 3 with 18 guns), 7 brigs (1 with 18 guns, 2 with 16 guns, and 4 with 14 guns), 2 schooners with 12 guns each, and 6 gallies (2 in Georgia, 3 in South Carolina and 1 in North Carolina). Boy, page the Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

We wonder how the naval officer of today would like the compensation of their brother officers of 1800:

> The pay of captains commanding ships of 32 guns and upwards, is by law one hundred dollars per month, and eight rations per day; of captains commanding ships of twenty and under thirty-two guns, seventy-five dollars per month, and six rations per day; and of lieutenants, who may command the smaller

We can not bring this little sketch to a close without mentioning a quaint story of the use of quicksilver and bread for finding the bodies of drowned persons. If you ever chance upon a copy of this almanack, therefore, be sure to read page 105.

HERBERT F. WRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

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VII.

A SHORT PARAPHRASE OF THE CANTICLE OF CANTICLES.

PREFACE.

THE Canticle of Canticles is the book of ecstatic love of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lover of Souls and their heavenly Bridegroom. Although the images are borrowed from the loving intercourse between two human beings, they are all to be transferred to the higher meaning, wholly spiritual, of the intercourse of love between Our Lord and the fervent Christian.

CHAPTER I.

Verse 1. "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth." Let him love me poor as I am, dearly, let him come to me in Holy Communion. Let him give me this token of his fondness for me and of the joy that awaits me in Paradise.

Verse 2. "Thy name is sweet as oil poured out." Love to go on repeating the sweet name of Jesus. The more you do so, the more will you taste and enjoy its sweetness.

Verse 3. "Draw me." O Jesus, draw me out of my vile self, unto thee who art the sovereign Good.

"We will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments," by the exercise of divine contemplation and of good works done in a spirit of faith.

"The King hath brought me into his store-room"—that is, into the wounds of his sacred flesh, into the interior of his human soul, into the sanctuary of his very Godhead, of the Son of God that he is.

Verse 6. "Show me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou liest in the mid-day, lest I begin to wander after the flocks of thy companions." Here Jesus is compared to a shepherd: Is he not the Good Shepherd? He is now resting after the great labors of his earthly life and Sacred Passion; in heaven and in the Blessed Sacrament; and the fervent soul wants to keep him company, make love to him as his faithful Spouse, instead of running after purely human affections and earthly enjoyments.

CHAPTER II.

Jesus speaking. Verse 1. "I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the Valley."

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Verse 2. "As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters." The pure and fervent soul replies:

Verse 3. "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow and his fruit was sweet to my palate."

"He brought me into the cellar of wine" into his side and Sacred Heart pierced through and through. "He set in order charity in me," *i. e.*, he set in order all my affections, subjecting them to the sway of divine love.

Verse 5. "Stay me up with flowers, compass me about with apples: because I languish with love." The flowers are holy desires, the apples the fruits of good works.

Verse 6. "His left hand is under my head and his right hand shall embrace me." The left hand means the sacred Humanity of our heavenly Bridegroom; his right hand is the splendor of his Godhead with which he envelopes and embraces so to say the soul of the fervent Christian.

Verse 7. "I adjure you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, that you stir not up, nor make the beloved to awake, till she please." Jesus entreats all who have anything to do with his faithful bride not to disturb her from her prayer and contemplation. She must be allowed, as Magdalen, to remain in peace at the feet of Jesus, or even to repose her head as John the Beloved in the last supper, on the bosom of the Bridegroom.

Verse 8. "The voice of my beloved!" In her very sleep the fervent soul hears the voice of her beloved Jesus.

"Behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping over the hills." In order to come down to his rational, but sinful creature, the Son of God has to overcome great obstacles, which are as so many mountains, namely: First, his ineffable dignity and sanctity; second, the baseness of our nature; third, our original sin with its consequences; fourth, the accumulation of our own personal actual sins. The hills are all the natural laws of time, space, substance, species of bread and wine, which were so many obstacles to his coming personally to each one of us in Holy Communion.

Verse 10. "Behold my Beloved speaketh to me." Ah! what joy to the soul when Jesus speaks secretly and privately to her heart, at the hours of divine contemplation and even sometimes in the midst of her saintly activities. And what does he tell her? He says: "Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come." Come to me, fly to me, who love thee so tenderly. Here perhaps you will ask: How is it possible that Jesus should call such a sinful creature as I have been, his *dove,* his *beautiful* one? I answer: Because he has made you such by virtue of his Sacred Blood in the

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sacrament of Penance, and also, because his wishes run ahead of the reality; he already sees you as perfect, as he intends that you shall one day be, and by his giving you credit for what you are not as yet, he intends to stimulate you into renewed efforts towards personal sanctity and the splendor of all virtues.

Verse 11. "The winter is now passed, the rain is over and gone." The winter is your former indifference and tepidity. The rain is your multiplied infidelities and negligences and actual sins more or less grievous. "The fig tree hath put forth her green figs, the vines in flower yield their sweet smell." Our Lord takes notice of the buddings of your good will, the flowers of your holy desires and resolutions. He is so considerate and so merciful, nothing of that which is to our credit is allowed to pass unpraised and unrewarded.

Verse 14. "My dove in the cliffs of the rock, in the hollow places of the wall," *i. e.*, in the wounds of thy Saviour; "show me thy face," visit me often in my Blessed Sacrament; "let thy voice sound in my ears," *i. e.*, speak to me, have something to say to me, tell me thy love: I shall never tire of listening to that tale: "for thy voice is sweet and thy face is comely." Again these compliments from the lips of our Beloved ought to cover us with confusion in the consciousness of our many miseries. But Jesus seems blind to them so much he loves us; and the more his little bride humbles herself, the more he perceives new charms in her. Nevertheless he wants her to stir herself up and apply herself strenuously to the correction of her defects, that is why he tells her in the next verse:

Verse 15. "Catch us the little foxes that destroy the vine," fight against the smallest voluntary imperfections: "they tend to destroy the loving intercourse between thee and me."

Verse 16. "My Beloved is to me and I to Him, who feedeth among the lilies." Words expressive of the joy of Holy Communion, of solitary prayer and of the ardor of charity at all times.

Verse 17. "Till the day break," the day of eternal rest and beatific vision, "and the shadows retire," that is to say, the obscurities of our present condition. And yet, at times the heavenly spouse seems to withdraw himself, leaving the soul in dryness and desolation. Then she exclaims: "Return. Be like, O my beloved, to a roe, or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether."

CHAPTER III.

The first three verses of this chapter have reference again to the trials of the spiritual life, when dryness sets in and desolation is the result.

Verse 1. "In my bed, by night, I sought him whom my soul loveth." "By night," that is to say, by the exercise of an obscure

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contemplation; "in my bed," that is to say, in deep retirement from all external occupations, in recollection so deep that it may be compared to the suspension by sleep of all activities. "I sought him." I set out to meet my Lord and have the sweet intercourse of love with him.

"I sought him and found him not." What of it, O faithful soul, if you did not succeed, to your heart's content, in this search after the beloved? The essential is that you did seek him. You did not say: Oh! he has not shown himself, so, until he does, I will take what pleasure or distraction is at hand. You were in such earnest about finding him that you are quite saddened by your failure. Perhaps now you will find this state of affairs an excuse for giving yourself to what consolation creatures can offer you? No, not in the least. The fervent soul is quite determined.

Verse 2. "I will rise," she says, "and I will go about the city: in the streets and in the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth: I sought him and found him not."

When the soul finds herself in dryness she must have recourse to some pious exercises. All this is represented by these expressions: "I will rise, go about the cities, in the streets and in the broad ways." I will read, meditate, say vocal prayers, administer to my flesh some punishment, make the way of the cross; in short, I will employ all the means I can think of in order to regain the sweet feeling of the near presence of my beloved. How pathetic is this repetition of her complaint; "sought him and found him not." In spite of all I could do I remained in dryness and obscurity.

Verse 3. "The watchmen who guard the city found me: Have you seen him whom my soul loveth?" That is to say, in her distress she perhaps went to her superiors, or to her spiritual father, and disclosed to them her trouble, accusing herself of being at fault, no doubt, and unconsciously revealing how ardently she loves her heavenly spouse. They have the grace of state to discern affairs as they really are, and say just the words that are needed.

Verse 4. "When I had a little passed by them, I found him whom my soul loveth: I hold him and I will not let him go."

Most times, as soon as the soul has performed the act of humility of disclosing the interior workings of her soul to those in authority, Jesus shows to her again his sweet countenance. What joy then! How, figuratively speaking, she throws herself upon him, links her arms about his neck, and, with a sense of conquest and possession, joyfully exclaims: "I hold him, I will not let him go!"

In each one of these four verses the bride speaks of Our Lord in these terms: "Him whom my soul loveth." Her love is so great, so intense, so true, she is not ashamed to proclaim it to the world. Let men say what they please: she is not going to hide it.

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And now she has her reward: in the arms of her beloved she falls into the sweet sleep of contemplation; and Jesus repeats the caution we have already met with (ch. II, v. 7), which runs thus:

Verse 5. "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and the harts of the fields, that you stir not up, nor awake my beloved, till she please." Let no one interfere with her state of contemplation.

Verse 6. The angels seeing the progress of that soul in the love of God, in contemplation and the practice of all sorts of austerities, and of every virtue, exclaim:

"Who is she that goeth up by the desert?" What a desert indeed is this land of exile compared with the heavenly mother-country!

"As a pillar of smoke of aromatical spices," that is to say, breathing out and spreading all around, the perfume of her sorrow for sin, and adoration of the divine majesty with acts of tenderest love, all which are figured in these words: "of myrrh and frankincense and all the powders of the perfumer."

Verse 7. A further remark suggested by this verse seven is that the blessed angels, when they witness the generous efforts and the progress of the Christian in the ways of love, speak of him among themselves, with admiration and praise. He did not want to win the praises of the world in the pursuit of vanities, behold he wins those of the saints and the blessed angels, to say nothing of the joys of his union with God.

It is still the angels who speak in the following verses to the end of the chapter. They celebrate in mysterious accents the loving intercourse of Our Lord with the soul.

Verse 7. "Behold three-score valiant ones of the most valiant of Israel, surround the bed of Solomon: 8. all holding swords and most expert in war: every man's sword upon his thigh, because of fears in the night." This is meant to describe to us how the highest angels are employed to mount guard around a soul who has enthroned Jesus as a King in the midst of her affections. On his own part, the heavenly Bridegroom makes it his particular delight to adorn that soul so as to be a fit throne for his own sweet majesty; this is what is meant by the verses 9 and 10, which run thus:

Verse 9. "King Solomon hath made him a litter of the wood of Libanus, the pillars thereof he made of silver, the seat, of gold, the going up, of purple: the midst he covered with charity for the daughters of Jerusalem.

"The litter of the wood of Libanus," is the whole person of the loving Christian, body and soul.

"The pillars of silver" represent the clearness of his intellect informed by divine faith.

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"The seat of gold" is the queen faculty of his free will wholly given to the love of Jesus.

"The going up of purple" represents how step by step he has progressed in self-denial and mortification. And finally, *the midst* that is *covered with charity for the daughters of Jerusalem* shows how a perfect Christian comes to see Jesus Christ in the persons of all his brethren and to love them tenderly.

Verse 11. The Angels celebrate the mystical nuptials of Jesus with the fervent soul, in these splendid terms, *Go forth, ye daughters of Sion and see King Solomon in the diadem wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the joy of his heart.*

The angels invite all men to enjoy this sight of the king of heaven making his abode in the loving soul, and taking his delight in her. But in order to perceive this divine fact they must go forth, that is to say, leave behind all vanities. Then they will see, and perhaps in their turn fall in love with King Solomon thus arrayed, and sigh after the mystical marriage.

King Solomon Jesus is the King of Kings and he is the true Solomon of whom the other was but a faint image. He is the very Wisdom of the Father.

In his diadem the Word of God took on himself our human nature. He took flesh in the sacred womb of the ever blessed Virgin Mary, and that is why it is said: *in his diadem wherewith his mother crowned him.* It is as though the blessed Virgin Mary sent him forth to espouse the perfect soul; as though Jesus had come into the world just for the express purpose of espousing this lowly one *in the day of his espousals—and in the day of the joy of his heart.* Oh! how good of him thus to find joy in his union with me, so poor and wretched.

The joy of his heart. Here is a revelation of His Sacred Heart, and how it ought to put us really beside ourselves with burning love!

CHAPTER IV.

Throughout this chapter, Jesus is again breaking forth into a passionate encomium of the mystical beauty of the fervent soul.

Verse 1. *How beautiful art thou, my love; how beautiful art thou! Thy eyes are dove's eyes,* that is, they show forth the singular sweetness and simplicity of thy disposition. *Besides what is hid within.* That is, to say nothing of the charm of thy other virtues which lie hid within thy bosom.

Verse 3. *Thy lips are as scarlet lace* on account of the many acts of fervent love they weave, incessantly; *and thy speech is sweet.* Words of charity, sympathy, compassion, forgiveness, mildly and

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humbly spoken. *Thy cheeks are as a piece of pomegranate, besides that which lieth hid within.* That is, virginal modesty shows itself by the readiness with which the cheeks redden and is the token of how pure are the affections of the heart within.

Verse 4. *Thy neck is as the tower of David, which is built with bulwarks: a thousand bucklers hang upon it, all the armour of valiant men.* The neck stands as the emblem of a clean and well-formed conscience, which does not allow either sin or scruples and false notions about morals to creep in. It stands self-protected. The thousand bucklers are the innumerable considerations upon which a good Christian leans for the avoidance of sin. *The valiant men* are the saints who have given us such examples of a right conscience. At verse 6 the bride seems fearful less such a high encomium of herself might make her vain, so she interposes the memory of her own past sins and the ineffable sanctity of God, saying:

I will go to the mountain of myrrh by the exercise of sincere compunction, tears of sorrow and the practice of some austerities. *And to the hill of frankincense,* by the prayer of adoration. We may also take Calvary to be the mountain of myrrh, and our altars where the holy sacrifice of Mass is offered to be the hill of frankincense.

Till the shadows retire, the shadows of our present condition of earthly life, where the grand realities of the supernatural order are not perceived clearly . . . and "the day break," the day of eternal light, and life, and glory, the day of the beatific vision.

As though stimulated by this humble and loving protestation of his bride-elect, the heavenly bridegroom praises her with renewed eagerness.

Verse 7. *Thou art all fair, O my love, and there is not a spot in thee.* This is true of the newly baptized, whether infant or adult; of every Christian who has gained a plenary indulgence; and of every fervent soul who has made, either in confession or out of it, an act of perfect contrition, or again an act of perfect love of God. We ought to be very desirous of establishing ourselves in a state so pleasing to Our Lord.

Verse 8. The eighth verse demands to be reset and read thus: *Come from Libanus, my spouse; come from the top of Amana, from the top of Sahir and Hermon, from the dens of the lions, from the mountains of the leopards: thou shalt be crowned.* The bride has been alluding to the day of her death; Jesus now looks forward to that day as the one when he will be able to set on her head the crown of glory and he hastens it, saying in anticipation: *Come from Libanus,* etc.

All these different places named in the first part of the verse are figures of the exalted states of contemplation of a fervent soul.

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"The dens of the lions and the mountains of the leopards" on the other hand serve to show that the servant of God during the present life is not afraid to venture into the midst of sinful men in large cities to exercise the works of an active and apostolic life.

Verse 9. *Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse.* Oh how good to hear these words from the lips of Our dear Lord. Formerly I used to wound his heart by the heinousness of my sins, but now no more. What a change! It is by my poor affections that the heart of my Saviour is pleasurably affected. The Sacred Heart of my Jesus, thrilled by my repeated acts of love! Oh! what an encouragement!

Thou hast wounded my heart with one (glance) *of thy eyes, and with one hair of thy neck.* That is to say, with the least of thy prayers or of thy actions because they are all done with such an intensity of divine love.

Verse 11. *Thy lips, my spouse, are as a dropping honeycomb; honey and milk are under thy tongue.* By these expressions Our Lord means to expatiate on the extreme delight he takes in our communions. *And the smell of thy garments, as the smell of frankincense.* After a fervent communion, the bride consumes herself in acts of adoration and thanksgiving which exhale as from her garments a smell comparable to that of burning incense.

Verse 12. *My sister, my spouse.* By his Incarnation, the Son of God became my true brother, by flesh and blood and the affections of a human heart; and now by the grace of his sacraments I become wedded to him in the bonds of a mystical union. *Is a garden enclosed.* A garden in which are beautiful flowers of holy desires and the trees of many virtues, whose fruits are acts meritorious unto eternal life. It is enclosed: no one else but the Beloved is admitted into it. *A fountain sealed up.* So that neither the beasts of the field nor the passers-by can drink of it and make it muddy: that is, all my affections are kept for Jesus and Jesus alone. I do not allow myself either to love or to be loved by anyone outside of the pure love of Jesus.

Verse 13. *Thy plants are a paradise of pomegranates with the fruits of the orchard. Cyprus* (vine) *with spikenard.*

Verse 14. *Spikenard and saffron, sweet cane and cinnamon, with all the trees of Libanus, myrrh and aloes with all the chief perfumes.* In all these emblematic plants and perfumes we may see an image of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit working wonders in a soul wholly abandoned to his inspirations.

Verse 15. *The fountain of gardens.* What is it but the grace of God? whilst the well of living waters which run with a strong stream from Libanus is nothing else but the abundance of charity with

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which the servant of God comes from the height of contemplation down to the performance of all acts of mercy corporal as well as spiritual.

Verse 16. *Arise, O north wind, and come, O south wind.* That is to say, let spiritual joy and tribulations come turn and turn about upon this soul of good will. *Blow through my garden.* She is to me a garden of delights; and it is all one, whether she be in desolation or consolation.

Let the aromatical spices thereof flow, i. e., let the sweet perfume of all her virtues be spread abroad.

CHAPTER V.

This chapter is most beautiful.

Verse 1. *Let my beloved come into his garden.* Here is a new and fine way of expressing the soul's desire for holy communion. *And eat the fruits of his apple trees,* and take what delights he can in the acts of those virtues which he himself has planted in me.

Jesus replies directly after communion: *I have come into my garden, O my sister, my spouse;* I have indeed found in it many delights. *I have gathered my myrrh,* that is, the devotion of the soul for my Sacred Passion, *with my aromatical spices,* or the devotion to my sacred body after its descent from the cross and its entombment. *I have eaten the honeycomb with the honey,* that is to say, I have found great delights in the various acts of thy thanksgiving and in the very substance of thy body and soul, O fervent Christian: for they are as the frame or the honeycomb from which this honey proceeds. *I have drunk my wine with my milk,* the milk is together the humility and meekness of the mystic soul, which virtues Jesus calls his, for so they are indeed. The wine is the fortitude and generosity with which a fervent soul bears all sufferings, and these again Jesus calls his, for they come straight from his sacred wounds and from his heart. And now he turns to the other two persons of the Blessed Trinity and invites them to share his delights in that soul, saying: *Eat, O friends, and drink, and be inebriated, my dearly beloved.* In the meanwhile the bride has entered into a state of deep recollection and contemplation. Then it is that she says:

Verse 2. *I sleep, and my heart watcheth;* that is, everything in me is motionless, but my love is very active. I can hear *the voice of my beloved knocking* and saying: *Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled: for my head is full of dew, and my locks of the drops of the nights.*

Happy the loving soul to whom Jesus comes thus to find in her a shelter from the ingratitudes and rebuffs of the world. Happy the soul with whom he wants to have the sweetest intercourse of divine

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love! But she must not put him off or keep him waiting on any pretext whatsoever. She must take him at his own chosen moment, not at her own convenience. It appears the bride of the Canticle had yet to learn this by experience. She said: Verse 3. *I have put off my garment, how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?* That is to say, there is a certain ceremonial I have used until now; certain private practices of devotion to which I cling . . . allow me, O my beloved, first to attend to them, and then after that I shall be wholly given up to thee . . .

Verse 5. *I arose up to open to my beloved . . .* 6. *I opened the bolt of my door to him: but he had turned aside and had gone. I sought him and found him not, I called and he did not answer me.*

Verse 7. *The keepers that go about the city found me: they struck me and wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my veil from me.* This means that the bride, seeing how foolishly she had acted, went to tell her distress to her superiors or to her spiritual father. But this time they handled her case rather roughly, and tore or took away from her the cloak of self-love in which perhaps unconsciously she had wrapped herself. Now she gives no thought but to Jesus and she turns to the blessed angels and the dear saints for help.

Verse 8. *I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if you find my beloved that you tell him that I languish for love.* How charming is that way of expressing her feelings towards the Beloved! And how charming also is the way in which these friends of the pilgrim soul, solace her grief! They make her speak of him; they ask her:

Verse 9. *What manner of one is thy beloved of the beloved, O thou most beautiful among women?* The blessed angels do not spare their praise of a soul of good will. Such a soul is indeed the most beautiful object among all the other works of the hands of God. *What manner of one is thy beloved that thou hast so adjured us?*

Verse 10. The bride replies: *My beloved is white and ruddy: ruddy* from the glow of his divine nature and *white* from the immaculate flesh he took from the Virgin womb of his mother Mary. Again, *white* from his dazzling innocence, *ruddy* from the shedding of his blood for sinners. Again *white* in the blessed sacrament under the species of bread; *ruddy* under the species of wine. Then she proceeds to give a full description of him from head to foot, as she contemplates him stretched on the cross. Every word of this description is to be applied literally, not figuratively, as far as possible: I mean it is indeed the head, the hands, the feet, etc., of Our Lord which come here each one for its meed of praise as it suffered so much for us.

Verse 11. "His head (is as) the finest gold; his locks as branches of palm trees, black as a raven."

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Verse 12. "His eyes as doves upon brooks of water, which are washed with milk, and sit beside the plentiful streams."

Verse 13. "His cheeks are (as) beds of aromatical spices set by the perfumers. His lips are as lilies, dropping choice myrrh"; namely, the seven words on the cross. "His hands (are) turned (and as) of gold, full of hyacinths," "as of gold" on account of the miracles and other works of mercy they have performed. They moreover are "full of hyacinths," that is to say, of the drops of clotted blood from their being cruelly nailed to the cross. "His belly (as) of ivory, set with sapphires," the whiteness of his sacred flesh showing the more that it is sprinkled with his own blood, every drop of which is so precious that it could pay the ransom of thousands of guilty worlds.

Verse 15. "His legs as pillars of marble." Noble pillars indeed, which support a temple of God as is the whole body of Christ. "Set upon bases of gold," namely, his sacred feet so beautiful and so cruelly nailed to the wood of the cross. "His form as of Libanus excellent as the cedars."

Verse 16. "His throat most sweet," as being the organ by which he has uttered such words of loving mercy.

"And he is all lovely." Is not this a good summing up? "Such is my beloved, and he is my friend, O ye daughters of Jerusalem." There is a very human and feminine note of legitimate pride in the possession of such a friend. It is well that the Christian should express his sense of the immense honor done to him by Our Lord in coming as he does so lovingly and so unceremoniously. Only a true friend and lover will act in this wise.

Verse 17. Now that the soul has had all her say about the beauty and winsomeness of her beloved, her heavenly friends can press the question:

"Whither is thy beloved gone, O thou most beautiful among women? Whither is thy beloved turned aside and we will seek him with thee."

They call her "Most beautiful" because indeed in the eyes of the angels and saints, nothing out of paradise is so entrancingly beautiful as the fervent Christian soul enamoured with Christ.

"We will seek him with thee"; that is, so great is our compassion and sympathy in thy great trouble, that we will follow thee, keep thee company, help thee all we can with our intercession, until he sees fit to show himself to thee again. Such is the tender love of our friends in heaven!

CHAPTER VI.

Verse 1. "My beloved is gone into his garden, to the bed of aromatical spices, to feed in the gardens and to gather lilies." "His

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garden," that is to say, the Divine Essence of the most Holy Trinity, for God is to himself his own garden of delights, infinitely spacious and marvelous. There does the sacred Humanity of Our Lord feed, out of the bed of aromatical spices of the divine perfections, and gather armfuls of the lilies of the ineffable sanctity of the three divine persons.

Verse 2. But is it not marvelous also that whilst he is enjoying himself thus in the splendor of the Blessed Trinity, Our Lord should find the means of giving himself to me, to little me, here on earth, so sweetly and so wholly that I can exclaim:

"I to my beloved, and my beloved to me, who feedeth among the lilies."

O Christian soul, love to repeat these words: "I to my beloved and my beloved to me." They are expressive of such an intimate intercourse of love as is impossible of attainment to the poor votaries of mere human love or friendship; but here, God's omnipotence is at our service. I am the intimate friend, the bosom friend, of God, of each one of the three divine Persons!

Specially after holy communion may I say with singular propriety: "I to my beloved and my beloved to me, who feedeth among the lilies." And since he is such a lover of purity, oh! how I must vie in the exercise of that virtue with his very angels!

Verse 3. No sooner has the soul come to this resolution of an heroic practice of purity for love's sake than she is invested with the very splendor of God, and Our Lord exclaims:

"Thou art beautiful, O my love;
Sweet and comely, as Jerusalem;
Terrible as an army set in array."

"Sweet and comely"; what a praise to receive from the lips of the Son of God! But, "sweet and comely as Jerusalem," that is to say, as heaven itself. How can this be? In this wise: When a soul is quite pure it resembles a placid lake in the crystal waters of which heaven reflects itself.

"Terrible" to the arch enemy, the devil, and to all his black hosts of fallen angels. "Terrible as an army set in array." One single soul, still in its infirmities of a pilgrim on earth and yet already formidable to all hell. But why marvel? She is united to God; she is one with Jesus Christ. Oh! what a power, what a tower of strength in the church of God, is one single fervent saintly soul!

Verses 6, 7. "There are three-score queens, and four-score concubines and young maidens without number: one is my dove; my perfect one is unique, she is the only one of her mother, the chosen of her that bore her."

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There is a deep and entrancingly beautiful meaning hidden under the enigmatic figures taken from the harem of the most magnificent of oriental princes. "The queens" are the great saints. "Threescore" stands for any large number. "The concubines" designate souls consecrated and united to Our Lord Jesus Christ by religious profession; their number is even greater than the first.

"The young maidens without number" are those souls who are as yet imperfect although already marked and set aside by divine love, because he knows that they will grow out of their spiritual infancy and be his one day.

However, although the heavenly Bridegroom has so many who love him and whom he loves most tenderly, it is the privilege of his Godhead that he is able still to love me with a love as personal, full, absolute and exclusive, and to give himself to me, as though there were no others but we two in the world: He and I. He expresses this Mystery in these words: "One is my dove." And Holy Church entering into that spirit sets as much value upon each individual soul as though it was the only one she had to care for. That is why he adds: "The only one of her mother, the chosen of her that bore her."

"The daughters" (of the heavenly Jerusalem), that is to say, the blessed angels, "saw her and declared her most blessed"; "the queens and the concubines," as above, "and they praised her." The angels and saints talk of us in heaven, and exclaim upon the beauty of the soul in the state of grace and bestow unstinted praise upon her. How good to think of this! How encouraging! How well we are rewarded already for the contempt in which we hold worldly honor and esteem and admiration! Hear what these dwellers of paradise say to one another about the fervent Christian yet on earth:

Verse 9. "Who is she that cometh forth as the morning rising, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army in array?" Fair as the moon by the purity of her intention and innocency of her life; bright as the sun by the intensity of her charity and the splendor of her other virtues; terrible indeed as an army, since a Christian who faithfully uses the weapons of prayer and the sacraments is able single handed to put to flight whole hosts of devils.

Verses 10, 11. The bride now gives an account of some of her mystical experiences. In figurative language she tells us how she went into herself, possibly with a view to ascertaining whether all the praises she heard about herself were true; and though such an act of introversion was not prompted by a motive of vanity, yet it was not without some danger of self-complacency. Therefore Our Lord did not permit her to have a clear view of how matters stood with her. All this is charmingly expressed in these words:

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"I went down in the garden of nuts
To see the fruits of the valleys,
To look if the vineyard had flourished
And the pomegranates budded."

And with what result? With this:

"I know not." I remained in the dark as to the object of my enquiry. Nay:

"My soul was troubled." Troubled for what?

"For the chariots of Aminadab"; that is to say, by the consideration, which pressed itself upon me, of the severe justice and consuming sanctity of God, which oppose the sinner as so many war-chariots.

The Angels and Saints are sorry that she should take a gloomy view of her own case and in order to reassure her, they say to her:

"Return, return, O Sulamitess; return, that we may behold thee"; that is to say, turn thy eyes, thy contemplation cheerfully towards us, and to the unfailing fountain of our delights, namely the glory and the transcending goodness of God.

CHAPTER VII.

The last two chapters of the *Canticle of Canticles* are all about the last stage of the mystical life on earth, namely, the state of the perfect soul, in the Way of Union. Because of the sublimity of the mysteries hidden under the material emblems of womanly beauty and human love, it is extremely difficult to do justice to the text, and this we must leave aside for the present. We will be satisfied with commenting on the following verses:

Verse 10. *I to my beloved and his turning is towards me.*

By these words: "I to my beloved," the perfect soul shows us how delicate and indissoluble is her union with him. Let us repeat "I to my beloved" with a yearning that it may be true for us also. Let us ask: Is it indeed so? And if not, what is the obstacle? What is there to do? Oh! give me the courage needed to break down every obstacle! Deus in adjutorium meum intende. My God help me!

After the last Supper, in that wonderful effusion of his love, which makes up Chapters XIV, XV and XVI of the Gospel of St. John, Jesus said to his Apostles: "Abide in me, and I in you." It is the wish of his Heart that we may at last make our own these words of the Canticle: "I to my beloved."

"And his turnings are to me." Those two love each other mutually, so they are all in all to each other. I have endeavored to describe something of the exclusiveness and at the same time all-inclusiveness of this mutual love of the fervent soul and the heavenly

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Bridegroom in my little book on *Divine Contemplation for All,* Chapters XXIII-XXV. I refer you to these chapters.

Verses 11, 12 and 13 show to us under various graceful images how the apostolic spirit betrays itself in that perfect soul which one would naturally suppose to be fit only for the exercise of divine contemplation.

Verse 11. *Come,* she says, *my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us abide in the villages.*

Verse 12. *Let us get up early to the vineyards, let us see if the vineyard flourish, if the flowers be ready to bring fruits, if the pomegranates flourish . . .*

Verse 13. *The mandrakes give a smell. In our gates are all fruits: the new and the old, my beloved, I have kept.*

So it is that, no sooner had the divine wonder of wonders of the Incarnation taken place in Mary, than *rising up, she went into the hill-country with haste into a city of Juda, into the house of Zachary and saluted Elizabeth,* and made herself useful to her in all the ways she could think of.

So it is that all the saintly founders of active religious orders, such as St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle, etc., have found in the very ecstasy of their love of God and contemplation, the fountain-spring of their apostolic zeal.

So it is that the most contemplative orders, wholly secluded from contact with the world, such as the Carthusians or again the Carmelite Nuns and the Poor Clares, in the intensity of their charity, embrace the whole world in their continual prayers.

But notice a great difference in the methods of the Saints and those of pure philanthropists or Christians who are much given to active life but very little to prayer. It is marked in these words of verse 11.

"Come, my beloved, *let us* go forth . . ." The true servant of God never suffers himself to be separated from the Beloved; the true Christian does not pretend *to do it all himself.* He is well aware that without the grace of God we can do nothing, whilst leaning upon the omnipotent arm of Jesus, we can do all things. "Without me," says Jesus, "you can do nothing." (John XV, 5.) "I can do all things," says St. Paul, "in him who strengthens me." (Philip. IV, 13.) "Gladly will I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. I please myself in my infirmities . . . for when I am weak, then am I powerful." (II Cor. XII, 9, 10.)

CHAPTER VIII.

We are now at the last chapter of the Canticle of Canticles and it is undoubtedly the most mysterious and the most sublime of all.

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The consuming ardors of the desire of the bride for the heavenly Bridegroom vent themselves in accents such as the following:

Verse 1. "Who shall give Thee to me for my brother?"

Verse 2. "I will take hold of thee . . ." And suddenly she finds herself in his embrace and can only murmur as she goes off in the rapture of a divine contemplation higher than she has hitherto experienced:

Verse 3. "His left hand (is) under my head and his right hand shall embrace me." That is to say, I lean on all the mysteries of his sacred Humanity, and the infinite loveliness of his Godhead enfolds me."

And the heavenly Bridegroom repeats with increased earnestness his entreaty:

Verse 4. "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, that you stir not up, nor awake my love until she please." Let no one interfere with her contemplation at this stage. In the eyes of the angels she now appears so beautiful that they exclaim:

Verse 5. "Who is this that cometh up from the desert, flowing with delights, leaning upon her beloved! . . ."

The desert is this vale of tears; but as the Christian is near the end of his life, he is coming up from the desert; and when he has grown in the love of God and in perfection the near prospect of death far from causing him any fright or pain is a source of joy to him: is not his soul leaning upon her beloved? Is she not coming home to paradise? The very thought fills her with delights; they even overflow to the amazement of all who are witnesses of the fact.

And yet all is not yet done. There remains some few years or months or perhaps only days for the bride to live and work and endure here on earth. How will she be able to do so? Her Beloved is at hand. He tells her what to do:

Verse 6. "Put me as a seal upon thy heart, as a seal upon thy arm: for love is strong as death." That is to say, "Now more than ever, O beloved soul, let all thy affections and all thy actions be only for me."

Verse 7. "Many waters cannot quench charity, neither can floods drown it." To see how true that is for the soul enamored with Jesus we have but to turn to St. Paul. Listen how he sings his unquenchable love of Christ:

"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? or distress? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or persecution? or the sword? As it is written: For thy sake we are put to death all the day long. We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. But in all these things we overcome because of him that hath loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor Angel, nor princi-

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palities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor might, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Rom. VIII, 35-39.)

Towards the end of her life the bride is assaulted by such transports of divine love as well nigh might encompass her death. The heavenly bridegroom keeps telling her:

Verse 14. "Thou that dwellest in the gardens, the friends hearken." The friends, that is to say, all the blessed angels and saints are attentive to our intercourse of mutual love.

"Make me hear thy voice." I am never tired of hearing your sighs of love. Do give some vent to the fervor of your soul; pour it out in speech: it would hurt you to keep it in.

But the poor languishing soul does not want to get well, fears nothing so much as to be left still longer here on earth; and yet she dares not ask in so many words for her death. So she puts it in this enigmatical language, feeling quite sure his Heart will understand. She says:

Verse 15. "Flee away, O my beloved." Yes, go back to paradise, the home of thy glory, but not alone; ah! not alone: take me there with thee! Let us both together be "like to the roe, and to the young hart upon the mountain of aromatical spices."

The mountain of aromatical spices is the most Holy Trinity and its infinite perfections as revealed in the splendor of the beatific vision. The roe stands here for all the blessed angelic natures; the young hart does duty for all the orders of the Saints from both the Old and the New Testament. And thus this entrancing book of the Canticles closes upon a glimpse of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

D. S. L.

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VIII.

THE AMERICAN CROW

THE Crow family *(Corvus brachyrhynchus)* is a large and important group of song-birds, comprising such familiar birds as ravens, crows, rooks, jackdaws, magpies, jays and choughs.

The largest member of the family is the raven, that glossy black bird so familiar in northern Europe, Asia, and America. This bird is now practically exterminated in eastern United States. The plumage is glossy black with violet and greenish reflections; the feathers of the chin and throat are long, narrow, stiff and lance-shaped, and lie loose from each other, giving the appearance of an unruly beard. This bird is proverbially long-lived, and has been known to attain the age of one hundred years. It is a very interesting species on account of its habits, and its historical, economical and superstitious relations; it was considered a bird of ill-omen by the ancients, and was one whose movements were watched by augurs with great attention. It is particularly fond of flesh, which makes it a useful scavenger. The birds are usually seen alone or in pairs, except when drawn together by a large carcass in the field or on the shore; the flight is at times very high, enabling them to see to a great distance, and to watch for and follow any companions which have chanced to spy their favorite food. On the ground the bird walks, in a grave and dignified manner, with frequent opening of the wings. It is easily domesticated by kindness, and becomes much attached to its master, following him like a dog; it can be made to imitate the human voice and to pronounce a few words with great distinctness.

The White-necked Raven of the southwestern part of the United States is about the size of the crow and is generally taken for one in those regions where it occurs with the raven. The throat feathers of this bird are white at the base, whence the name.

The common European crow is the Carrion Crow, which not only devours dead flesh of all kinds, but does not hesitate to attack young hares, birds and eggs, mollusks, grubs, grains. It often destroys young lambs and sickly sheep. Its cry is a harsh croak, quite different from the bark-lke cawing of the American bird. This bird is very easily tamed, and can be taught to talk. The Hooded Crow is generally found in different localities from the

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Carrion Crow, and, when existing in the same district, the species keep separate. This bird has head, foreneck, wings and tail of a black color, the rest of the plumage is ash-gray. It is somewhat smaller than the common crow.

The Fish Crow is an American bird, particularly abundant in the southern States in maritime localities. Its favorite food being fish, which it catches for itself, it is not persecuted as is the common species. At early dawn the flock takes wing for the seashore in a very noisy manner; they skim along the shallows, flats and marshes in search of small fish, which they catch alive in their claws, retiring to a tree or stone to devour them. This species will feed on garbage, crabs, eggs, young birds, fruit; a fish crow will not hesitate to attack a small gull and force it to yield up a recently caught fish. Audubon says the bird's note is a *ha,* frequently repeated.

The Rook is another well-known European member of the Crow family; it is said to occur in Japan. Rooks live in society all the year round, building their nests, seeking food, and roosting in great flocks; their resorts, called rookeries, are often very extensive, one near Edinburgh in 1847 containing 2,660 nests and about 30,000 inhabitants of all ages. The nests are made on trees, often in the midst of populous towns, and the same are used year after year; they are fond of the groves of old family mansions, where they are protected by the owners, who are proud of an antiquity certified by the rooks. They are very early risers, going in search of worms in the fields or of garbage in the streets; though it devours grain both in seedtime and in harvest, it much more than repays the farmer by the destruction of insects injurious to vegetation, particularly the larvæ of the cockchafer. When feeding in open fields, a sentinel is placed aloft somewhere to sound the alarm should danger approach. The cry of the rook resembles the sound *khraa,* and is monotonous and harsh when heard from a single individual, but is not unpleasant from a flock at a distance. Great numbers of the newly fledged nestlings are annually shot, being considered by many in England savory constituents of a meat pie; the quills are sometimes used as pens.

The Jackdaw is smaller than a crow, resembling a large grackle. It is a glossy black, with silvery-gray head and neck. Occasionally individuals are found variegated with white. It is a very active, playful, impertinent and talkative bird, altogether the most agreeable and sociable of the crows. It builds about ruined towers, steeples and retreats in high rocks, and is often found in the heart of large cities. It is noted for its pilfering habits, being particularly fond of shining objects, such as money, jewels and glass. In

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"The Jackdaw of Rheims," Richard Harris Barham has given a most faithful picture of the bird's characteristics:

"In and out
Through the motley rout,
That little Jackdaw kept hopping about;

Here and there
Like a dog in a fair,
Over comfits and cates,
And dishes and plates,
He perch'd on the chair

Where, in state, the great Lord Cardinal sat,
In the great Lord Cardinal's great red hat;

And he peer'd in the face
Of his Lordship's Grace,

With a satisfied look, as if he would say,
'We two are the greatest folks here to-day!'"

The Nutcrackers are small crows about the size of jays. The European birds are rare in Great Britain, but are common in the woods of the mountainous parts of Europe and Asia, especially in Switzerland and in Russia. The general color is brownish, marked with oblong white dashes margined with dark brown at the end, the spots being largest on the lower parts; the tips of the tail feathers are white. They eat insects, which they obtain from trees in the manner of woodpeckers; they are named from their method of breaking nut-shells by repeated strokes of the bill. Clarke's Crow, a gray bird with glossy black wings and a white tail, is a nutcracker, found in western North America. It is a remarkable bird, wild, restless and noisy, sometimes congregating by thousands in the pineries of the West, roving in search of food. It breeds in pines in mountainous localities.

The Blue Crow of the Rocky Mountains is a dull blue, brightest on the head and fading on belly; the throat has whitish streaks. It combines the form of a crow with the color and habits of a jay. Its habits are much like those of the American nutcracker.

The American Crow was first separated from the European species by Audubon; previous to that time the two birds had been considered identically alike. But they are distinct, the European being a larger bird and having special differences in beak, feathers, palate, tongue, and so on. *Corvus* is the Latin word for *crow; brachyrhynchus* is a combination of two Greek words and means "short beak." The English name of the bird is probably imitative of the bird's note.

The crow is the "oldest inhabitant" of the Middle West, for he

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has outlived the Indian, the wolf, the prairie chicken, the wild turkey and all the many wild creatures that were so numerous years ago. Crows are found all over North America, from the fur countries to Mexico and on both coasts. They are rare or wanting in the upper Missouri and southern Rocky Mountains; wherever in the West the raven abounds the crow seems supplanted. The two birds have perhaps agreed to keep off each other's territory. Crows breed throughout their range and are usually resident birds.

They may be seen everywhere, but oftenest in the tops of trees, especially pines and evergreens, where they have a good outlook over the surrounding country. They inhabit the orchards and gardens, meadows and fields, where they are seen feeding on the ground. They are said to have a fondness for salt water and are particularly abundant on both coasts.

They sleep in great flocks in a clump of trees called the "crows' roost"; sometimes thousands will sleep in this one bedroom. Dr. Coues says, "In settled parts of the country the crow tends to colonize, and some of its 'roosts' are of vast extent." The birds collect at nightfall in a field or a tree near the rosts, but until the general movement begins after sunset, not a bird will enter the sleeping tree, no matter how tired he may be. When approaching the roost they do not fly in large flocks, but in long lines single file, each newcomer falling into line. "[My roost] is on the Virginia side of the Potomac, near Washington. Crows are always flying west over the city in the afternoon, and when as a boy I used to see the gray of the morning, crows were flying the other way. It is doubtless the same now; but I oftener hear midnight migrants than see such 'early birds' these days."—Dr. Coues.

(November 25, 1860)—"I see a very great collection of crows far and wide, on the meadows, evidently gathered by this cold and blustering weather. Probably the moist meadows where they feed are frozen up against them. They flit before me in countless numbers, flying very low on account of the strong northwest wind that comes over the hill, and a cold gleam is reflected from the back and wings of each, as from a weather-stained shingle. Some perch within three or four rods of me, and seem weary. I see where they have been pecking the apples of the meadow-side—an immense cohort of cawing crows which sudden winter has driven near to the habitations of man. When I return after sunset, I see them collecting, and hovering over and settling in the dense pine woods, as if about to roost there."—Henry David Thoreau.

Crows are resident birds, but they journey about the country during winter seeking a place where food is plentiful. After the

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breeding season they assemble in large flocks, many of which remove to the southern States for the winter.

(March 1, 1854)—"Crows have not been numerous this winter, but their cawing was heard, chiefly in the pleasanter mornings."—Henry David Thoreau.

(December 27, 1853)—"The crows come nearer to the houses, alight on trees by the roadside, apparently being put to it for food. . . . The snow drives the crows and other birds out of the woods to the villages for food."—Henry David Thoreau.

"As black as a crow" describes the bird perfectly. Only a rich velvety black and compact plumage could shine with such purplish reflections; it sheds high-lights like patent leather. The under parts are jet-black, but are less glossy than the burnished upper parts. Both sexes look alike.

The bill is stout, about as long as the head, and tapers to a sharp point generally notched. There are a few stiff bristles about the base of the beak and the corners of the mouth, and the nostrils are covered with large, long tufts of close-pressed bristle feathers. It is solid black in color.

The legs and feet are large and stout and equally fitted for walking and perching. They are covered with scaly black skin. The crows walk easily and gracefully on the ground, but when he wishes he can hop like a sparrow or other small bird—this is usually when he is excited and forgets his dignity.

The tail is rather short and rounded, the feathers being somewhat acute. The length from beak to tail is eighteen inches.

The wings are long and pointed and give a steady and equable flight. He flaps leisurely along, caring nothing for anyone's opinion of him and asking only to be allowed to go in peace. But the flight of the crow is swift at times and is capable of being sustained a long time and at a great height. In the air the bird travels directly forward toward his destination, hence the expression "as the crow flies" for a straight line; it is usually performed by regular flaps of fully extended wings, frequently relieved by sailing.

The female is slightly less glossy than the male, and the young are of a dull brownish black, with less brilliant reflections. The young have blue eyes, strange to say, that become brown like that of the old bird as they grow older. Occasionally a pure white crow is found.

Crows eat almost all kinds of food, though grubs and insects form their main diet in the summer. The bird's love for corn has made him many enemies among farmers; it is true he does not hesitate to help himself to the young tender shoots, but at the same time he destroys millions of cutworms and insects that would take many times as much corn as he does. He destroys innumer-

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able mice, moles and other small quadrupeds; snakes, frogs, lizards and other small reptiles; and if hard pressed will eat carrion. He does steal and devour the eggs of other birds, and will occasionally prey upon a weak or wounded bird, or rob the farmer of a young chicken or turkey. These are his worst food habits. Crows are sometimes seen to fly up in the air with clams or mussels in their claws and drop them on the rocks to break the shells. They often, like cowbirds, alight on the backs of cattle to pick vermin from their hair.

Thoreau made the following notes on the contents of a crow's stomach: "A mass of frozen-thawed apple pulp and skin, with a good many pieces of skunk-cabbage berries, a quarter of an inch or less in diameter, and commonly showing the pale brown or blackish outside, interspersed, looking like bits of acorns, never a whole or even a half a berry, and two little bones as of frogs, or mice, or tadpoles. Also a street pebble, a quarter of an inch in diameter, hard to be distinguished in appearance from the cabbage seeds."

The crow has many faults—more probably than any other one bird; but, on the other hand, he has many virtues and should not be too hastily condemned to destruction. Were it not for him many acres of corn which escape him in the spring would later be destroyed by insects and small animals. They do often cause great damage to crops, particularly if the field is near their nesting-place, but even so, it would be unwise to exterminate them altogether. And not every time a crow goes into a cornfield is he there to root up corn; more often he is looking for grubs and worms. There is a story told of some farmers in the West who made war on the crows and finally drove them all away. Then the foolish men found that the insects began to multiply enormously and ate all the corn and even damaged the grass and grain. At last one farmer saw that the insects were increasing so rapidly because their natural enemies were gone; he had some crows brought in and let them work in his fields undisturbed. The birds soon made short work of the corn-eating grubs and were always popular in that territory after that.

Weed and Dearborn report that out of nearly 1,000 crow-stomachs examined, it was found that corn in milk formed only 3 per cent. of the total food, most of the corn eaten was waste grain, that the destruction of fruit and eggs was trivial, while many noxious insects and mice were eaten. Therefore a verdict in favor of the crow was rendered, since, on the whole, the bird seemed to do more good than harm.

Audubon says to the farmers: "I would tell them that if they

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persist in killing crows, the best season for doing so is when their corn begins to ripen." Whether he recommends this because it is then the crow eats more grain, or because by this time the young are able to care for themselves and the farmer will not then be destroying the bird in quantities, he does not explain.

The crow is the self-appointed sentinel on the farm for the duty of driving the hawk away. He will pursue the thievish hawk great distances, and even the eagle, with all the forces he can raise in the neighborhood. He delights to worry the owl, the opossum and the raccoon; perhaps all this on the principle that it is good policy to "set a thief to catch a thief." He is one of the most unfortunate of birds; he is hunted with guns and persecuted in every way until only his great cunning and sagacity enable him to exist at all. Like the mischievous boy in school, every wrongdoing is laid at his door, because of his bad habit of thieving. In reality, he confers many benefits on mankind.

"Even the blackest of them all, the crow,
Renders good service as your man-at-arms,
Crushing the beetle in his coat of mail,
And crying havoc on the slug and snail."
—Henry W. Longfellow ("The Birds of Killingworth")

In former times, crow-quills were used in writing; one made a very fine, delicate pen, so the name is now applied to a very small fine steel pen. Lord Byron, in "Don Juan," refers to such a pen:

"This note was written upon gilt-edged paper,
With a neat little crow-quill, slight and new."

Early in May the birds pair—Nuttall thinks they remain mated through life—and begin the nest building. The nest varies in size, but is always very bulky and roughly made of sticks, leaves, grass, sod, mud, moss, grape-vines, cedar-bark, horsehair and any other material that happens to be at hand. It is placed high up in the tree, and is usually in woods, though sometimes nests are found along hedges and by fields. Thick swamps are favorite spots. Usually there is some attempt at concealing the nest, no matter how bulky it be. Several nests are often found near each other, and when any stranger approaches the community the noise of the assembled multitude is almost deafening until the intruder retires.

The eggs are pale bluish-green or nearly white, with light brown markings, and, like those of the quail, are arranged in a circle with points toward the centre of the nest. They number from four to seven, and measure 1.65 to 1.15 inches. Both parents sit on the eggs in turn, and they watch over the young with tender care; in the southern States two broods are raised in a season.

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The young, when just about to leave the nest, are considered in some localities tolerable food; that of the old, however, is unbearable, giving rise to the political taunt, "eating crow."

The crow family is classed with the song-birds, though the different members of the family are talkers rather than singers. Perhaps the comparison, "As hoarse as a crow," explains the lack of singing voice; it may be that once upon a time some ancestor sang himself hoarse and forever after bequeathed the affliction to his descendants. Although the notes uttered by crows are harsh and unmusical, their vocal muscles are highly developed, and their inability to sing must be a matter of ear rather than of voice.

His one natural word is his well-known "caw." This one syllable, however, has so many modulations and is expressed in so many different tones of voice that the crow seems to have a large vocabularly. When talking to members of the family, the bird's voice is rather soft and pleasant; sometimes a small flock will mutter away in a chatty sort of way; the flock note is a harsh, business-like ejaculation; the war-cry is terrifying, so much rage can it express. When great flocks of crows are seen flapping along together, the country people say, "They are going to a crow caucus!" By a slight operation on the tongue crows are often made able to speak a few words in a harsh, unpleasing tone much resembling their "caw."

"What a perfect New England sound is this voice of the crow! If you stand perfectly still anywhere in the outskirts of the town and listen, stilling the almost incessant hum of your personal factory, this is perhaps the sound which you will be most sure to hear, rising above all sounds of human industry and leading your thoughts to some far bay in the woods, where the crow is venting his disgust. This bird sees the white man come and Indian withdraw, but it withdraws not. Its untamed voice is still heard above the tinkling of the forge. It sees a race pass away, but it passes not away. It remains to remind us of aboriginal nature."—Henry David Thoreau.

"I hear faintly the cawing of a crow far, far away, echoing from some unseen woodside, as if deadened by the spring-like vapor which the sun is drawing from the ground. It mingles with the slight murmur of the village, the sound of children at play, as one stream empties gently into another, and the wild and tame are one. What a delicious sound! It is not merely crow calling to crow, for it speaks to me, too. I am part of one great creature with him. If he has voice, I have ears. I can hear when he calls, and have engaged not to shoot or stone him, if he will caw to me each spring. On the one hand, it may be, is the sound of children at

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school saying their a, b, ab's; on the other, far in the wood-fringed horizon, the cawing of crows from their blessed eternal vacation, out at their long recess, children who have got dismissed, while the vapor, as incense, goes up from all the fields of the spring. Bless the Lord, O my soul, bless Him for wildness, for crows that will not alight within gunshot."—Thoreau.

"There are certain sounds invariably heard in warm and thawing days in winter, such as the crowing of cocks, the cawing of crows, and sometimes the gobbling of turkeys. The crow, flying high, touches the tympanum of the sky for us and reveals the tone of it. What does it avail to look at a thermometer or barometer compared with listening to his note! He informs me that nature is in the tenderest mood possible, and I hear the very flutterings of her heart."—Thoreau.

"But it is affecting to hear them cawing about their ancient seat, which the choppers are laying low."—Thoreau.

A high degree of intelligence is characteristic of this bird, because the crow has the most perfectly developed bird-brain known; some ornithologists place the family highest of all. For his intelligence the bird probably has to thank his persecutors, as in order to save his race from extinction he must employ all his cunning and ingenuity to outwit man, his chief enemy. No bird is more generally persecuted than the crow; every farmer thinks himself privileged to destroy it, and counts the death of every one as a gain to agriculture. Hence the bird's extreme shyness and his complete knowledge of the destructive properties of a gun. It is said that a flock of crows always have a sentinel on guard; perched in a high tree, he sounds the alarm at the approach of danger and all the crows about fly off at the well-known cry of the watchman. Knowing themselves to be outlaws, they take no chances. Thoreau says: "Crows have singularly wild and suspicious ways. You will see a couple of them flying high, as if about their business, but lo, they turn and circle over your head again and again for a mile. And this is their business, as if a mile and an afternoon were nothing for them to throw away; this they do even in the winter when they have no nests to be anxious about."

He is grave and dignified in bearing, but cunning, inquisitive, mischievous and daring; and no other bird, except the English sparrow, is so capable of holding his own. In defense of its young against feathered and furred enemies, the bird is very courageous and will not hesitate to attack any marauding hawk which comes within its range. But when caught robbing a feathered neighbor, he skulks guiltily off and usually the offended neighbor is in close pursuit, particularly if it be a kingbird. "It is evidence enough

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against crows, hawks and owls, proving their propensity to rob birds' nests of eggs and young, that smaller birds pursue them so often. You do not need the testimony of so many farmers' boys when you can see and hear the small birds daily crying, 'Thief and murderer,' after their spoilers. What does it signify, the king-bird, blackbird, swallow, etc., pursuing a crow? They say plainly enough, 'I know you of old, you villain; you want to devour my eggs or young. I have often caught you at it, and I'll publish you now.' And probably the crow, pursuing the fish-hawk and eagle, proves that the latter sometimes devour their young."—Henry David Thoreau.

These wise birds soon lose all fear of a scarecrow, and have been known to eat all the corn near one and not touch a kernel in the rest of the field. Such intelligence and originality make the bird an interesting pet when tamed.

On returning to the nest they always follow the same route and have observation points on the way on which they alight and look in all directions before approaching the nest.

It takes some time for baby crows to develop, and they are kept in the nursery for several weeks. Just before taking their first flight out into the world they exercise their wings by flapping them a good deal. The children are well trained by their parents in the art of taking care of themselves.

"The approach of spring is also indicated by the crows and buzzards, which rapidly multiply in the environs of the city and grow bold and demonstrative. The crows are abundant here all winter, but are not very noticeable except as they pass high in air to and from their winter quarters in the Virginia woods. Early in the morning, as soon as it is light enough to discern them, there they are, streaming eastward across the sky, now in loose, scattered flocks, now in thick, dense masses, then singly and in pairs or triplets but all setting in one direction, probably to the waters of eastern Maryland. Toward night they begin to return, flying in the same manner, and directing their course to the wooded heights on the Potomac, west of the city. In spring these diurnal mass movements cease; the clan breaks up, the rookery is abandoned and the birds scattered broadcast over the land. This seems to be the course everywhere pursued. One would think that, when food was scarcest, the policy of separating into small bands or pairs, and dispersing over a wide country, would prevail, as a few might subsist where a larger number would starve. The truth is, however, that in winter food can be had only in certain clearly defined districts and tracts, as along rivers and the shores of bays and lakes. A few miles north of Newburg, on the Hudson, the crows go into

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winter quarters in the same manner, flying south in the morning and returning again at night, sometimes hugging the hills so close during a strong wind as to expose themselves to the clubs and stones of schoolboys ambushed behind trees and fences. The belated ones, that come laboring along just at dusk, are often so overcome by the long journey and the strong current, that they seem almost on the point of sinking down whenever the wind or a rise in the ground calls upon them for an extra effort."—John Burroughs ("Spring at the Capital").

"It is estimated that a crow needs at least half a pound of meat per day; but it is evident that for weeks and months during the winter and spring they must subsist on a mere fraction of this amount. I have no doubt a crow or hawk, when in their fall condition (with the body completely encased in a coating of thick fat), would live two weeks without a morsel of food passing their beaks; a domestic fowl will do as much."—John Burroughs.

"Such a winter as was that of 1880-81—deep snows and zero weather for nearly three months—proves especially trying to the wild creatures that attempt to face it. . . . During the season referred to, crows appeared to have little else than frozen apples for many weeks; they hung about the orchards as a last resort, and, after scouring the desolate landscape over, would return to their cider with resignation, but not with cheerful alacrity. They grew very bold at times and ventured quite under my porch and filched the bones that Lark, my dog, had left. I put out some corn on the wall near by, and discovered that crows will not eat corn in the winter, except as they can break up the kernels. It is too hard for their gizzards to grind. Then the crow, not being properly a granivorous bird, but a carnivorous, has not the digestive, or rather the pulverizing power of the domestic fowls. The difficulty also during such a season of coming at the soil and obtaining gravel-stones, which, in such cases, are really the mill-stones, may also have something to do with it. Corn that has been planted and has sprouted, crows will swallow readily enough, because it is then soft and is easily ground. My impression has always been that in spring and summer they will also pick up any chance kernels the planters may have dropped. But as I observed them the past winter, they always held the kernel under one foot upon the wall, and picked it to pieces before devouring it."—John Burroughs.

"For a few years I had crows, but their nests are an irresistible bait for boys and their settlement was broken up. They grew so wonted as to throw off a great part of their shyness and to tolerate my near approach. One very hot day, I stood for some time within twenty feet of a mother and three children, who sat on an elm

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bough over my head, gasping in the sultry air, and holding their wings half spread for coolness. All birds during the pairing season become more or less sentimental, and murmur soft nothings in a tone very unlike the grinding-organ repetition and loudness of their habitual song. The crow is very comical as a lover, and to hear him trying to soften his croak to the proper Saint Preaux standard has something the effect of a Mississippi boatman quoting Tennyson. Yet there are few things to my ear more melodious than his caw of a clear winter morning as it drops to you filtered through five hundred fathoms of crisp blue air. The hostility of all smaller birds makes the moral character of the crow, for all his deacon-like demeanor and garb, somewhat questionable. He could never sally forth without insult. The golden robins, especially, would chase him as far as I could follow with my eye, making him duck clumsily to avoid their importunate bills. I do not believe, however, that he robbed any nests hereabouts, for the refuse of the gas-works, which, in our free-and-easy community is allowed to poison the river supplied him with dead alewives in abundance. I used to watch him making his periodical visits to the salt marshes, and coming back with a fish in his beak to his young savages, who, no doubt, like it in that condition, which makes it savory to the Kanakas and other corvine races of men." —Lowell.

"This is perhaps the most generally known, and least beloved, of all our land birds; having neither melody of song, nor beauty of plumage, nor excellence of flesh, nor civility of manners to recommend him; on the contrary, he is branded as a thief, a plunderer—a kind of black-coated vagabond, who hovers over the fields of the industrious, falling on their labors, and by his voracity often blasting their expectations. Hated as he is by the farmer, watched and persecuted by almost every bearer of a gun, who all triumph in his destruction, had not heaven bestowed upon him intelligence and sagacity far beyond common, there is no reason to believe that the whole tribe (in these parts at least) would long ago have ceased to exist."—Alexander Wilson.

"At Pittsburgh, I saw a pair of crows perfectly white, in the possession of the owner of the museum there, who assured me that five which were found in the same nest were of the same color."—Audubon.

"A very worthy gentleman now (1811) living in the Genesee country, but who at the time alluded to resided on the Delaware, a few miles from Easton, had raised a crow with whose tricks and society he used frequently to amuse himself. This crow lived long in the family; but at length disappeared, having, as was then sup-

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posed, been shot by some vagrant gunner or destroyed by accident. About four months after this, as the gentleman, one morning in company with several others, was standing on the river shore, a number of crows happening to pass by, one of them left the flocks, and flying directly towards the company, alighted on the gentleman's shoulder and began to gabble away with great volubility, as one long-absent friend naturally enough does on meeting with another. On recovering his surprise, the gentleman instantly recognized his old acquaintance, and endeavored, by several civil but sly manœvres, to lay hold of him; but the crow, not altogether relishing quite so much familiarity, having now had a taste of the sweets of liberty, cautiously eluded all his attempts, and suddenly glancing his eye on his distant companions, mounted in the air after them, soon overtook and mingled with them, and was never afterwards seen again."—Alexander Wilson.

A pet crow that was troubled with parasites would stand on an ant-hill and allow the ants to rid him of the pests.

One crow has been seen fishing through cracks in the ice when other food was scarce.

A young crow did not care to join the flying lesson with his brothers and sisters, and, thinking he would not be noticed, he did not go with them. But his mother's watchful eye was on him. She came back, flew at her naughty child and knocked him off his perch, and the next time she called he flew with the others.

Two crows that had been caught and kept in a cage out of doors seemed to eat a great deal. Some one watched them, and found that they were giving some of their food through the bars to their hungry friends outside.

One crow liked to get out in the yard when the clothes were hung out. He would walk along the line and pull out every clothespin, carrying each one to the roof and putting it safely away in a little secret place he had discovered. When scolded for his mischief he would fly to the roof and throw every pin down to the ground.

One pet crow liked to ride about on the gardener's hat. The same crow delighted in teasing a puppy that had a long black tail tipped with white. He would fly down and give the hairs a nip, and by the time the puppy turned around he was up in a tree. Soon as the dog moved on the same performance would be repeated. Sometimes he would steal the puppy's bone before he flew back to the tree.

"A man in Brighton says that he built a bower near a dead horse, and placed himself within, to shoot crows. One crow took his station as sentinel on the top of a tree, and thirty or forty alighted

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upon the horse. He fired and killed seven or eight. But the rest, instead of minding him, immediately flew to their sentinel and pecked him to pieces before his eyes. Also Mr. Joseph Clark says that as he was going along the road, he cast a stick over the wall and hit some crows in a field, whereupon they flew directly at their sentinel on an apple tree and buffeted him away to the woods as far as he could see."—Henry David Thoreau.

A Tyrolean folk tale informs us that crows were once "beautiful birds with plumage white as snow, which they kept clean by constant washing in a certain stream." It happened, once upon a time, that the Holy Child, desiring to drink, came to this stream, but the crows prevented Him by splashing about and befouling the water. Whereupon He said: "Thou ungrateful birds! Proud you may be of your beauty, but your feathers, now so white, shall become black and remain so until the judgment day!" And in consequence of their uncharitable action, the crows have continued black ever since.

Through association with the crow or some of its personal belongings, many objects have received their names. The crowfoot, or buttercup, is so called in allusion to the foot-like lobes of the leaves of some species. Several plants which are found in the bird's favorite haunts are nicknamed from that fact, such as crow-victuals (ground ivy), crow soap (soapwort), crow garlic, crow pea, and so on. In England the top stone of a gable end of a building is called the "crow stone," because apt to be frequented by the bird. A box or perch near the top of a mast, built for the man on the lookout, is called "crow's nest" by the sailors, from its resemblance to a crow's nest built high in a tree.

The flight of crows is the cause of many sayings in different parts of the United States. Here are a few:

"When crows fly high it will be fine weather; when low, bad weather."—Missouri.

"Crows fighting and tumbling over each other indicates stormy weather."—Missouri.

"The first crow you see in the new year indicates, by the length of its flight, the distance you will travel that year. If at rest, it means no journey; if it flies out of sight, a long journey is foretold."—Maine and Massachusetts.

"Notice the way the crows fly to-day; to-morrow the wind will blow from the direction toward which they are now flying. If during a rainstorm a crow fly past without caws, it is a sign that the rain will soon be over."—New England.

"Crows assembling in large numbers on trees foretells a decided change of weather."—Brookline, Mass.

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Their color, their hoarse notes, their slyly intelligent habits of self-protection, have made the crow and its immediate allies ill-omened birds. Ovid calls the crow "sinister"; Browning calls it "morose"; Whittier refers to it as "robber-crow" and "sombre"; Thoreau addresses the bird as "Thou dusky spirit of the wood." Kahgahgee, the raven, is one of Hiawatha's special enemies.

Crows are often introduced into a description of an autumn or winter landscape to add to the feeling of desolation:

On the other hand, their connection with Christ's teachings has cast a mantle of charity over "even the blackest of them all"; and Shakespeare mentions the old legend of ravens' fostering forlorn children at the expense of their own. And the resemblance of its call to *haw-haw* gives it the reputation of being a jolly bird.

"On the limb of an oak sat a jolly old crow,
And chatted away with glee—with glee;
As he saw the old farmer go out to sow,
And he cried—'It is all for me—for me!'"
—J. G. W. ("The Old Crow")

"And frightened from our sprouting grain
The robber crows away."
—John G. Whittier ("The Corn Song")

"Against the sunset purple-barred,
We saw the sombre crow flap by."
—John G. Whittier ("Red Riding Hood")

"the century-living crow,
Whose birth was in their tops, grew old and died,
Among their branches."
—William C. Bryant ("A Forest Hymn")

"The single crow a single caw lets fall."
—James R. Lowell ("An Indian Summer Reverie")

"With now and then a croak
As, on his flapping wing, the crow
O'er-passes, heavily and slow."
—Alfred B. Street ("The Caliikoon in August")

"This solemn and sable-garbed creature
Makes hoppers his favorite meal. Sure,
A dozen or two
Without any ado,
He'll gulp without changing a feature."
—Anon. ("The Crow")

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"The crow goes road-winged to his rest."
—Anon. ("Spring's Messengers")

"Hues protective are not thine,
So sleek thy coat each quill doth shine,
Diamond black to end of toe,
Thy counterpoint the crystal snow."
—John Burroughs ("The Crow")

"James, didst thou ever see a carrion crow
Stand watching a sick beast before he dies?"
—Alfred Tennyson ("Queen Mary")

"Like voices of distress and pain
That haunt the thoughts of men insane,
The fateful cawings of the crow."
—Henry W. Longfellow ("Tales of a Wayside Inn")

"The state of anxiety, I may say of terror, in which he is constantly kept, would be enough to spoil the temper of any creature."—John James Audubon.

WINIFRED WILBUR.

Duluth, Minn.

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IX.

DREAMS.

MAN is essentially a dreamer, wakened sometimes for a moment by some peculiarly obtrusive element in the outer world, but lapsing again quickly into the happy somnolence of imagination. Freud has shown how largely our dreams at night are the pictured fulfillment of our wishes; but he might, with an equal measure of truth, have said the same about the day-dreams which we call beliefs.

It is in vain that one patiently explains that an effect must be proportionate to its cause, that thistles do not produce figs, that two and two, however manipulated, can only make four, that you cannot by any possibility get out of a bag what is not already there. The superstitious do not care what you say. They cling to such silly beliefs as that the lines in their hands, which have their adequate cause in the flesh-and-bone structure beneath, are really an anticipatory effect of their coming destiny, or that things actually non-existent, future events for instance, can be seen in a crystal globe or candle flame. And the worst of it is that the spread of education and the growth of scientific habits of mind cannot apparently destroy these foolish notions. Poetic fancies do no harm. But the fortune-tellers,whose sandwich-board advertisements jostle each other in the fashionable streets of London, draw their votaries from what are called the cultured classes, which shows that intellectual refinement and material civilization are not specifics against folly. There is, therefore, no justification for coupling together religion and superstition as if one were the natural and necessary cause of the other. Real religion is as free from superstition as is true science, and false science is as prolific of irrational hopes and fears as any perversion of the religious instinct. In fact, all history seems to show that so far from religious unbelief being a warrant of intellectual soundness, it exposes men to much more childish delusions. Credulity fills the vacuum left by faith, and Providence is dethroned only to make room for a malignant fate.

Psychologists and physiologists alike have approached the subject from their respective points of view, and sought to explain the phenomena of dreaming as natural events. The first germs of a scientific theory of dreams are to be found in antiquity. Thus Democritus, from whom the Epicureans derived their theory, held that dreams are the product of the simulacra or phantasms of cor-

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poreal objects which are constantly floating in the atmosphere, and which attack the soul during repose. Again, Plato speaks in the "Republic" of dreaming as illustrating the dominant mental impulses and habits of the individual (unchecked appetite, and temperance with intellectual pursuits), and thus connects it with the normal waking operations of feeling and thought. Aristotle in his short treatise on dreams refers dreaming to the action of objects of outward sense which leave behind impressions on the soul and bodily frame. Dreaming is said to be the function of the sensitive part of the mind, but of this so far as fantastic; and a dream is defined as "the phantasm arising from the motion of sensible perceptions when it presents itself to him who is asleep." Aristotle further has some correct observations on the immediate bodily conditions of dreaming, and on the exaggeration of sensation in this condition of mind. Thus, he says, we fancy it thunders and lightens when a small sound is produced in our ears; we imagine that we are eating honey in consequence of a defluxion of the least quantity of phlegm. In the "De Divinatione" of Cicero we have almost an unique instance among classic writings of a complete rejection of the doctrine of the supernatural origin of dreams, and of a full and consistent adoption of the natural method of explaining the phenomena. Cicero's position stands in marked contrast to that of partial skeptics, as Pliny.

Dreams are a variety of a large class of mental phenomena which may be roughly defined as states of mind which, though not the result of the action of external objects, resume the form of objective perceptions. To this class, says Sully, belong "the fleeting images which occasionally present themselves during waking hours, and especially before sleep, the 'visions' which occur in certain exalted emotional conditions, as in religious ecstasy, the hallucinations of the insane, the mental phenomena observable in certain artificially produced states (hypnotism), etc. These and other mental conditions resemble one another in many important respects, to be spoken of by and by. At the same time they are roughly marked off by certain special circumstances. Thus, dreaming may be distinguished from the other species of the class as depending on the most complete withdrawal of the mind from the external world. All products of the imagination which take the aspect of objective perceptions must, it is clear, involve a partial aberration of the intellectual processes. Yet in all cases except that of dreaming—including even somnambulism—the mind preserves certain limited relations to external objects. In dreams, on the contrary, the exclusion of the external world from consciousness is for the most part complete." Sleep has under normal circumstances the effect both of closing the sensory nerves by which external impressions are conveyed to consciousness, and of

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cutting off from the mind that mechanism (the voluntary motor nerves and muscles) through which it maintains and regulates its varying relations to the outer world. Again, dreams have certain constant or approximately constant features, while in other respects they manifest wide diversity. Among the most general characteristics is to be named the apparent objectivity of dream experience. The presence of this objective element in dreams is clearly indicated in their familiar appellation, "visions," which also points to the well recognized fact that a large part of our dream-imagination simulates the form of *visual* perception.

In the first place it seems almost necessary, before we can get any clear idea of what happens when we dream, that we should try to clear up our notions as to what happens when we sleep. What does going to sleep mean? It is not easily answered. But even before answering this question we are met by the question whether we dream all the while that we are sleeping. It is a question that the learned have answered very variously, so much so that their answers seem fairly to balance each other, and we are left with a tolerably open sheet on which to set our own convictions down. There are those who hold that we only dream at the very moment of awaking, but though it is certain that dreams make such mince-meat of time and space that we can dream of events extending over hours and miles in a few seconds, it is no less certain that the mind is often hard at work during sleep—we speak, we move, laugh and so on—long before the moment for waking. "If this is to be called a dream," says Professor Hutchison, "and certainly it is common use of the term, making it equivalent with any operation of the mind during sleep (no matter how completely the sleeper forgets it when he wakes up) then it is obviously certain that dreaming is not confined to the moment of waking. On the other hand, if by dream we are to mean only an operation of the mind during sleep of which the dreamer is conscious when he awakes, then the problem remains unanswered; although it is to be said that most people, on being suddenly awakened, awake invariably to find that the sudden waking has broken off a dream, and this seems to make it very probable indeed that the mind is unconsciously active all the while that we sleep, but that it is comparatively seldom that a memory of its activity remains with us when we awake. When we awake gradually, in a normal manner, it is likely that as we regain full use of our sensory apparatus the impressions it conveys to us gradually efface those feeble ones that have come to us during sleep, and so we forget the latter. In case of a sudden awakening, memory and attention become active before any awakening sensory impressions have intervened to obliterate the impressions made in sleep."

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Dreams, however, frequently resemble the separate scenes or acts of a play rather than a perfectly continuous narrative and, just as a drama may cover fifty years in three hours, a dream may only last for a night and yet, without any real disturbance of the sense of time, represent a lifetime. The more usual inference would be that the dream really lasted longer than it seemed. It is comparatively rare for dreaming to appear greatly protracted and very often it is composed of one incident—a snapshot, as it were. Since it is usually impossible to say whether the dream really persisted throughout sleep or occurred during the last second there remains no means of estimating its actual duration except the impression of time made upon the mind. The natural impulse, doubtless, is to regard dreams as lasting as long as they appear to last. In studying dreams there is the additional tendency to regard the whole period of sleep as the actual period of dreaming.

It is easier to believe a creed or to practice an art than to define it; and if actions speak louder than words, it is partly because men's actions are, with the possible exception of the politician's, more adequate and effective than their explanations. Few people could give a lucid account of the motives and aims which determine their lives, and the artist and author are no exceptions to the rule. He seeks to express himself, but leaves it to the expression to indicate what that self is.

Let us try to imagine the mind a two-storied house, one room in each, and communicating by a trap-door. In the top story, called consciousness, resided those powers of thought and feeling that were wholly under their control. In the lower story there resided sub-consciousness: those faculties which could not altogether be controlled, such as the imagination, etc. Roughly, then, men's conscious, controllable, reasonable and critical faculties, known as the "objective" faculties, dwelt "upstairs"; and his unconscious, uncontrollable, unreasonable and uncritical faculties, known as the "subjective" faculties, resided "downstairs." Pointing to the relations between the objective and subjective faculties, the speaker went on to explain that they were separate, yet not wholly separate. In some instances they could use the sub-conscious faculties deliberately; for instance, he said: "If I close my eyes, and stop my ears, I can make a mental image of the South Pole, or remember after a while something I cannot now remember—what I had for lunch. Or, again, I can give the lower story a suggestion—begin to form a habit; wave my hand, and go on doing it." They might say that there was a trap-door between the stories, which was sometimes open and sometimes shut.

Applying this theory to the phenomena, dreams were generated by sub-consciousness. A person thought how nice it would be to

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fly, and feared to commit murder. That person went to sleep, or rather his top story did. What happened? Sub-consciousness was left awake, and had a royal time while stern reason was asleep. The cat was away, and so all the suggestions the dreamer had sent down by hope or fear ran riot, and in doing so did not appear absurd.

A dreamer, then, was one who slept only "upstairs." Telepathy was the power of sending or receiving sense-images. It had nothing to do with reason or criticism; it was a will-impulse. This the speaker showed by references to the objective and subjective "stories," when the top-memory was asleep or lulled the lower acted. And very old folk suffering from senile decay forgot where they were, or thought the dead were living: could not remember yesterday's happenings, yet clearly recollected the pattern of a frock worn in childhood's days. All this threw an interesting light on character. Roughly, there were two types of character, namely, the practical and the imaginative. A good business man was a "top-story" man. The centre gravity lay there, and the trap-door was almost closed. The poet, on the other hand, was a "lower-story" man. He forgot to brush his hair, dreamed of beauty, was uncritical but perceptive. He thought the business man a fool. Two other types were the madman and the genius. The madman thought himself the Emperor of China. Through some injury his critical faculty was dead. He lived below. The genius was one whose "trap-door" worked easily. He could ascend or descend at will. He was the perfectly balanced man. Instancing Napoleon as belonging to this category, the lecturer recalled how the great Emperor used to dream of his plans for conquering nations. It did not stop at dreams, however. He was a thinker and a man of action, and put his dreams into practical form.

Odd and out-of-the-way events have happened to the dreamer; he has been to strange places and seen strange doings, but waking up, he knows that he is in the same wigwam where he lay down to sleep, and can be convinced by his squaw that he has not moved therefrom all night. Therefore it is the other self, the phantom-soul, which has been away for a time, seeing and taking part in things both new and old. We civilized folk, as Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes remarks, not rarely find our personality doubled in our dreams, and do battle with ourselves, unconscious that we are our own antagonists. Dr. Johnson dreamed that he had a contest with an opponent and got the worst of it; of course, he found the argument for both! Tartini heard the devil play a wonderful sonata, and lay entranced by the arch-fiend's execution. On waking he seized his violin, and although he could not reproduce the actual succession of notes, he recovered sufficient impressions to compose his celebrated "Devil's Sonata." Obviously the devil was no other than Tartini.

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The loss of perception of time is not of course restricted to a dream state, although it is in that condition that it is most constantly and completely exhibited. In minutes, or even hours, of waking reverie, not to speak of the trance and the like abnormal states, we lose all idea of time; and confess as much, more or less consciously, in common talk, when the clock strikes or the dinner bell sounds to arouse us, and we ejaculate: "By Jove, I had no idea it was so late!"

It is more than probable that the whole conception of time, depending on the exercise of the attention, which is an exercise of the reasoning power, scarcely exists among the lowest nations of mankind, and is developed progressively with the development of the reasoning faculty. Evidently a complex state of society, requiring a nice fitting of the various duties of the day, fixed mealtimes and the rest, demands a far closer attention to the occupation of time than is required in the pastoral, nomadic or the hunter state.

Even Aristotle treats the supposition of divine revelation in dreams very considerately when he writes "that there is a divination concerning some things in dreams is not incredible." The Stoics, again, to judge from Cicero's account of their views in his "De Divinatione," reasoned *a priori* that the gods, if they love men and are omniscient as well as all-powerful, will certainly disclose their purposes to man in sleep. Chrysippus, on the same authority, said to have written a volume on the interpretation of dreams as divine portents. Cicero's brother, Quintus, who here defends the orthodox theory of dreams, speaks of a skilled interpretation of dreams which is a true divination, even though, like all other arts in which men have to proceed on conjecture and on artificial rules, it is not infallible. The current views of dreams of classic antiquity are supposed to be to some extent embodied in the *Oneirokritika* of Daldianus Artemidorus, of Ephesus (C. 170). Here the interpretation of dreams is reduced to a body of elaborate rules. To dream of a particular element, as fire, air, etc., of a particular plan, part of the body, and so on, always signifies the same kind of event for the same kind of person. It is the overlooking of the age, social condition, etc., of the dreamer which, in the view of Artemidorus, leads to the abuse of dream-interpretation. He attempts to draw a distinction between *oneiros,* a vision having a real bearing on events, and *enuprion,* a mere dream having no actual significance; but this does not, according to Liddell and Scott, correspond with classical usage. The divine origin of dreams became a doctrine of the Christian Church. It appears in the writings of the fathers, being defended partly on Biblical, partly on classic, authority. Synesius of Cyrene (born 375) has left a treatise on dreams *(peri enuprion).* He puts forward certain psychological hypotheses drawn largely from Plato and Plotinus.

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Hippocrates says there are dreams which announce beforehand the affections of the body. This idea has been confirmed by modern observations. It is easy to understand that this prognostic side of dreams was in the early stages of knowledge greatly exaggerated. This appears to be true of the speculations of Galen, who held that to dream one's thigh was turned into stone signified the approaching loss of this member. This belief in the premonitory character of dreams was only one side of a general doctrine of dreams according to which they arise from bodily disturbances, and so may serve as symptoms which the physician has to include in the complete diagnosis of a disease. This idea, which is recognized by modern physiologists as true within certain limits, led in the first crude stages of scientific investigation to exaggerated and fanciful conclusions. Thus a new system of dream interpretation came into vogue according to which to dream of a certain thing always means a disturbance in one particular organ. In the doctrines of Oriental physicians (the Hindus and Chinese) dreams are thus referred to pathological states of the five organs—heart, lungs, kidneys, spleen and liver. Thus, to dream of war and fighting signifies a bad state of the lungs; of fire, smoke, etc., a bad state of the heart, and so on.

It should be clear that it is an error to regard dreams produced by a disturbance that awakes as occurring during sleep or in a mind subject to the characteristic conditions of sleep. They occur explosively during the momentary period in which the mind springs from unconsciousness to its waking realization of the world. The circumstances under which they arise clearly indicate this, and the condition of the mind when dreaming is in complete harmony with this origin. Writers often ignore the feature in dreams of awakening by disturbance because they include them with the larger residue where it cannot be definitely asserted that they occur during the waking moment, and they then regard all dreaming as a phenomenon of sleep. They thus tend to ignore that dreaming is essentially characterized by a *rise* of consciousness and consequently to ignore the implications of this fact. Since the circumstances of the dream through awakening are usually the most completely known, they constitute the most natural form for comparison. These dreams indicate a sudden and explosive rise of consciousness as the character and condition of their origin. Even as regards verses, experience has been far richer and more successful than that of Coleridge, the only product of whose faculty in this direction was the poetical fragment, "Kubla Khan," and there was no scenic dreaming on the occasion, only the verses were thus obtained.

The general opinion of the psychologists appears to be that the deepest sleep is entirely unconscious, and that all our dreams belong

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to the gradual return to the waking state. This is not, however, proved by the fact that we seem only to remember dreams which immediately precede waking. For it is a common expression to wake like Nebuchadnezzar, with the firm conviction that we have had a striking dream which we are unable to recall.

The incoherence of dreams is referred by Berger to the lack of adjustment between memory and sensation. In accordance with his opinion that the dreaming mind is relaxed and disinterested he regards this adjustment as imperfect, because the mind is not active enough to demand it. It may be doubted whether incoherence is so marked a distinction between dreams and waking life as many writers regard it. Conversation notoriously tends to the desultory. Eccentricity is another matter and it is important to distinguish it from simple incoherence. Eccentric solutions of inadequately stated problems are natural enough, and if dreams be the hurried affairs that our theory supposes they will naturally tend to the eccentric.

The numerous images which make up the ever-renewed current of a dream appear sometimes to come from the internal depths of the mind itself. In other cases, as even the ancients recognized, they depend on a stimulation of the brain arising from varying conditions of the bodily organs. According to the view that all mental events have their physical accompaniments, the first class of imaginations must also be referred to certain conditions of the brain and nervous system. These various sources of dream-activity are roughly classified by Hartley in his "Observations on Man." Dream-images, he tells us, are deducible from three causes: (1) Impressions and ideas lately received; (2) present state of the body (especially the stomach and the brain); (3) association. The large part played by bodily states in our dream-life is recognized not only by physiologists, as Maury, but also by those who ascribe dreams in part to occult spiritual faculties, as Scherner. By help of the results of recent researches we are able to improve a little on Hartley's classification. The exciting causes of dream-images fall into two main classes: (1) Peripheral and (2) central stimulations.

Dr. Beattie speaks of a man who could be made to dream about a subject by whispering into his ear. Experiments have been made as to the effect of external impressions on dreaming. Thus, by leaving his knee uncovered during sleep, he dreamed he was traveling in a diligence (where knees are apt to get cold). The most elaborate experiments bearing on this point have been carried on by Maury, with the help of an assistant. The latter produces some external stimulation while the experimenter sleeps; he is then wakened up so as to record the dream immediately resulting. By this means important results were reached. When, for example, his lips were

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tickled, he dreamed that he was subject to horrible tortures, that pitch plaster was applied to his face and then torn off. Sensations of hearing, smell and taste were also followed by appropriate, though greatly exaggerated images. Wundt thinks that cutaneous sensations, arising from the varying pressure and temperature of the bodily surface, are frequent excitants of dream-images.

Mankind appeared to have two memories, namely, that range within call, or nearly so. This can be illustrated by pointing to the man who in telling a story suddenly paused and explained he had forgotten all about the rest of it. He would remember it later when his mind was on another and totally different subject. Again, there was the case of the drowning person whose whole life's deeds passed before him. They appeared to have faculties of thought of which very little was known. Conscious thought was under the will and the reason.

It is possible to respect Freud's contribution to science without exaggerating his intrinsic merits. The new orientation that he has brought about in psychological medicine would have come to pass in any event, though perhaps in a less lurid and controversial fashion. William James had gone a long way towards it. But James' big mind was quick to apprehend the far-reaching philosophic import of his researches; and to that wider problem he devoted the latter years of his life, leaving psychological medicine to fend for itself. Bergson, approaching from the philosophic side, has given an account of mental function far more profound and systematic than Freud's. Freud and his school are in like case with Hegel. They have a new vision; the complaint against them is that they have failed to appreciate that the new vision requires a radical reconstruction of the intellectual procedure by which it is to be applied and expounded. According to Professor Bergson, the stuff out of which dreams are made consists of (1) subjective impressions which pass unperceived while we are awake worked up with (2) the phantasmagoria of changing form and color seen when the eyes are closed. This theory is ingeniously applied to the explanation of actual dreams.

Most writers have recognized the continued activity in sleep of external sensations as an exciting cause of dreams. To this phenomenon, which forms an integral part of M. Bergson's theory, he devotes much of his essay, laying particular stress on what passes in the field of vision when the eyes are closed. To lay much stress on this as the stuff dreams are made of is certainly to contravene common experience. Such a common hallucination of sleep as the unreadiness for an examination or other unpleasing or pleasing mental states has certainly little to do with definite "entoptic" figures. Such sensations as may generate dreams are probably of a far more

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subtle character—including those which M. Bergson quite briefly alludes to as "the internal touch," and the whole range of bodily conditions such as temperature, muscular action, position of the limbs, and so on. But one cannot, as he appears to do, arbitrarily exclude dreams centrally initiated, which have nothing to do with the stimulation of the senses.

Psychological investigation ought to be the great ally of religion. There were already enough correspondences between the psychologist's and the theologian's theories to make the comparison fruitful. Sixty years ago physical science was supposed to be opposed to religion, but now it it generally recognized to be a distinct department of thought. Twenty years ago philosophy was the opponent, but to-day philosophers never oppose religion. At the present day psychology is the thing that claims to explain away all religious phenomena, though we have shown that it tends to support them. The human consciousness is the thing that really matters, and therefore religion may expect its chief confirmation from a deeper investigation of this consciousness.

Lately we were told how one of the fathers at the Brompton Oratory, who was attending a sick case, had left instructions that he should be called by telephone if the patient became worse during the night. This is what happened:

> In the early morning he was startled out of a deep sleep by his bedroom door opening, and saw, by the light of the moon through his open, uncovered window, a medium-sized, dark-robed figure standing by it, and understood the person to say something about a sick call.
>
> "For heavens' sake, man," he hastily answered, sitting up in bed and rubbing his eyes, not quite sure if it was the father on duty or the lodge-porter, "speak clearly!"
>
> "Be quick," came the reply in clearer tones. "There is no time to lose. There is a telephone message."

He arrived to find the lady dying, but it turned out that no telephone message had been sent and no one had entered his room during the night to call him. Quite possible this is a case of telepathy, but we think it more likely it was a simple dream, so vividly realized that on waking it was believed to have been true.

According to Professor Freud's theory a dream is always symbolic, expressing desires or fears not ordinarily admitted to consciousness either because they are painful or because they are repugnant to our moral nature. This theory has been applied to the treatment of hysteria with good results, but nevertheless the notion that all dreams are altogether made up of the secret obsessions of the "subterman" cannot be accepted.

Dreaming is a subject of great interest by reason of its points of contact with other mental conditions. Thus the common suspension

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of many of the higher processes of emotion, thought and volition suggests an analogy between the dreaming state and the instinctive stage of mental growth as observable in children, primitive men, and the lower animals. The evidence for the existence of the "sub-conscious" mind is inescapable, and we are prepared to attribute to the mind's very remarkable powers. The testimony of Henri Poincaré and of other mathematicians, besides the evidence of various sorts of artists, seems to show conclusively that an "inspiration" is the result of an intense, but hidden, mental activity. If this be granted, the preconception with which we approve claims to "intuition" will undergo a change.

From Blake to Dr. Bridges, poets have translated their dreams into waking verse, and from "Pilgrim's Progress" to "Peter Ibbetson" books have been written which profess to be the records of dreams. Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" is of course the classic example of dream composition, but many others exist. Sir Thomas Browne, though, in his own opinion, "in no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardise of company," could compose a comedy in a dream, "behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof." And there is the poem by a dreamer of which Mr. Havelock Ellis tells us in his scientific way:

> Call in the tip-cat, cut off its tail,
> Fold up some eggs in a saucepan;
> Sit on the rest like an elderly male,
> And gulp down the whole as a horse can.

Stevenson and Southey are two other writers who owed a good deal to their dreams. The former tells us of a man (doubtless himself) who "began to read in his dream—tales, for the most part, and for the most part after the manner of G. P. R. James, but so incredibly more vivid and moving than any printed book, that he has ever since been malcontent with literature."

The dream which Jane Eyre related to Rochester on the night of the storm, and her dream on the night she left Thornfield are in keeping with the situations, the characters and indeed the whole story, while the same is true of Lockwood's two dreams after reading part of Catherine's manuscript in the third chapter of "Wuthering Heights." George Meredith has not chronicled many dreams, though Everard Romfrey's dream—"one of some half dozen in the course of his life"—of the dispute about umbrellas and the procession to St. Paul's while Nevill Beauchamp is lying ill, is well conceived. Dr. Middleton, also, who, after Mrs. Mountstuart's dinner party, in "The Egoist," "remembered he had dreamed in the night—a most humiliating sign of physical disturbance," is another example, though we are not told what Dr. Middleton's dream was. Much of the elaboration which is embodied in imaginative products takes place

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unconsciously. R. L. Stevenson's account of the source of some of his plots (see "A Chapter on Dreams") is paralleled by the reports of many writers, artists, musicians, as to how their greatest creations "came to them."

One important fact which emerges is that the ghost has been superseded by the fairy. The old terror of the dreaming child has disappeared. There was only one reference to a ghost in all the infant school dreams. The fairy dream is generally one of pure enjoyment, apart from the comparatively rare intrusion of the witch. At five years of age the child is the centre of the dream and is rarely a passive observer.

Some element of the supernatural is so constant in poetry that one has come to look upon it as part of the normal fabric of the art; but in poetry, being etherealized, it scarcely provokes any emotion so gross as fear. Nobody was ever afraid to walk down a dark passage after reading "The Ancient Mariner," but rather inclined to venture out to meet whatever ghosts might deign to visit him. Probably some degree of reality is necessary in order to produce fear; and reality is best conveyed by prose. Certainly one of the finest of ghost stories, Wandering Willie's tale in "Redgauntlet," gains immensely from the homely truth of the setting, to which the use of the Scotch dialect contributes. The hero is a real man, the country is as solid as can be; and suddenly in the midst of green and gray landscape opens up the crimson transparency of Redgauntlet Castle with the dead sinners at their feasting.

Dealing with the dreams of children of five, six and seven years of age, it has been found that dreams of Christmas and Santa Claus figured very largely, especially with the five-year-old children. With the very young child the "fear" dream is very prominent. No less than 25 per cent. were of this nature, consisting chiefly of the dread of objectionable men, largely of German nationality. At seven years of age children, both boys and girls, dream more about burglars than at any other age. Curiously enough, the fear dreams of animals are far more common among the boys than the girls. School activities appear very little in the dreams of children of any age, while the fact that the essays were written seven months after the last raid probably accounts for the circumstance that air-raid dreams occurred only to the extent of about four per cent. In the girls' dreams the influence of the cinema is felt very little, but in those of the boys, especially at the age of seven, it is an important factor. Fairy-story dreams are very common with girls, but are rarely experienced with boys, and the same thing applies to dreams of normal domestic occurrences.

Primitive peoples usually regard their dreams as real events and

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dreams of the returning dead, to quote one instance, have undoubtedly helped to maintain the belief in resurrected spirits. Now the longer the period during which the dream consciousness maintains its grip, the more difficult it would be for the waking mind to resume its corrected version of the order of the world. A mind dreaming all night on the assumption that skeletons are animated would be likely to carry this belief into waking life. Dwelling upon ideas always tends to absorb the mind in them, and on the view that sleep is really a period of dream-consciousness it would seem difficult to explain the ease and rapidity with which waking consciousness asserts its conception of reality.

Among the Oriental peoples there seem to have been no definite rules, and the procedure followed resolves itself into an attempt to discover the most natural or least forced application of the persons, objects and relations of the dream to some existing persons, social circumstances and events. This mode of interpretation clearly left wide scope for individual skill. In the Persian scheme of interpretation, on the other hand, so far as we can judge of it from the compilations of a later age, the art of dream-interpretation, oneirocritics, or oneiromancy, was defined and fixed in a number of rules. Thus in the work known under the name of "Sifat-i-Sirozah," minute and elaborate prescriptions are given for interpreting various classes of dreams according to the particular day of the month on which they occur. A similar systematization of the rules of dream-interpretation is to be met with among the Arabs.

Another characteristic of dreams is that, though resembling waking experience in many respects, they seem never exactly to reproduce the order of the experience. Most of our dreams differ very widely from any events ever known to us in waking life, and even those which most closely resemble certain portions of this life introduce numerous changes in detail. These deviations involve one or two distinct elements. First of all, there is a great confusion of the order in time, space, etc., which holds among real objects and events. Widely remote places and events are brought together, persons set in new relations to one another, and so on. Secondly, the objects and scenes are apt to assume a greatly exaggerated intensity. We may when awake think of dreams as unsubstantial and unreal, but to the dreamer at the moment his imagined surroundings are more real, more impressive, than the actual ones which he perceives when awake.

Psychologists say that there was a certain part of us which had extraordinary powers and faculties that were not exhausted by our ordinary life in this world. Secondly, the mysterious realm of our consciousness was altogether independent of the limits of time and

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space. Ghosts defied time and apparitions defied space. Yet if materialism was true, time and space were great fundamental realities which could not be defied. Thirdly, in the sub-conscious self there was said to be an imperishable memory. Every single act of the will was said to be recorded. Now it was evident that such a record was of no use in this world, whereas if there was an eternity to which we carried our character, then the use of it was supreme.

A fourth point which the psychologists put forward is that when our ordinary powers were failing at death, the "sub-conscious self" exhibited no signs of dissolution, but rather of greater vitality. That could not be a last spurt, so to speak, as it would be the normal powers which would spurt had they the ability to do so.

Accordingly the psychologists were apparently pointing to something in us that resisted death, decay and dissolution. Finally, the "sub-conscious self" was admitted to have no full play in this world. The poet and the musician, for instance, who utilized the "sub-conscious self" so much, were always reaching out to an ideal they could not attain. Thus another field seemed to be demanded for the activities of those usually suppressed sub-conscious powers.

It has been found that young childreen have great difficulty in separating the dream from the waking element. Their powers of description were naturally very limited and their use of words might convey to the adult mind a very different impression from that which they wished to convey. The child would inevitably fill up gaps in the dream and would reject as absurd some items in the dream which were contrary to his own experience. Anything in the nature of a full analysis of a young child's dream would, therefore, be valueless. All they could do was to classify each broadly, as a fulfilled wish, a fear, an air raid, a fairy story, a purely domestic dream, and so on.

Of the rapidly growing literature of psychoanalysis one may well reflect that although on the whole it is not well done, it is a good thing that it is done at all. For the importance of Freud in contemporary science resides, not in the actual content of his doctrine, but in the new point of departure he has given to psychological research. The specific details of his doctrine, indeed, are calculated to be a hindrance to the appreciation of its essential merit. A psychology that insisted clamorously on the all-pervading character of the sex impulse was bound to provoke acrid opposition, and its critics were quick to make the most of the crudities and scientific solecisms with which it was formulated. Nor has Freud been helped by his disciples, who in general have been characterized more by partisan zeal, one might almost say fanaticism, than by scientific temper, even when they have felt constrained to modify the strict letter of the master's teaching.

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Dreams often, if not always, disturb our sense of time's duration, and this disturbance is only definitely known to act in one direction. A dream may pass like a flash and appear to last for days. There is no evidence that a dream can last throughout sleep and seem to occupy a second. Wherever the circumstances are such that we can estimate the time actually occupied by the dream and the corresponding interval through which we seem to live the dreaming mind exaggerates and never reduces. This might be due to our inability to gauge the actual duration of dreams except in certain cases where it is obviously very short. We wake with the sense of duration impressed upon us by the dream and, unless there are adequate means for estimating its real length, this impression is our only possible estimate. If we dream of the events of years we may suspect that we have exaggerated an interval that cannot have lasted for more than about eight hours.

On a winter afternoon, when one is reading in a small room beside a warm fire, there is often a tendency to doze. And there is a borderland between sleep and waking in which very vivid dreams occasionally take place. Generally such dreams are easily distinguished as dreams by their content. But, if the dream simply represented what might easily have happened, then a mistake might be made.

Dreaming is not the only condition that leads us to mistime events. Time passes quickly when we are interested and slowly when we are bored. Life, in one aspect, is a continuous alteration of the sense of duration. The year is long to the child and short to the mature man. Suspicion arises that our explanation must be supplemented by the recognition of some other alteration in the mind's sense of duration induced by the conditions of dreaming. It is a curious fact that Bergson's description of some of these conditions appears at first sight to furnish in a natural and inevitable way such a supplement—curious because, though his opinion of these conditions, on first thoughts, seems to fit the observed lengthening of time in dreaming, this opinion seems to be mistaken and the real supplement so far as it may be needed, must be sought elsewhere.

In the pages of Bulwer-Lytton's romance entitled "The Pilgrims of the Rhine," in which is related the story of a German student endowed with so marvelous a faculty of dreaming, that for him the normal conditions of sleeping and waking became reversed, his true life was that which he lived in his slumbers, and his hours of wakefulness appeared to him as so many uneventful and inactive intervals of arrest occurring in an existence of intense and vivid interest which was wholly passed in the hypnotic state. Not that to me there is any such inversion of natural conditions.

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Mediæval and modern Christian theologians have continued to attribute dreams, or, more accurately, certain orders of dream, to the intermediate agency of the divine Being. The popular theory of dreams to be met with among the later European peoples bears the impress of that folk-lore which developed itself in the Middle Ages under influences partly Christian, partly pagan. Dreams were referred to a variety of supernatural agencies, including not only God, but the devil.

A ghost, if seen, is undeniably so far a "hallucination" that it gives the impression of the presence of a real person, in flesh, blood, and usually clothes. No such person in flesh, blood and clothes is actually there. So far, at least, every ghost is a hallucination, "that," in the language of Captain Cuttle, "you may lay to" without offending science, religion, or common sense. And that, in brief, is the modern doctrine of ghosts.

During the Reformation, writers, especially Protestant writers, preferred to look on apparitions as the work of deceitful devils, who masqueraded in the aspect of the dead or living, or made up phantasms out of "compressed air." The common sense of the eighteenth century dismissed all apparitions as "dreams" or hoaxes, or illusions caused by real objects misinterpreted, such as rats, cats, white posts, maniacs at large, sleep-walkers, thieves, and so forth. Modern science, when it admits the possibility of occasional hallucinations in the sane and healthy, also admits, of course, the existence of apparitions. These, for our purposes, are hallucinatory appearances occurring in the experience of people healthy and sane. The difficulty begins when we ask whether these appearances ever have any provoking mental cause outside the minds of the people who experience them—any cause arising in the minds of others, alive or dead. This is a question which orthodox psychology does not approach, standing aside from any evidence which may be produced.

In the first place, how are we to account for the strange human craving for the pleasure of feeling afraid which is so much involved in our love of ghost stories? It is pleasant to be afraid when we are conscious that we are in no kind of danger, and it is even more pleasant to be assured of the mind's capacity to penetrate those barriers which for twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four remain impassable. Crude fear, with its anticipation of physical pain or of terrifying uproar, is an undignified and demoralizing sensation, while the mastery of fear only produces a respectable mask of courage, which is of no great interest to ourselves, although it may impose upon others. But the fear which we get from reading ghost stories of the supernatural is a refined and spiritualized essence of fear. Far from despising ourselves for being frightened by a

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ghost story, we are proud of this proof of sensibility, and perhaps unconsciously welcome the chance for the licit gratification of certain instincts which we are wont to treat as outlaws. It is worth noticing that the craving for the supernatural in literature coincided in the eighteenth century with a period of rationalism in thought, as if the effect of damming the human instincts at one point causes them to overflow at another.

In addition to these simple metaphysical and psychological theories of dreaming, there are to be found no less simple physiological hypotheses. Among these we may take the opinion of Hobbes (Leviathan), that the imaginations of dreams all proceed from "the agitation of the inward parts of a man's body," the disturbance of which parts, owing to their connections with the brain, serves to keep the latter in motion. Another simple physiological hypothesis for explaining dreams is offered by Schopenhauer. According to this writer, the exciting causes of dreams are impressions received from the internal regions of the organism through the sympathetic nervous system. These impressions are afterwards worked up by the mind into quasi-realities by means of its "forms" of space and time.

It appears that the nature of our dreams is clearly statable in terms of that part of consciousness of which we are aware. As Bergson well says, "The birth of a dream is then no mystery. It resembles the birth of all our perceptions. The mechanism of the dream is the same, in general, as that of normal perception." As in wide-awake life we build up in a flash the most complex of mental structures around some very simple precept, so do we in our dream life; this being describable in the one case as in the other as the sudden formation of a new mental pattern due to the emphasis of efficiencies already existing but unrecognized.

While metaphysicians have in the main affirmed the continuity of dreams, those who regard mental phenomena as invariably connected with bodily conditions have for the most part viewed dreaming as only an occasional accompaniment of sleep. It is true that the great rapidity of dream-thought has been proved, *e. g.*, by the experience of Lord Holland, who fell asleep when listening to somebody reading, had a long dream, and yet awoke in time to hear the conclusion of the sentence of which he remembered the beginning. And this takes off from the value of Hamilton's argument that we always find ourselves dreaming when awakened, for such dreaming may clearly be an incident of the transition state.

Mr. Hatherly Pear describes the dream as the disguised fulfillment of a repressed wish. He refutes several popular beliefs, as that a dream lasts but a moment of time, or that its function is to

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disturb sleep. It was rather, he says, to preserve sleep by stilling the unconscious tendencies which were active during sleep, which unless they were controlled by the dream, would otherwise arouse the sleeper.

If there is such a means of communication as telepathy, there is, however rare it may be, nothing supernatural about it. Moreover, to say a thing was learned in a dream is not to deny the action of God. It is recorded in the Bible that God communicated with man by means of dreams, and there is no reason to doubt that He may do so still. We have to get rid of the idea that the working of God can only be seen in the extraordinary and the inexplicable. That in some way or another it was brought about that the priest should visit his patient that night we do not doubt. But the question is: How? To be ready to see a miracle in anything that cannot at once be explained is not a mark of true piety. There are some who see in a mysterious event like this, not a psychological problem to be solved, but a religious wonder to be swallowed. Such an attitude is neither scientific nor religious.

The essential difference between wakefulness and sleep is that in the former the two selves are combined, in the latter they are severed. During sleep there is no loss of consciousness; the central self remains virtually unchanged. A change, however, takes place in the automatic self; it loses the greater part of its tension.

Retentiveness is a physiological as well as a psychological fact. It is observed objectively, and only objectively. This is self-evident in relation to physiological retentiveness. It is not so clear in relation to psychological retentiveness; but becomes so when we consider that a mental item is recognized as a revival—that is as the exemplification of retentiveness—only by recall of situations in the past which we consider objectively, and judge must have been accompanied by the mental item we now recognize to be revived.

But memory, on the contrary, is observed subjectively, and only subjectively. It is our name for a process which yields the psychical state we call *a* memory; which is a mental form that at times is given in connection with revivals. A revival, if real, in past time, and *for me,* is a memory; just as a mental item (usually a revival), if real, in future time, and *for me,* is an expectation.

Sense impressions, M. Bergson thinks, do not actually form the dream; they only supply the material which is shaped into precise objects by the power of memory. The hosts of memories stored away in our minds are able, when the trap-door of conscious interest is no longer closed, to rise, move, and "perform in the night of unconsciousness a great *danse macabre.*" They fasten themselves on to whatever sensation fits or demands them, and the incoherence

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of dreams is due to mental relaxation, to the failure to make the effort at coördination and adjustment which we make instinctively every moment of our lives. This welling up in sleep of the subconscious personality is, it may be remembered, fully studied by Mr. Havelock Ellis in his work on dreams, which, following in some respects the line of M. Bergson, devotes to the topic a far more careful and penetrating study than is possible in this little monograph by the French philosopher.

It was not until quite recent years that dreams came to be regarded as fit material for scientific study. To the earlier psychologist they seemed so fragmentary and freakish, so devoid of that ordered sequence and coherence which marked the processes of the waking mind, that no attempt was made to bring them within the realm of natural law. The "book of dreams" was to be found only on the kitchen book-shelf. But the researches of Freud and his followers have given to dreams so tremendous a significance that they have to-day become the main centre of psychological interest. The change of mental attitude is complete. The dream is no longer regarded as an omen, but as a symptom. It no longer points an uncertain finger to the future, but reveals with certainty a past event and a present state. Every modern book on dreams treats the subject from the Freudian standpoint—treats it as a means of scrutinizing the unconscious.

In the hands of such masters as Scott and Henry James the supernatural is so wrought in with the natural that fear is kept from a dangerous exaggeration into simple disgust or disbelief verging upon ridicule. Mr. Kipling's stories, "The Mark of the Beast" and "The Return of Imray," are powerful enough to repel one by their horror, but they are too violent to appeal to our sense of wonder. For it would be a mistake to suppose that supernatural fiction always seeks to produce fear, or that the best ghost stories are those which most accurately and medically describe abnormal states of mind. On the contrary, a vast amount of fiction both in prose and in verse now assures us that the world to which we shut our eyes is far more friendly and inviting, more beautiful by day and more holy by night, than the world which we persist in thinking the real world.

The superb genius of Scott here achieves a triumph which should keep this story immortal however the fashion in the supernatural may change. Steenie Steenson is himself so real and his belief in the phantoms is so vivid that we draw our fear through our perception of his fear, the story itself being of a kind that has ceased to frighten us. In fact, the vision of the dead carousing would now be treated in a humorous, romantic or perhaps patriotic spirit, but scarcely with any hope of making our flesh creep. To do that the

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author must change his direction; he must seek to terrify us not by the ghosts of the dead, but by those ghosts which are living within ourselves. The great increase of the psychical ghost story in late years testifies to the fact that our sense of our own ghostliness has much quickened. A rational age is succeeded by one which seeks the supernatural in the soul of man, and the development of psychical research offers a basis of disputed fact for this desire to feed upon. Henry James, indeed, was of opinion before writing "The Turn of the Screw" that "the good, the really effective and heart-shaking ghost stories (roughly so to term them) appeared all to have been told. The new type, indeed, the more modern 'psychical case,' washed clean of all queerness as by exposure to a flowing laboratory tap, the new type clearly promised little."

If man is bidden to surrender belief in his difference in kind from other living creatures, he will be given the conception of a collective humanity whose duties and destiny he shares. That conception will not be the destruction, but the enlargement, of the field of the emotions, and, in contrasting the evanescence of the individual with the permanence of the race, he may find a profounder meaning in the familiar words:

> "We are such stuff as dreams are made on,
> And our little life is rounded with a sleep."

Plato noted that poets "utter great and wise things that they do not themselves understand"; and it may well be that this supreme genius did not fully realize the sense of his pregnant words. What are *we* made of? Not of the beggarly elements of matter. It is not in brain, ganglia, protoplasm, that we must seek the real man; no, in the totality of his thoughts, words, deeds, treasured up by memory, whereof his spiritual and ethical character is moulded—in his *karma,* to use the nomenclature, now so familiar to us, of the great Indian teacher. What are we made of? Largely of memory. Memory is of the essence of mind. That is the stuff of which we are made. And it is the stuff of which our dreams are made.

What then is the definition of a dream? It is always well to give a definition if we can. And I suppose that as good a definition as any of a dream is "the intellectual activity of a sleeping person." One great difference between waking and sleeping is that the sleeper is not brought by the nervous system into those relations with the outer world which give rise to sensation. The activity of his imagination is unrestricted by contact with external fact. And thus isolated, it is to the vast treasury of his memory that he resorts, plundering amid its contents almost at random.

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X.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL UNREST.

THE philosophical background of the social unrest so general in the world today can quite reasonably be connected with the Positivism in Contemporary Philosophy. Positivism in the philosophy of the present is not a system, but an attitude of mind in which the philosopher approaches and limits his problems and a method with which he investigates them. As an attitude it varies considerably in different quarters, yet in general the viewpoint is taken that there is no truth and no finality, at least, none that is discoverable. In fact, the word truth is taboo in present philosophical circles. Rather the predisposition is to work on the "infinite" problem of mentally constructing reality upon the basis of experience. And at no stage in this endless process may it be said that anything true or anything ultimate has been established. Like a mirage the goal of speculative thought vanishes as one approaches it. And philosophy is a matter of formulating laws that correlate and unify the experimental data now at hand. But these laws may and, in all probability, will be found inadequate and false when more facts have been observed and recorded.

As a method, Positivism in Contemporary Philosophy is an application of scientific procedure to philosophical problems. Now, the method of painfully gathering facts and of formulating laws on the basis of the data collected is legitimate enough in its proper sphere, in the natural sciences. But the method ceases to function where the real problems of philosophy begin. Fancy collecting sufficient data to establish—I do not say to learn—the principle of contradiction!

This Positivism is spread broadcast directly by the study of the various text-books of science which have this philosophy as a background.

Take for illustration experimental education. There is back of it only this positivistic attitude. There is no philosophy pointing out the ultimate destiny of man, his purpose and his ideals in this life. The real and ultimate end of the human being is not taken into account. The child is educated to be a success in life and a good citizen. But what means success in life? What elements enter into the making of a good citizen? The cry of "dogmatism" forbids a categorical answer deduced from human destiny and dignity as premises. Thus there is growing up a science technically elaborate

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and practically useful in facilitating the learning process. And all this is done for the purpose of educating people, but educating them for what?—well, for any reason they may have or think they have for wanting enlightenment.

As a result, there is created in the minds of students doubt and uncertainty. The principles of metaphysics arrived at by reason seem vague and shadowy, unless verified by experience—that reasoning processes should be valid in the first case if they are in the second seems to be forgotten. Next, this spirit is evident in the contributions to philosophical and scientific journals. It appears after a time in the popular magazines, on the lecture platform and in the newspapers. Thus, like a drop of oil on the water, it spreads, getting thinner as it goes, but still in evidence. It becomes in this way a part of the great stream of current thought; it is applied to the solution of those problems that are being generally discussed.

Under these conditions the average man will take up this positivistic spirit and work it into his philosophy of life. That every man has some kind of philosophy of life does not need demonstration. This proposition is so generally accepted that it is expressed in the often repeated saying, "every man is a philosopher." It is sufficient to remark that he constructs his outlook on life from his experience—what he hears, sees, feels, suffers, etc. So if his environment is positivistic, it will give a positivistic color to his experience and, through the latter, to his philosophy of life.

The results of a positivistic philosophy of life are easily traceable, for they are expressed in human behavior. As long as the spirit of positivism is confined to the abstract sphere of the sciences, its influence on social life is negligible, but once let it enter the life, philosophy of social elements and its pernicious effects manifest themselves in human conduct. Accepting no proposition as ultimate and certain, men's minds drift about like a ship torn from its moorings. And, hearing new theories proposed and untried hypotheses suggested on every side, men do not know what to accept, what to believe, while their mental attitude prompts them to try one after the other. So they go on continually looking for further information, for additional evidence with the intention of giving up what they have in favor of the new. Having no conception of an accepted ultimate, spiritual and ideal object in life, they generally seek a reason for existence in some kind of social service or uplift of humanity. (Be it understood there is here no intention of discouraging charity or social service, rightly understood and properly subordinated in a logical system of ends and purposes.) Applied to conditions of living—the paramount problem of a people given over to comfort seeking—this attitude creates an over desire for im-

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proved conditions. And these are to be arrived at by the experimental, the trial and error method, the method of trying one thing after another with the hope that something better will be found.

It may be contended that this discussion takes no account of socialism. This is not, however, correct. Socialism is here regarded as one of the many theories now proposed for the improvement of the social order. On the contrary, the object of this paper is more ultimate. It strives to discover, by the analysis of mental phenomena of individuals and of social groups, what it is that prepares men's minds—in a peaceful, prosperous nation—to accept radical theories. Of course every one knows that economic and political conditions are immediate factors in the fostering of discontent, but there is something that goes before economic pressure and lingers in the minds of men even after a crisis or depression has passed. It is this more fundamental cause of general restlessness that is in question here. Or, going further still, the paper seeks to determine whence comes the outlook on life or the philosophy of life that not only prepares men's minds for the acceptance of radical doctrines, but even sets them in search of something new. In a word it is hoped that a true, if incomplete, account has been given of the mental attitude or the philosophy accountable for the present social unrest.

Now, the Catholic philosophy of life is quite different from that discussed above. It has its roots in infinite truth and is grounded on eternal principles. Hence it has repeatedly been said that the principles on which all social difficulties can be settled are contained in the Sermon on the Mount. That is correct enough, yet these principles remain inert until brought to light and made operative in human thought and action. They must be applied in detail. So the obvious thing to do is to put the Catholic philosophy of life before the people in all its reasonableness and in all its beauty. It may be maintained that the people get this in sermons, but I believe the average man dissociates to a disadvantageous extent his religious ideas from his notions of social life and that he almost completely dissociates his political from his religious conceptions. This mental attitude arises largely from the fact that in the United States religion is a private affair, whereas social ideas and institutions as well as politics are communal interests—they are a part of the national life. Consequently, special means ought to be taken to show how the Catholic philosophy of life applies to the social and political conditions of today. For this purpose a series of missions or lectures could be organized, in which the Catholic philosophy of life would be explained and its application to present conditions pointed out. And there seems little doubt that the people would be grateful;

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for they would then have firm ground to rest upon; they would have clear conceptions of fundamental principles and of ultimate ends.

Furthermore, judging from the world-wide unrest and from the universal political and social disturbances very nearly the same conditions as one discovers in the United States must be present everywhere. In all parts of the world men's minds are unsettled. They seem to be groping in the darkness of uncertainty and of doubt. On all sides thinking men see gloomy forebodings of still greater evils to come.

And yet there seems to be a remedy at hand. If the Catholic Church, universal as she is, were to set about explaining her philosophy of life to the entire world, good must surely come from the undertaking. However, far be it from me to suggest policies to the Church of Rome that has so triumphantly withstood the storms of two thousand years. Still, it is not a question of saving the Church; for her we need have no fear. It is the human race that needs salvation in a critical time. And so it seems reasonable that if a consistent attempt were made to explain the Catholic philosophy of life in all parts of the world—the Church is universal—such a stupendous impact of reasonable philosophy would stop the onward rush of wild theories. For the voice of the Catholic Church reverberating around the world would be heard even in the present tumult.

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XI.

THE MISSION OF CATHOLIC THOUGHT.

I.

THREE or four years ago there was a hopeful looking forward to an immediate readjustment of the general chaos of ideas and ideals which had reached its high point during the world war. In all fields of human thought and activity the characteristic condition was one of unrest, instability. In the realm of speculative thought particularly this ferment had long been dominant. It was immensely quickened by the terrible struggle of the nations. In consequence the period of the great war increased and emphasized the already extensive discussions of political philosophy, of political ethics; it brought new vigor into the question of social and economic ethics, and a renewed interest in all matters allied to them. With these questions of private, social and political ethics, that of religion and religious ideals was always interwoven. Indeed, the close connection between political thought and religious thought is not infrequently a matter of comment. "The world changes the modes of its religious feeling and thought," writes Mr. Hadley (*Some Influences in Modern Philosophic Thought,* p. 77), "as it changes the modes of its political feeling and thought. The two sets of changes go hand in hand. An age of political complacence is usually an age of religious complacence. An age of political struggle is almost always an age of religious struggle." Be that as it may, no one will deny that the ferment in present-day thought is especially strong and active in the fields of politics and ethics. The hope of readjustment, entertained a few years ago, has not been realized. And today we are still face to face with the intellectual conditions that the late war brought out so prominently. The period of mental, ideal readjustments is yet only beginning. Whatever the tendencies may be that are unfolding themselves, however they may differ from the principles which to the Catholic thinker offer a proper and satisfactory solution of the problems of life, the Catholic thinker obviously cannot ignore them. He must keep abreast of the stream of time, even if he does not swim with every one of its currents. The tendencies of any age form, as it were, the colored glass through which most of its people view the different problems of the day; and they will be met with at every turn of the devious course that life pursues.

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The many discussions of some phase or other of political philosophy or of law agree mainly in this that a systematization or reconstruction of views is a matter of immediate moment. The late Lord Morley had already stated in the *Notes on Politics and History* that "nobody in any camp will quarrel with the view that one of the urgent needs of today is a constant attempt to systematize political thoughts and to bring ideals into closer touch with fact." The same need was expressed as follows by a writer in *The Bookman* (February, 1918): "We require nothing less than a new and modern conception of the source and sanction of law and order; and an institution of commanding energy and authority to impose this modern definition of right upon the severed parts and faculties of our disordered life." Such an opinion should be the more significant as coming from one who "spent a quarter of a century in making intimate acquaintance with the organs and functions that belong to what may be called the physiology of modern society." Some years ago John Dewey (in *The New Republic,* March 23, 1918) suggested a settlement of the international political problem, which is interesting because it exemplifies a view that is held by not a few prominent thinkers on the question of ethics. Dewey opposed the view that public morals should be based on private ethics. The relation between the two is only one of analogy. It is a "central fact that morals are relative to social organization." Morality therefore arose only after men formed societies; and "conscience, that aggregate of the moral sentiments and ideas of man, is not the author and judge of social institutions, but the product and the reflex of the latter." Analogously this is true of the nations. They now "exist with respect to one another in what the older writers called a state of nature." Consequently "states are non-moral in their activities just because of the absence of an inclusive society which defines and establishes rights." And it is impossible to have any obligations existing between nations until they are joined together into a society. An internationally organized society is therefore absolutely necessary "not merely in order that certain moral obligations might be effectively enforced, but in order that a variety of obligations might come into existence"—in order, therefore, to *create* these obligations.

It is impossible to give an estimate of the many different opinions and suggestions that have been floated in recent time on any one of the vital questions of the day. The general trend of them all is thorough dissatisfaction with the present condition of things and a loud clamor for changes. There is little thought of a reapplication of old principles; only a feverish demand for something new. And the general drift has been towards a complete separation of social and political ethics from private ethics, and of private ethics in turn

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from any conscious metaphysics. Beneficial laws are to be enacted for all existing evils. The tendency to accumulate external laws is steadily growing. To the state we are to look for a settlement; and a wider legislation penetrating into regions hitherto left free, is the cry of many. In a quotation cited above, the need was mentioned for "an institution of commanding energy and authority to impose this modern definition of right upon the severed parts and faculties of our disordered life." Ralph Barton Perry has well said in a pertinent article entitled "Is There a Social Mind?" (*The American Journal of Sociology,* March, 1922), that "organization has become a habit, if not a disease." The general trend arrives ultimately at a centralized autocratic authority, one that ignores the individuals as much as unthinking individuals have ignored questions of the greatest public moment. The contrast between the principles on which our government was founded and this recent developing tendency offers a spectacle similar to that displayed by so many of the nations who in the past decades professed democracy at home and practiced rigorous imperialism in their colonial policies. The question still remains a very open one whether the solution to the present conditions lies, not in high-handed action by a modern super-individual state, but in a renewed effort at the character training of the individual, with merely the necessary aid and encouragement of the larger society. A settlement of this kind would belong in the province of religion, and many point joyfully to the present religious reawakening of the world.

In the religious field the clamor, too, has been for something new. The one-time famous article in *The Metropolitan* of January, 1918, in which Conan Doyle formulated his spiritistic creed, bore the pretentious title of "The New Revelation." Sir Arthur was then just a convert to Spiritism. If Spiritism itself is not exactly something new, its widespread prevalence today certainly is. Spiritism, said Conan Doyle then—and his recent statements show remarkably little development for a professed modern—does away with hell and thus confirms the conclusions of all reasonable men. Science had long ago proved man's descent from simian ancestors. This in turn had destroyed the story of the fall of man. Without the fall the incarnation, redemption and passion of Christ lose all their significance. The important thing about Christ, therefore, is not his death, but his life. Such is the message of Spiritism. Again Herbert G. Wells, in *God the Invisible King* and elsewhere, spoke of a God that is not submissive, but rebellious. If this book of his did not catch the popular fancy, his *Mr. Brittling* certainly did so, being a one-time best seller of many months' standing. In the latter Wells concluded with the fantasy of a finite god, such as the philosophy of some

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pragmatists and other contemporaries champions. In a later work by Wells, *Joan and Peter,* further transformations had taken place. Though these books of Wells are already forgotten history, the notions expressed in them are not so, since they represent what is still a fashionable view among many. In general, man no longer needs to strive towards an august deity, for the latter has been leveled to the plane of man. Pantheism, too, is again holding its head high, though when decked with all the accoutrements of theosophy it becomes more impervious to the human intellect than ever before. Even the old doctrine of reincarnation is reviving and forms part of the "new" religion. A writer in *The Nineteenth Century* spoke some two or three years ago of "the theory of life now reduced to a scientific shape and gradually winning consent in all directions—the doctrine of Reincarnation." Incidentally the article in question, which was entitled "The Occultism of Tennyson," made a practical application of this theory. That Tennyson wrote his poem, "The Mystic" when not more than seventeen years old is simply proof that "so great a poet as Tennyson must have been a poet already in former lives and could not but bring over the capacity for poetic inspirations." This conclusion may not be convincing, but it does show how prevalent tendencies exert an influence on many people and often greatly color their views and judgments. It is just for this reason that prevalent tendencies or viewpoints may have an importance far beyond their desert, and must receive due consideration at proper times.

It is impossible to tell where the different religious trends will arrive at. Will Spiritism, for instance, be the vital force of rectification of existing evils? Will it answer the religious needs felt so long in the human soul and left unanswered by materialism? The Catholic has his answer ready. Without entering further into these questions, let us proceed to a third. Is religion merely a method of acquiring inner satisfaction or is it to be a rational guide towards right living? In the so-called new religions the latter purpose is almost wholly absent, while the former is avowedly the mainspring of vitality. Spiritism may be the result of a reaction against irreligious materialism; it may answer the yearning of many a soul for a more congenial food than that of the materialistic table. But for many minds an attractive feature of it is also this, that it flatters a sense of abnormal curiosity. It really leaves the question of good or bad action rigorously alone. Like the religion of much of pragmatism, it ignores the principle of action altogether and looks mainly to a sort of emotional satisfaction. The new religion flatters human pride not by exalting man, but by lowering God and the whole spiritual world. It is a religion of self-complacence. It does not

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help to solve the great problems confronting man and the world. It does not stimulate thought. It offers no basis for right or wrong action; no incentive to the individual to do good at his own cost. As far as it is concerned, the disgraceful and unpatriotic private profiteering witnessed in so many countries during the war can go on forever; the struggle between men and nations, the violation of good principles, the defense of wrong ones, may continue always. What wonder then that men turn to the state to settle all difficulties by an almighty law, that the right of might is unconsciously advocated as the panacea for all wrongs, despite the great principles for which we a few years ago entered upon the greatest of all wars! State force is of course necessary in human society, but as long as it is considered the only remedy of human ills, instead of a mere preventive, there will be endless bitter strife between the individuals and the state. It is only the ethical training of the individual based on a sound philosophy of life and reality that can put an end to this strife; and this is sadly lacking in the "new" religions.

II.

Over against the variety of views that are receiving great emphasis today, of which the above paragraphs give but a few specimens, it is very pertinent to consider the attitude to be taken by the Catholic thinker. Our Catholic views, especially where matters of faith and revelation are concerned, have nothing to fear in themselves from the contrary opinions. Hence the best preparation the teacher can give to youths is a firm foundation in the principles and the spirit of the Catholic answers to these and all other questions. The person firmly grounded in the fundamentals will not be in great danger when meeting with opposing views. But such a person can hardly be said to be prepared for the battle of life unless he is well ready to cope with the views that he will meet, unless the principles he has absorbed have been specially emphasized from the standpoint of the several opposing theories that hold sway for the time being in the world of thought. This duty lies to a great extent in the province of philosophy, and Catholic philosophy naturally cannot ignore the different systems of thought permeating the contemporary world. This sounds like a truism. But how often does not the philosopher take the attitude that since his philosophy contains all the truth the other systems are not worth bothering about!

The Catholic philosopher is not unlikely to take this view. He finds his own philosophy able to satisfy all wants. He views other systems of thought only from his subjective standpoint. It thus becomes sufficient for him to pass them by with a wave of the hand, by tagging on them a label such as pantheism, subjectivism, idealism,

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materialism, etc., or to refute them by a mere *Quia absurdum est.* This attitude is really one of self-complacency. The result is that Catholic philosophy then wields no influence whatever on other systems of thought. They grow up learning to disregard it; and it suddenly wakes up to find itself in a world of views that accord in no place at all, where it feels lost, and must appear antiquated or obsolete.

If our philosophy is true, it surely deserves to be spread far and wide, so that a greatest number of persons can come in contact with it. If it stands for something vital in the world, it should also have its place of recognition among the different systems of thought. It must study the symptoms of the day, the tendencies that are injurious not only to Catholicity, but to all the world of its fellowmen. These it must attempt to remedy. It should search the causes of such symptoms, and suggest remedies in such a manner that they will be acceptable to the mind that is seriously seeking a healing ointment.

To what extent has Catholic philosophy done this? Has it taken into account sufficiently the various moves that really influence the actions of the people of our time? Has it examined other systems, only to find out how far they differ from itself, or also to look for the grain of truth that exists everywhere? Only too many of its exponents have lived entirely in the past, and they cannot escape altogether the truth of these words of Mr. Hadley: "If a man works out his philosophy of life by himself or with his books as his only companions, it is hard for him to avoid a good deal of injustice toward people whose convictions are different from his own." We cannot ignore our own age and its symptoms. The latter we must examine to their very roots. As Mark Pattison said: "What it is important for us to know with respect to our own age, or every age, is not its peculiar opinions, but the complex elements of that moral feeling and character, in which as in their congenial soil opinions grow."

Catholic philosophy indeed considers other philosophies and examines them. But is the sympathetic candor of such scrutiny always so apparent as to convince others of its presence? If we refuse to see the standpoint of others, or ignore their sincerity, we are not only shutting off all possibility of assisting them, but we are actually building a wall around ourselves and closing to them all avenues of approach. It is said that Orestes A. Brownson, the illustrious convert, had no love for the Schoolmen, though he himself always denied the charge. His was a mind of extraordinary power and energy, and he employed it earnestly and perseveringly in search of the truth. He had viewed scholastic philosophy from the outside, and

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the view of a man as sincere as he was should be at least interesting and somewhat symptomatic. He writes: "The scholastics are, as controversialists, far more influential in keeping men who have the truth from going astray, than in recovering from error those who, unhappily, have yielded to its seductions." (*Works,* vol. xix, p. 466.) What is it that repels the sincere outsider? If it is our method or our terminology, are these worth the cost?

The duty of Catholic philosophy as a system of truth is twofold. It must give powerful weapons to its children in their defense against error. But as the light of truth, it should also try to cast its rays on those beyond the threshold of Catholicity; and this it can only do if it appears in a garb that is intelligible and acceptable to the outsiders, and if it shows so much appreciation of other viewpoints that it does not repel those of other belief at first sight. Let our terminology remain in our own seminary textbooks if necessary; even the Latin language if it must be, though so pre-eminent a Catholic philosopher as Cardinal Mercier gives excellent reasons why Catholic philosophy should be taught in the vernacular. But let us not confine solid philosophy to the seminaries. We are all acquainted with the tenor of Pope Leo's *Aeterni Patris,* which forty years ago instituted the New-Scholastic movement. Have we not followed out its injunctions only with an eye to ourselves and neglected our fellowmen? Regarding these, the great Pope wrote:

> "Moreover, very many of those men who, alienated in mind from the faith, hate Catholic institutions, profess that reason alone is their teacher and guide. For their cure and restoration to the Catholic faith we judge that (excepting the supernatural assistance of God) nothing is more efficient than the solid doctrine of the Fathers and scholastics who, with so great clearness and force, have distinctly pointed out the firm foundations of faith, its divine origin, its certain truth, the arguments with which it is supported, the benefits conferred by it on the human race, its perfect accordance with reason, that nothing more is needed to persuade the minds of men, even the most unwilling and obstinate."

That this effect has been little aimed at in some circles hardly can be denied. In a review of Professor Seth's book, *The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy,* which appeared in *Studies* (December, 1917), a very relevant question was asked: "It seems a pity that the New-Scholastic and the modern philosopher are to such an extent strangers to one another. For beneath terminological discrepancies there is a wonderful sameness in the human mind when wrestling with the unseen. When Professor Seth is criticizing that unconscious Schoolman, Hans Driesch, he is unwittingly taking up

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an old debate of the Thomists and Scotists. And in his polemic with Professor Bosanquet he is but fighting out in modern English the old battles of nominalism and realism. In the absence of historically minded modern thinkers, is it not high time that Catholic philosophers should make themselves intelligible to a world which has irrevocably turned aside from medievalism?"

The question is still pertinent today. It has, however, less relevancy in some other countries than in our own. In German Catholic circles the admirable work of the *Görresgesellschaft* is not alone in the timeliness of its vernacular philosophical publications. The French-speaking peoples have—to mention only one journal—the excellent *Revue neo-scolastique,* the Italians the *Rivista neoscolastica.* And the English-speaking peoples, vast though their territory is, have not a single Catholic magazine that devotes itself *ex professo* and exclusively to a discussion and development of timely philosophical problems. It is mainly in our own country that the beginning must still be made. Many of our secular universities are looking for a closer acquaintance with Catholic philosophy today, and they are not able to get what they want. Nay, real philosophical thinking among Catholics is practically confined to the seminaries. Under these conditions it is a great sign of encouragement that our Catholic institutions of learning, apart from their seminary courses, are beginning to realize their duty and their opportunity more keenly. Our philosophy must be made accessible especially to our lay people, and that not in superficial popularizations, but with all the depth and penetration and broad sympathy that characterized the scholastic princes of old. Philosophical thinking must be the acquired mental habit of every Catholic that claims to be educated, be he ecclesiastical or lay. Only when that is true of the latter also will it be possible for Catholic philosophy to enter upon the mission which the great Leo so clearly pointed out in the spirit of the Divine Master who came to illumine the whole world.

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XII.

CARDINAL BARONIUS AND THE ALLEGED DOOMSDAY TERROR OF THE YEAR A. D. 1000.

THE time is passed when historians of repute, secular and ecclesiastical, Catholic and non-Catholic, gravely told their readers that about the year A. D. 1000, Christian Europe in fear and trembling expected the end of the world to come in that or the following year. An Italian historian, for instance, gives the following description of this Doomsday scare. "The dark despair of mystic terror took hold of all society. Filled with anguish, everybody expected the last act of divine vengeance, the end of the world. The common fright effected wonderful equalization of all classes. The baron knelt before the altar by the side of the poor rustic; the lady of the castle beside the despised wife of the serf. All the fears of the preceding centuries gathered like a black cloud over the tenth." (Beissel, S. J., in Stimmen aus Maria Laach, Vol. 48, where references are carefully noted.)

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Italian, French and German scholars have made careful investigations concerning this point, and they have come to the indubitable conclusion that no such terror existed. In Vol. VI of the American Historical Review, Lincoln Burr sums up their arguments. F. Beissel had already done the same, with some additions of his own, in the periodical quoted above. F. Beissel also states that it was no less a man than Cardinal Baronius who originated this strange tale. It may be worth our while to enter upon this question a little more in detail.

Under the year 1001 the cardinal says: "The first year after the thousandth begins, designated the fourteenth of the indication, and pronounced by some without reason to be the last of the world, or not far from the last; the year in which people said would appear the 'man of iniquity, the son of perdition,' called Antichrist. This rumor was sent abroad in Gaul, and was first preached in Paris, and it soon spread over all the world. Many believed in it; the simple-minded received it with trembling, but the more educated contradicted. Among others, Abbot Abbo of Fleury, a man eminent for learning and sanctity, says that he took pains to refute the error from the Bible."

This statement is indeed rather moderate. It contains nothing of the hair-raising details with which later historians have embellished it. According to Baronius the rumor existed indeed, but it was not

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generally believed, though it spread over all the world, and it was strongly contradicted; it can, therefore, not have had so terrifying an effect as was attributed to it in the times after the cardinal's death. And yet even the great cardinal went too far.

It is his custom not merely to refer the reader to the source from which he draws his information, but to reproduce the respective passages at some length. The chief passages on which he bases the above assertion are these:

I. "Concerning the end of the world," says Abbo, "I heard a sermon preached at Paris, when still a young man, in which the preacher maintained that *at the end of a thousand years Antichrist would come immediately, and not long after the General Judgment would follow.* I contradicted this sermon with all my might (qua potui virtute), adducing testimonies from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the Book of Daniel."

II. "Finally my abbot, Richard, of blessed memory, ably (sagaci animo) refuted an error which had spread concerning the end of the world, having received communications from Lorraine, to which he ordered me to reply. For nearly the whole world was filled with the rumor that the *Last Judgment would surely come when Good Friday would fall on the date of the Annunciation* (*i. e.*, the 25th of March)."

The other passages adduced by Baronius only speak in general terms of signs and portents—among them the inevitable comet—and of the decay in morals and ecclesiastical discipline. They do not allude to the end of the world at all, unless we find an allusion in the fact that one ancient writer calls his time an iron age. But all these quotations, partly reproduced, partly summarized, are merely to explain how the unfounded belief might have originated. We are therefore concerned only with the two sections from Abbo.

We should notice first that the second quotation does not connect the end of the world in any way with the year thousand. Those who started the talk that the end of the world would come when Good Friday would fall on the 25th of March, cannot have belonged to the educated. That coincidence happens periodically. It took place in 970, 981, 992, 1065, 1075, etc., and in 1921. It will again occur in 1932. Abbo was abbot of Fleury, 988-1004. As he refers to a time when he was not yet in office, possibly the Good Friday which frightened people was that of 981, perhaps even that of 970; at any rate a goodly number of years before A. D. 1000. Abbo's words, that "nearly the whole world was filled" with the rumor, must not be taken too literally. He and his abbot knew of the rumor only through communications from one little country, Lorraine, and the able refutation by the Abbot of Fleury seems to

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have set the minds of the Lorrainers at rest. The fact that both the year 970 and 981 passed without the dreaded event happening must have served rather to cool down all such Doomsday fears and to make a general scare about the year 1000 less probable. Abbo himself evidently attributes little importance to the affair.

Nor does he attach greater moment to the incident mentioned in the first quotation. Abbo was still a very young man (adolescentulus) when he heard that sermon which roused his opposition. The sermon must have been preached, therefore, about 960 or 950. It was probably not a very learned one, otherwise young Abbo could not have refuted it. Abbo tells of no other sermon of the kind. He does not even hint that such prophecies were in vogue at the time, or that any considerable fraction of the people attached any consequence to such vagaries. It would have been natural for him to state that sermons like the one he heard at Paris became more common the more the fatal year approached, or that the fears of the people increased. But we hear absolutely nothing of any such apprehension, nor of the attitude of the clergy towards it—outside of Abbo's own solitary opposition—nor of its effects on the life and morals of the people. All we can learn from the whole quotation is that among the thousands of sermons delivered in the tenth century there was one, given about 950 or 960 by a visionary priest, who predicted the end of the world to come at the safe distance of half a century.

What Abbo thinks of both incidents he shows by mentioning a third error, namely, the incorrect beginning of the holy season of Lent. To combat this, more is needed than the efforts of a young student or the letter of an abbot; it requires the assembling of a Council. (Baronius reprints this passage also.) But Doomsday prophecies evidently can be disposed of with a lesser amount of toil and exertion.

"Baronius' Annals," says the Catholic Encyclopedia, "constitute the most conspicuous and enduring monument of his genius and devotion to the Church. For three centuries they have been the inspiration of students of history, and an inexhaustible storehouse for research. But this does not imply that his work is final. Master though he was, Baronius was a pioneer. Gifted with a critical spirit which was, to say the least, much keener than that of his contemporaries, his exercise of it was tentative and timid. Yet he stimulated a spirit of criticism which would infallibly advance the science of history beyond the reaches attainable to himself. With this wider vision his successors have been enabled to subject the Annals to no little corrective criticism." (Vol. II, p. 306.) It is therefore not dishonorable for the great Cardinal if we presume

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that he made a mistake in asserting, even in a moderate form, a widespread expectation of the Last Judgment about the end of the first millennium after Christ. Patient and thorough researches, made by Catholic and Protestant scholars, have demonstrated that the year one thousand was spoken of by contemporary chroniclers in exactly the same way as any other year before or after, and that building, business, and intellectual and political life shows absolutely no change before or during the fatal year.

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Postscriptum.—Cardinal Baronius died in 1607. About a hundred years before him lived the famous *Trithemius,* a pious Benedictine monk, zealous reformer, and accomplished humanist. He wrote several historical works, in one of which he relates that on the occasion of a synod in Würzburg, in 960, a certain priest, Bernard, who was considered a saint by the populace, maintained that by a special revelation he knew the end of the world would come within the lifetime of his listeners, so soon indeed, that the crosses which it was said appeared on the garments of the people would not disappear before all would be terrified by the trumpet of the angels. If this story were really true, it would certainly not prove the existence of a worldwide Doomsday scare at a date forty years later. But there are good reasons to doubt it. Trithemius as historian deserves very little credit because of his complete lack of historical sense. It is known that he not only bungled and misinterpreted documents, but that he outright forged some of his "sources." Moreover, this particular passage is not found in all editions of his works, and may therefore be a later interpolation. Finally, neither Hefele, in his History of Councils, nor Hartzheim, in his monumental Historia Conciliorum Germaniæ (1763), know anything of a synod held at Würzburg in 960. We are therefore right if we disregard the tale entirely. Whether Cardinal Baronius was acquainted with it, and, while rejecting Trithemius as an authority, was nevertheless somewhat influenced by the account, it is probably impossible to find out.

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XIII.

THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN AMERICA.

THE history of printing in America is quite an interesting study and the instalment of the first printing press has been claimed by more than one section of the continent. Especially is this the case with New England writers. But, now and then, one-sided and one-eyed writers, while looking up something else, stumble over a stubborn fact that will not down at their bidding. Fair-minded writers, today, are seeking after truth—they can't afford to shirk it. People do a little more reading than they formerly did and writers of the old school are obliged to be fair and adhere to *facts* whether it pleases them or not. History must be written as it is and not as some people would like it to be.

Not long ago I noticed, in one of our great New York dailies, an answer to an anxious enquirer as to the first newspaper *published in America.* Of course, the answer was the *Boston News Letter* (1704). Next, we are told that the first printing press set up *in America* was at Cambridge, Mass., in 1639, just nineteen years after Plymouth Rock came into history. Now, the fact of the matter is that the first newspaper published in the New World appeared in the City of Mexico in 1693, while the *Boston News Letter* did not appear until 1704, eleven years after the *Mercurio Volante* (Flying Mercury) of Mexico. Another paper, published by Don Antonio Alzado, a scientist, appeared in 1765; it was called *El Diario Literario de Mexico.* But, before this, in 1742, the *Gaseta de Mexico y Nyalicias de Literia España* appeared. It contained a review of books published in Mexico and Spain.

It may be interesting to the reader of today, and surprising, too, to learn a few facts concerning the first printing press and the first books printed in America, and beyond the limits of the present United States.

The old city of Mexico regards it as its greatest glory to have been the first in the New World to have seen the setting up of the wonderful printing press. Notwithstanding that the *fact* has always been admitted as beyond a doubt, the exact date and the details thereof still remained unsettled.

The records in the archives of Spain must, in the course of time, throw some light on the subject. We know, from well authenticated documents, that John Cromberger, the renowned printer of Sevilla, *sent* to Mexico a press and all its auxiliaries on the order of the

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Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, and of Bishop Zumarraga, but the exact date of the transaction is, unfortunately, not certain. From a number of circumstances, however, it is safe to assume that arrangements were completed with Cromberger during the latter part of the year 1633, or the first days of the year 1634.

It will be noticed that the introduction of the printing press in the New World, then, is not, as some writers have claimed, due entirely to Don Antonio de Mendoza, but to Bishop Zumarraga in conjunction with him. The Viceroy had introduced so many useful industries into the country that the writers of his time lost sight of the part taken by the enterprising Bishop in this great work.

The first mention we have of the establishment of a press in this country dates back to 1638, as it was at this time that the Bishop wrote to the Emperor, as follows: "We do little in the way of printing because of the scarcity of paper, and this greatly delays the printing of the many works we have on hand as well as of new editions which are greatly needed, and we get very little from Spain." [1] Judging from this statement, we can assume that the press was not in operation before the dates given above are correct.

We cannot follow all the discussion as to exact dates, but we find a statement worth giving. It is to the effect that the Dominican, Fra Juan Ramirez, established a *Doctrina,* and yet, Gonzalez Davila tells us that "the first *Catecismo* printed in the Mexican language for the instruction of the Indians appeared in 1537." [2] There seems to be some confusion in the name of Fra Davila and Fra Ramirez. There is no doubt that Gonzalez Davila obtained from reliable sources reasons for his statements in the *Teatro Eclesiastico,* but he nevertheless falls into error. After examining the errors on both sides, too numerous to mention here, we may safely assume that in March, 1537, Father Ramirez's *Santa Doctrina* was printed and bound in Sevilla at the royal expense. The book was in Spanish and Mexican, and 500 copies were sent to New Spain. In July of the same year the officers of the Casa de la Constitucion wrote to the Emperor: "May it please Your Majesty to order to be printed, a book in the Mexican and Spanish languages, by a Dominican Father. We agree with Juanes Cumberger, printer, *although the translation of the Mexican language has not been completed by the Father,* who is hastening his work." From all these conflicting reports we seek to ascertain which was the first book printed in the city of Mexico and in the New World. The most reliable authority

[1] The Viceroy introduced many industries, especially the manufacture of material for wearing apparel. Next the press and the printing of books, and glassmaking to the astonishment of the natives, also moulds for the printing of books, etc. Gomara Conquesta de Mexico.

[2] Teatro Ecclesiastico de la Primitina Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales, Madrid, 1649. T. I., p. 7.

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on this subject is Davila Padilla, who, speaking of Fra Juan de Estrada, says: "While in the house of Novicio in Mexico he did what was done for the first time in this country and what sufficed to make him memorable; something which was never done before. The first book written in this New World, and the first instance in which the press was used, was his work. A book was given to the novices written by St. John Clemacus, and as it was not in Spanish, it was ordered to be translated from the Latin. The Father made the translation as hastily as possible, and being an excellent Latin scholar, the work progressed satisfactorily, and this was the first book printed by Juan Pablos, the first printer on this continent." Further on we learn that this book was entitled "La Escola Espiritual," or the "Spiritual Ladder" (1533),[3] of St. John Clemacus, translated from the Latin into Spanish by the Very Rev. Juan de la Madalena.[4] The date of this publication is not very certain, because, admitting that Viceroy Mendoza brought the press with him on his return to Mexico from Spain, the vessel did not arrive until the year of 1535.

In all other respects Don Davila Padilla is correct, because, even if the name of the translator of the "Escala" is changed, it refers to the same "religions," whose family name was Juan de Estrada, who in religion was known as Juan de Madalena. (Señor Jimenes de la Estrada, speaks of another Fra Juan de Madalena, a different person from the translator of the "Escala," a member of the same Order and residing in New Spain.) He was the son of Alverado de Estrada, who ruled over New Spain before the arrival of the first Audiencia. He took the habit of St. Dominie in 1535, and during his novitiate, which lasted a year, made the translation "with precision and elegance." If this translation began well into the year 1535, it must have gone, even with all possible hurry, into the following year, 1536. The translation was ordered to be made in Mexico because there was already a press here, otherwise it would have been necessary to send the manuscripts to Europe, and, in that event, it would have been much easier to order the Spanish edition published in Toledo in 1504. The latest at which we can place Father Estrada's translation is 1535, and the printing of his book in Mexico in 1537. This date agrees sufficiently with the dates given of other publications. It also establishes the fact that the first press in America was set up in Mexico *one hundred years* before the first press was set up at Cambridge, Mass., in 1639.

There is no doubt as to who was the *first printer*. Juan Pablos

[3] Historia Ecclesiastica de Nuestra Tiempos. Toledo, 1610, p. 122. The first book published in North America was the "Bay Psalm Book," Cambridge, Mass., Press, in 1639, one hundred years after the Escala Espiritual, Mexico, 1533.

[4] Teatro Ec. T. I., p. 24.

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so styles himself in the *Constituciones* of 1536. Though he was not the proprietor of the printing office, he was the agent or representative of Cromberger, who never set foot on New Spain. It is true that the Viceroy and Bishop Zumarraga engaged Cromberger to send a printing office outfit to Mexico, which the latter did, but he did not accompany said outfit. Everything points to the fact that Pablos was recognized as Cromberger's representative, and "worked for him at a fixed salary," or, later on, as having an interest in the enterprise. There were, in fact, two printing offices in charge of Cromberger, one in Spain and the other in Mexico, the latter being "a branch" of the one in Spain, and consequently Juan Pablos was obliged to use the name of Cromberger as proprietor in the imprint on the works published in the Mexican office, but it must be noted that none of the publications state that they were printed *by* Cromberger, but *from* his press.

We have not the details of the contract entered into for the sending of a press to Mexico, but we *do* know that the Bishops realized the importance of such a step, and as an encouragement to Juan Pablos they arranged he should receive a royalty on all scientific and other works that should be produced from his press, and, moreover, that he should receive 100 per cent. on all books he imported from Spain.

We are not concerned in this article about the various contracts and privileges granted the heirs of Mr. Cromberger, as they are of little interest to the readers; today, we *are* interested, however, in the progress made in the work of Juan Pablos. He was an Italian, a native of Brescia, in Lombardy, as he stated in several of his publications. His real name was Pauli, which the Spaniards translated into Pablos. On February 17, 1542, he became naturalized as a Mexican citizen and he became the proprietor of the printing office, and on the 19th of May of the following year he acquired a lot on which he created a building adapted to the needs of his profession. The name of Juan Pablos ceased in the publications subsequent to 1560, and is replaced by that of Pedro Cacharte, his successor.

Later on, in 1559, we find "printed in Roman character and in Latin, a Grammar by Father Maturino Gilberti which in "material execution" was far superior to the editions published by Pablos. His name appears on publications until 1575. Espinosa was the only printer, at that time, who made use of a special design for an imprint. We might add that in a *Manual para administracion de los Sacramentos,* by Father Martin de Leon, the title page bears the following imprint: "From the press of Martinos Espinosa, 1614," and on the last page: "From the press of the widow of Diego Lopez Danalos." This is an octavo containing exhortations in the Mexican language. A copy is still to be seen in the National Library.

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The third printer in Mexico, and the second in the original establishment, was Pedro Ocharte. The first book of which we have any record published by him is the "Cedulario de Puga" of 1563, and the last was the "Tratado de Medicina" of Fr. Fartan, 1592, so that he must have carried on business for thirty years or more. He issued many books in the languages of the natives, the most important of which are the "Psalterio" of 1584, and the "Antiphonarium" of 1589. In the "Codice of Tlaltelolco," to which we shall refer later on, may be seen his signature.

Pedro Balli was the fourth of the early printers. He appears in 1575 and continues until the end of the century. His publications without being of the greatest importance, are numerous and useful, as the comprised books in the languages of the natives, such as the "Doctrina Mexicana" of Father Juan de la Anunciacion; the "Arte Zaputeco," of Father Condona; the "Arte Mexico," of Father Reyes; the "Vicarbulario," of the same language, by Father Alvarado, etc. During the first years of the following century we find works printed by Jeronimo Balli.

Antonio Ricardo, fifth printer, was a native of Turin, Italy, resided in Mexico from 1577 to 1579. He was probably called to Mexico by the Jesuits, as we see that he worked for them and had his office in the College of SS. Peter and Paul. His real name was probably Riccardi. He was a good workman and the "Sermonario Mexicano" of Father Juan de la Anunciacion was a credit to his office. He removed his plant to Lima, Peru, and established the first printing office in that city. It is a notable fact that two Italians formed the first printing offices in the New World.

Ancient Mexican typography boasts of an illustrious name, Enrique Martinez, author of the "Desague." Drain was also a printer. We find, but one book of his, dated 1599, but he continues to print in the following century. In 1600 he issued his "Repertorio de los Tiempos y Historia Natural desta Nueva España." He devoted himself to the publication of books for the use of the Society of Jesus, and among these is one exceptionally well printed entitled "Poeticarum Institutionem, liber variis Ethnicorum Christianorumque exemplis illustratus ad usum studiosæ Juventutis," 1605.

The seventh and last printer of the sixteenth century was Melchor Ocharte, a son or relative of Pedro. Among his publications we find the "Confesionario" and the "Advertencias" of Father Juan Bautisla, 1599-1600. It was used in the Franciscan College of Tlaltelolco. These printers were also booksellers. Andres Martin, although not a printer by trade, had a book store, and in 1541 occupies the lower floor of the hospital.

The size of the books published in these days were the usual

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Spanish quarto and octavo, rarely otherwise. The characters of the Gothic style, especially in the early editions, the Roman characters began in 1554. The binding was generally very ordinary and in flexible parchment. Specimens may still be seen in the College of Tlaltelolco,[5] and which, on account of its poor work, shows that no better work was done at that time. The students of the college were wont to take a hand in the *composition* (type setting) of such works as were printed in their language. Most of the books of that period now remaining are in a very bad condition, incomplete, torn, soiled, etc. This is accounted for by the fact that they were used as text-books in class by boys not over careful. Then, too, the climate of Mexico was favorable to moths and dampness. Robles, in his *Diario,* referring to the year 1677, says: "This year has seen a rise in the price of paper, so that a ream of paper costs thirty pesos, a quire, two pesos, and a sheet, one real. Many books have been destroyed for the sake of selling the paper, the printing of books has been severely hampered and printing offices have had to suspend business." In 1739 the *Gaceta* of Sahagun was obliged to suspend publication. The historian, Monta Padilla, complained that he was obliged to pay from one to two reales a page of paper for each copy of his history.

It is not surprising that many sixteenth-century editions have disappeared entirely. Of some there is not even a remembrance, of others there is the most vague mention of their existence. Mondieto mentions a "Doctrina" by Molina, and he also refers to an "Aparejos (Preparation) para recitin el Santisimo Sacramento del Altar" and a "Life of St. Francis" by the same author. Then there is, from the pen of Father Juan de Ayora, Provincial of Merchoacan, a "Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament" in the Mexican language. According to Davila Padilla, Father Alejo Garcia published a "Calendario Perpetuo." Father Luis Rengino published a work on the Feasts celebrated in the Dominican Provinces of Mexico. Fra Domingo de Santa Maria, in 1560, published an "Arte de langua Mexicana." The Franciscan Fathers of Guatemala printed, in Mexico, a "Doctrina" in the language of the country (1550). The "Sermon," published in honor of Charles V in 1559, was printed in Gothic characters. Gaspar Davila, mayor of Panuco, tells us that in 1550 a translation of the "Doctrina" was ordered to be printed in that town and that "many copies of it were distributed." In the Hueypuchitan language there was a "Primer" printed in the City of Mexico in 1568; in Teutenango we find a "Doctrina" also printed in Mexico, in the "office of Antonio Alvarez," in 1563. There was

[5] Codice de Tlatelolco. This is the title given by its possessor, Señor Chavero, to a very valuable manuscript in folio, containing many interesting documents concerning the College.

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no printer of that name, but he was associated with Antonio de Espinosa, and was probably foreman in that office. The miners of Pachuca made use of a "Cartella de Molde," in the Otomi language, and composed by Father Antonio Rengel.

We learn that Señor Moya de Contreras, in 1585, granted a six-year privilege to Dr. Juan di Salcedo, Secretary of the Third Council, to print all the books required by the said Council, but no copies of these works, we believe, are in existence today.

The list of books published in these days might be lengthened considerably, but what is most remarkable is that, in spite of all the difficulties encountered, Espinosa had the courage to open new printing offices in various places.

Besides the variety of type and initial letters, the Mexican printers had quite a number of "cuts," or pictures. The latter evidently came from Spain, and they were freely used in books of religious instruction, but there was no lack of engravers in Mexico.

It will be seen, even from the comparatively few works that have come to our notice, that the press in Mexico was not kept idle, and that its productions were of the greatest utility.

As books on science could be more easily and more economically obtained from Europe, as is still the case, it is not a matter of surprise that the Mexican press, established with the sole object of providing for the necessities of the country, did not issue works of that class, if we except those of Fathers Ledesma and Vera Cruz reprinted in Spain. But, attending to what was most urgent, the work began with the "Cartillas" or primers, followed by the "Doctrinas" and other books in the Mexican languages which, if they only constituted the most important part of early typography, it was always with the object of *instructing* the natives, and proves that the Latin missionaries were more solicitous about the *education* of the natives than the Anglo-Saxon missionaries were in the northern part of our continent.

At the close of the century there were already books in Mexican, Otomi, Tarasco, Mixteco, Chuchon, Huasteco, Zapoteco and Maya, without counting those in the languages of Guatemala.

Besides the books already mentioned, there were prayer books, books on liturgy, and the notable editions of the Missal, the Psalter and the Antiphonary with the musical notes when necessary. Of works on legislation, both ecclesiastical and civil, we have the "Constituciones" of the Council of 1555, the "Ondenanzas" of Mendoza and the "Cedulario" of Puga. Among the treatises on medicine we find those of Bravo and Lopez de Hinojosos, to which we may add, in the way of natural sciences, such works as Father Vera Cruz's book on "Physics" and the "Problemas" of de Cardenas. On the

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subject of military and nautical art, Dr. Palacios has given us two volumes copiously illustrated. In the field of native literature and history we find a report on the earthquakes of Guatemala, the works of Cervantes Salazar, the "Canta" of Father Morales and the "Exequias de Felipe II." The Jesuits printed in their own houses such books as they required for their colleges, and which they could have ordered from Spain. Romances and "profane stories" found no place in the catalogue of these times, because the clergy, who were the brains of the colonies, had more important matters to look after and the general tendency was directed into other and more useful channels.

From what we have stated in this article, it will be seen that we owe to a Catholic bishop the importation of the first printing press on this continent, that prelates and "religious" pledged themselves to support it, and that the religious orders kept it alive with their invaluable contributions, not only in the Spanish language, but in the languages of the natives, a work the vast importance of which can never be adequately appreciated.

But it was not in Mexico alone that the Catholic Church encouraged and fostered the "art preservative of all arts." When the art of printing was invented, years before the so-called Reformation, the Catholic Church was prompt to appreciate its value and to utilize its services. It was the Pope who assisted the first printers—the disciples of Faust and Schöffer, on their removal to Rome.

The first printing press set up in Paris was at the Sorbonne; the first to patronize Caxton, in England, was Thomas Milling, Archbishop of Hereford and Abbot of Westminster, in which abbey Caxton established his printing office.

The earliest printing in Italy was in the monastery of Sta. Scholastica, at Subiaci, the publications of which are much sought after on account of their great beauty. In 1474 a book was printed by the Augustinian monks in the monastery of Rheingau. In 1480 a printing press was set up in the English abbey of St. Ann's and another in the abbey of Tavirtock.

The Bible was among the earliest books to come from the printing press and the Church availed herself of the new art to promote the spiritual welfare of her children, and we find that 626 editions or portions of the Bible in different languages had been used at the instance or with the approbation of the Church before 1534. The date of Luther's much vaunted Bible. The first Bible published in what is now the United States was the Bible in Natick, or Massachusetts Indian, printed in 1663, and the first Catholic Bible printed in the United States was in 1790. The Bay Psalm Book, the first book published by the first press set up in the United States, at

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Cambridge, Mass., appeared in 1639, nearly one hundred years after Bishop Zumarraga set up his press in Mexico.

The researches made in the preparation of this article, imperfect and inadequate as they are, bring to our notice some very interesting and curious facts. America was discovered by an Italian, Christopher Columbus, and the first printers, the first providers for the intellectual development of its people, were Juan Pablos (Pauli) and Antonio Ricardo (Riccardi), were both Italians.

Another very important fact is the solicitude manifested by Bishop Zumarraga and the clergy of his time in utilizing the press for the publication of elementary books of religious instruction for their people. These books, as we have seen, were printed not only in Spanish, but in the various languages and dialects of the natives.

Evidently the "monks" who evangelized Mexico did not belong to the "lazy" class so often sneeringly described by a certain school of so-called historians. These "monks," as we have shown in former articles, had to learn the languages of the natives—languages which had no letters, no alphabet, no grammars. They had to reduce these languages to grammatical rules and express them on paper and then to teach the native how to read his own language. With the help of God they accomplished their work.

We do not hear of such herculean tasks as being undertaken by the "enlightened and energetic" Anglo-Saxon missionaries of the northern portion of our continent. They, as their records show, were more interested in commercial than in intellectual progress. The work of the "Padres," through their press, their preaching and their teaching, developed fruits acceptable to God and beneficial to men. They produced native bishops, priests, jurists, college professors and historians. We look in vain for similar results further north. On one side we find the aborigine exterminated, on the other we find millions of his race dwelling in peace and happiness among their white neighbors and co-religionists. Food for reflection!

H. F. V.

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XIV.

HISTORY IN THE MAKING.

I.

THE events that stirred Rome during the early winter of 1922 were a great drama, watched by the world with curious eyes, but by Catholics, everywhere, with an awed and vivid sympathy. To Catholics in Rome itself, it seemed that they were looking on at some immense mystery or miracle-play, wherein, as in a dark mirror, they gazed upon the destinies of the Church, the future of the world, the very counsel of God. No one who was present will forget the restless days of anxiety during Benedict XV's illness; the cold and empty peace that fell upon the city when at last he lay dead; the ceremonial mourning, so impersonal, yet so profound; the suspense during the Conclave, when neither evening nor morning brought tidings; least of all can the magnificent announcement of the "gaudium magnum" be forgotten, the new Pope's blessing, the almost bridal joys of the Coronation. All who saw will remember, but for those who did not see, whose minds during all this time turned wistfully to Rome, there may be some satisfaction in this record of history in the making.

To some of us the story seems to begin on January 19th, when a number of English-speaking Catholics had gone down the Appian Way to the Basilica of San Sebastiano. Professor Marucchi, who has given a lifetime to the study of subterranean Rome, was to lecture on the new excavations there, but when the little group of listeners had gathered round him, it was to hear that because of the Holy Father's grave illness, there would be no lecture—instead all were asked to go through the Catacombs in procession, saying the Litanies of the Saints for his welfare. The procession, quickly formed, wound its way through the damp and narrow passages of the Catacombs, in a vague and dreary light between the ancient graves, repeating the petitions to Saints, Martyrs, Apostles. The prayer was fervent, for to those who live within the shadow of the Vatican the events inside its walls are as their own most intimate concerns. "Povero piccolo Papa!—poor little Pope!" some of the peasants were saying, with homely compassion. Walking back to Rome, in the violet twilight, there were some who asked themselves whether this were indeed an "historic occasion."

Inside the city, the "Corriere d'Italia" was spreading grave tidings—the Holy Father was very seriously ill. There had been, it

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seemed, some days of fatigue, of coughing, of malaise, but he would not break his usual routine, had transacted business—the heavy business of the Holy See—and had given many audiences. One of the last persons to be received, noticing how frequently the Pope coughed, and feeling the fever that burned in his hands, said to him: "Holy Father, you are very unwell; you should surely take care of that cough." The Pope smiled and said: "Figlio mio, è la trombetta della morte—my son, this is the bugle of death?" His household anxiously persuaded him to stay in bed, and on Wednesday, the 18th, the official "Osservatore" announced that all audiences were suspended for the present, since His Holiness was suffering from a bronchial cold. At 4 A. M. on Thursday morning the doctors were alarmed for the first time; inflammation of the lungs seemed to be spreading rapidly, and the breathing was very weak. The Pope, suffering but conscious, asked for Holy Communion, and Monsgr. Zampini took the Blessed Sacrament from the little chapel adjoining the bedroom and gave It to him. That morning the doctor issued the first bulletin, and before evening all Rome was thoroughly alarmed. Who does not know the course of a grave illness; the long days—busy, yet somehow vacant, too—the nights like pieces out from eternity? Benedict was henceforth watched by his doctors and his household, the Noble Guard were always on duty at his door—the sad routine of sickness had begun. His nephew, Marchese della Chiesa, visited him, rising from a sick bed to do so—he came wrapped in furs and shivering with fever. The doctors ordered oxygen for the Holy Father, and this at first gave great relief; he was able to take a little food, to swallow spoonfuls of tapioca, of wine. When Dr. Battistini came before midnight on Friday—"You!" said the Pope, smiling, "why, whatever are *you* doing here at this time of night?" After the doctor's examination, he said with kindly irony, "Well, now, after all that, you surely can go to bed!" But, needless to say, the doctor stayed, and not only he, but the Cardinal Penitentiary, Fr. Basile, S. J., the Pope's confessor, and others all remained within call. An hour after midnight Benedict seemed so ill that Monsgr. Mignone said Mass in the small Chapel and gave him Communion; a little later he received Extreme Unction also. Early that morning telegrams were sent to all the Nuncios to say that the Pope was dying.

The Vatican was besieged—Cardinals, Prelates, Diplomats, gentlemen of the Pontifical court, the Roman nobility. In the Piazza of St. Peter's an immense crowd stood waiting—it is the tradition of Rome that when grave events are afoot in the Vatican, the Roman people gather in the Piazza; for good or for ill they are bound up with the Pope, and they will wait, if need be, for hours. There was

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movement now, rumors went from mouth to mouth, crowds poured into the Basilica to pray, drifted out again; across the Court of San Damaso came numbers of little children escorted by nuns; they were going to pray before the Blessed Sacrament exposed in the Pauline Chapel, to say aves for the "Santo Padre" who was so ill—their small faces were very serious. But by this time all Rome was on its knees before the Blessed Sacrament. Up in the sick room, hope—such hope as there has been—is fading. The doctors come again, they order injections of camphorated oil, examine, ask questions, get brief weary answers from the patient, "I am doing well—oh leave me to rest!" They look down with unmeasured compassion upon the small figure lying in the bed, the sallow furrowed face, the small quick hands, the eyes, once alight with intelligence, now burning with the dull fires of fever; well, let him rest if he can! Presently he rouses himself. "If Our Lord is pleased that I should work longer for the Church, I am ready, always. But if He says 'enough,' then His will be done." One of the doctors, even more moved than the rest, says brokenly, "Take me instead, Lord, but spare the Holy Father." At 5 P. M. Cardinal Gasparri, amid a profound silence, enters the hall where the Diplomatic Body are assembled, and says slowly: "I am come to tell you that there is no longer any hope whatever." It is now Saturday afternoon. Later in the evening they say to the patient: "Holy Father, let us pray for the peace of the world." He rouses himself to reply, with strange force: "Yes, yes, for the peace of the world I offer up my life!" The last night begins; for the watchers the only question is, when will it be? Benedict is quiet and conscious, he even laughs as he says to Cardinal Gasparri: "Do you know how much I have spent on medicines in the whole of my life up to now? Why, about *due cinquanta,*[1] and tomorrow, tomorrow I shall get up." His face is ghastly. Soon after midnight Monsgr. Mignone says Mass and gives the Pope Communion. Mass now follows Mass in the tiny chapel; round the dying Pontiff the swift words of the great sacrifice never cease; time seems to be standing still; life lies down—how slowly!—to ashes. It is five o'clock in the morning; the end draws near. The Cardinals gather from all parts of the palace, walking noiselessly through the vast halls; they come into the little bedroom and kneel about the bed, nor have they long to wait. Benedict keeps kissing the Crucifix; the agony is brief. Cardinal Giorgi bends down to the dying man, bends down to the pillow: "Holy Father, bless us all here, bless the world, offer your life for peace, and when you are in Heaven, pray still for peace!" Benedict rallies all his fading forces at the sound of the words, with a painful effort he raises his right

[1] Fifty cents.

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hand and traces three times the sacred sign of the Cross. The hand falls; in a few more minutes all is finished. The watchers break down, sobbing without restraint; presently they rise and kiss the thin and chilly hands.

The last sad ceremonies must be done. Soon Benedict, clothed in white soutane and red mozetta, rests in tranquility, his rosary twined round his hands. Cardinal Vico says the first Mass for the august dead. Presently the gigantic bell of St. Peter's begins to lament—the Vicar of Christ, "Christ on Earth," as St. Catherine called him, lay dead, and already a thousand live wires, carrying the tidings to the uttermost parts of the earth, were summoning the Princes of the Church to Rome. It is Sunday morning. On Monday morning they carry the dead Pope on an open bier across the great halls of the Vatican and into St. Peter's. It is a gloomy day, and in the dull light that fills the Basilica even its sumptuous marbles and gildings seem to have grown dim and lifeless. The procession moved very slowly, a long line of splendid color; the Pope's guards, Bishops, Camerieri, Religious, Cardinals, the Diplomatic Body, the Julian Choir; lastly the dead Pontiff, a figure of infinite pathos, borne among the Tombs—the splendid baroque Tombs of the later Popes. They place the bier in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel behind its closed ironwork gates, and the solemn Lying-in-State begins. For three days crowds, moving at the pace of a glacier, pass with unheard-of difficulty through the Piazza, up into St. Peter's, before the gates of the Blessed Sacrament Chapel, out again. They are silent, implacable, patient; to that last audience of Pope Benedict they will go—somehow. For three days the dead Pope, his face set into terrible lines of pain and grief, faced his people. The scene was symbolical of the whole pontificate; the Pope, at infinite cost to himself, facing the whole world, a small undaunted figure, so great at heart, so little known, so ill understood. Rome, at least, did him reverence now. The funeral itself was almost private. In the Chapel of the Choir, where the bier had been carried, the body was sprinkled with Holy Water, fumed with incense, then enclosed in a triple coffin of cypress wood, of lead, of elm. This was lowered into the Crypt, and, in the presence of the Cardinal Archpriest of the Basilica, walled up into the plain tomb prepared for it. Benedict XV lay at the feet of the Apostle, gathered to his Fathers and his brethren, men of the indefectible line of Peter.

The Catholic Church lives by law, and, after 2000 years, there are few emergencies that have not been provided for. As soon as a Pope is dead the provisional government of the Cardinal Camerlengo begins. His first duty is to make the legal attestation of the Pope's death, and to take possession of the Ring of the Fisherman.

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In order to preserve the rights of sovereignty and independence that belong to the temporal ruler of the Church, he must take up his abode in the Vatican and not leave it. The sovereignty of the late Pope is now vested in the College of Cardinals, with the Cardinal Camerlengo as head of the Executive, but their powers are temporal rather than spiritual, and even these are severely limited. For it is their duty, according to the Apostolic Constitutions, to make no innovations, but merely to see that the new Pontiff enters upon the same state of things as his predecessor left. From the moment of the Pope's death, all authority in the Pontifical Tribunals ceases; the Secretariat of Briefs, the Dataria, the Cancellaria, can no longer issue documents; business is suspended. The functions of the Secretary of State are likewise suspended, his sole duty is to send notice of the Pope's death to the proper quarters and to direct that all correspondence be addressed to the Sacred College. For transaction of the business of the interregnum, the College holds a congregation every morning; in the first of these the Ring of the Fisherman, used for sealing briefs, is broken, as well as the Seal for Bulls. Each Cardinal swears on the Gospels to observe certain Apostolic Constitutions (Pius X, "Vacante Sede," December 25, 1904; Leo XIII, "Praedecessores Nostri," with Instruction, May 24, 1882), to keep secret, therefore, according to the tenor of these Constitutions, everything referring to the election of the Pope and the doings of the Conclave until expressly dispensed from silence by the Holy Father himself; to refuse to be, in any way whatever, the agent of any civil power in proposing the Veto; finally, if elected, to be instant in asserting and vindicating the rights and liberties, even temporal, of the Holy See. Gregory X, at the 16th Council of Lyons, ordained that, for ten days after the death of a Pope, the Cardinals should wait for the coming of their colleges before beginning the election, and that, meanwhile, a Novena of Requiem Masses should be said for the soul of the Pope deceased. This is still done.[2] The solemn Conclave to elect the new Pope is now held in the Vatican, under elaborate and stringent rules said to have been suggested by the drastic action of the people of Viterbo in 1271. The seventeen Cardinals, then assembled in that place for the election of a Pope, could not agree, and for months the Holy See was vacant. The Viterbese, therefore, imprisoned the Cardinals in a certain palace and walled up the doors. To hasten the election, they hit on the ingenious plan of reducing the daily rations supplied to the electors, and they further explained that their next act would be to take the roof off the palace. Under these rather hard circumstances the

[2] Pius XI, by his Motu Proprio "Cum proxime," March 1, 1922, extends the time of waiting to fifteen days and gives the Sacred College power to extend it for three days more.

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Cardinals found that they could, after all, agree, and they even made an excellent choice—Gregory X. Hence the "Conclave," an assembly of Cardinals "locked up." Each Cardinal has, now, a little apartment put at his disposal. It consists of three or four rooms, and he can bring with him a secretary, called a "conclavist," and a servant.[8] There are also admitted cooks, barbers, doctors, a chemist and various workmen and servants. All these persons must take an oath of secrecy. The precincts of the Conclave are all the rooms surrounding the Court of San Damaso; the Cistine Chapel is the place of general meeting; Mass is said in the Pauline Chapel and Sala Ducale. The barrier that shuts in the Conclave is placed on the stair leading to the Court of San Damaso, and is guarded by Protonotaries Apostolic and other dignitaries. Prince Chigi is hereditary Marshal of the Conclave; he swears to be faithful, to guard the palace and not to allow the Sacred College to be molested. The Majordomo, remaining without, is governor of the Conclave and sees to its external affairs, supplies, etc. Thus, on February 2, 1921, there went into seclusion over fifty Cardinals, and Rome settled down into a mood of eager waiting, varied by busy—and quite futile—speculation. After the heavy days of mourning, the fierce lament of the Dies Irae, the ceremonial gloom of the Basilicas, filled with sable vestments whose thick embroideries seemed but to emphasize the darkness, after the light of yellow and massive candles, the sprinkling of lustral water, the words of the Absolutions, it was good to go, in abundant sunshine, to the Piazza of St. Peter, and to watch for the "Sfumate." Rome had passed through searing experience, still poignant; her heart was strangely empty, but the Vicar of Christ would come—when Christ willed. In the Piazza, therefore, facing the great dome, and in full sight of the Vatican, Rome waited—for three days.

Inside the Conclave, as all knew, the Princes of the Church held their high deliberations. On the first morning there was the Mass of the Holy Ghost, at which all the Cardinals received Communion from the hands of the Cardinal Camerlengo. Later they came together in the Sistine Chapel, where Michael Angelo has frescoed wall and ceiling with his immense conceptions of the story of man in this world and the next. Behind the six candles, alight on the altar, loomed the black anguish of the "Last Judgment," the lost souls, the menacing Christ; the throne of His Vicar to be was set in the Sanctuary near to the altar. Here the electors assemble twice a day for the "scrutinies." With infinite ceremony, with meticulous care, the voting is accomplished, under regulations imposed by

[8] Pius XI, Motu Proprio "Cum proxime," March 1, 1922, allows the Cardinal to introduce one person only into Conclave.

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Gregory XV in his Bull "Aeterni Patris"; the scope of these regulations is to secure free and secret voting, but to provide for a "verification" by which any vote given can, if necessary, be traced back to its author. The majority of votes required for an election is two-thirds; but should any elector vote for more than one candidate, or for himself, that vote is invalid. Each Cardinal, kneeling before the altar under Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment," swears by the Lord Christ who shall judge him that he has voted for him whom he believes should be chosen. On the altar is a chalice. Placing his vote on the paten that covers it, the Cardinal lets the paper slide into the chalice itself and retires. When this solemn act has been repeated by all the Cardinals, the votes pass through the hands of three scrutineers, each of whom reads aloud the name of the candidate it refers to; the number of votes obtained by each candidate are written down and read—this Cardinal has ten votes, that one five, and so on. Three fresh scrutineers must now verify the work of the first trio. If no candidate has received two-thirds of the votes, their Eminences retire and the voting papers are burnt; this is the famous "sfumata." Damp straw, burnt with the voting papers, produces black smoke, which can be seen from the Piazza; when the election is made, however, only the papers are burnt, and white smoke gives the signal to the waiting crowds outside. Six times during three days, smoke poured from the slender chimney; it was usually white at first, sending a thrill through the watchers, but then it turned thick and dark, clouding their hopes. It was curious to see the eager crowd holding its breath, like one man, gasping with excitement, sighing with disappointment.

On Monday, February 6th, the crowd waited for the seventh time. Rain fell, hard and straight, from a low sky; the Piazza was set thick with umbrellas and looked like an immense bed of black mushrooms. After weary hours a thin line of smoke arose, white against the heavy sky, and continued to rise—this time without any change of color! The crowd broke into excited cries and questions, the tense moments grew tenser, but all knew that the Pope just elected must don the white garments and the blood-colored stole, must receive the homage of his former peers—having no longer peer on earth—and receive the Fisherman's ring, the symbol of his authority. Presently a rumor arose and ran like lightning—the Pope was coming out! Under the beating, insistent rain, a great tapestry was hung out from the balcony over the central door of St. Peter's; Cardinal Bisleti appeared. "Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum," the words rang out in a voice of emotion, "we have a Pope, the most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinal Achilles Ratti, who has chosen the name of Pius XI." The dense packed mass broke into passionate

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acclamation. Then the Pope came, white, potent, dominating; there is wilder applause, the whole Piazza, to its utmost bounds, like a stormy sea; many were kneeling on its streaming pavement. Pius XI, standing very erect, intones: "Sit nomen Domini benedictum." His voice is strong and warm, but trembles. The whole mass of people sing the reply. "Adjutorium nostrum in nomini Domini," he chants again. Another roar of sound as the whole Piazza answers. Then the great pastoral blessing, the blessing of the august Trinity invoked upon the city, the whole earth, and, thereupon, deep, thunderous, prolonged, the acclaim by the Roman people of the Roman Pontiff. The Pope withdraws for a moment, to appear again in red cloak and wide red hat, and to bless the people once more; after fifty years a Pope has met Rome in the Piazza, face to face!

Almost a week later Pius XI received the triple crown in St. Peter's in the presence of a throng, 50,000 or more, who had waited since long before daybreak and had seen the swift saffron dawn break into the vast shadows of the vast Church. An endless procession, gorgeous, a very feast of color, began to pour up the nave some time after nine o'clock; the Pope, much moved and very pale, blessed the multitude from the Sedia Gestatoria. Then followed the slow and splendid ceremonies at the altar, the Mass of the Coronation sung by the Holy Father himself, his reception of the Pallium, the renewed homage of the Sacred College, the singing of the Litanies with the special response, "Do Thou aid him," the chanting of Epistle and Gospel in Latin and in Greek. Then the supreme moment—the new Pope, standing above the Tomb of the Apostle, holds up Host and Chalice for the earth's adoration, the magnificent guard kneel, with bared swords, the silver trumpets from the Dome speak with the tongues of men and of angels, the crowd kneels silent before Christ in the hands of His Vicar. There follows the Communion, at which the Pope stands before his throne to receive the sacred elements, sharing them with Deacon and Subdeacon. Lastly, seated on a throne before the "Confession," in the midst of the Sacred College, Pius XI was crowned. The aged Jesuit, Cardinal Billot, trembling as he held the Tiara, raised it aloft and put it on the Pope's head, naming him in the awful words of the prayer, "Father of Kings and Princes, ruler of this earth, Vicar of Christ," and the new Pontiff, rising from the throne, lifted his hands in the final blessing, calling upon saints and angels, the Virgin Mother, the All-powerful God. Robed and crowned, they bear him out in triumph; he is smiling now and giving his benedictions. It is finished and yet not all finished. The crowd, emptying St. Peter's, floods into the Piazza and there mingles, as it can, with another

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crowd that reaches as far as the eye can see—filling the side streets, covering every available roof and portico and balcony. It is a dazzling winter day. Now on the Loggia, against the immense grey facade, a vivid group gathers, ivory and scarlet, purple and gold, there is the sudden cry of music, the quivering of white enormous fans, and between them comes the Pope, still wearing the sacred Tiara—he blesses the thundering crowd, untiring in its wild applause, and blesses it again.

II.

Since February 6th, when Pius XI blessed the "city and the world" from the Loggia, there has been insistent questioning: What manner of man is this? It is a question that history will answer in due time; in the meanwhile we can put together some notes of the past. On May 31, 1857, there was born at Desio, a village twenty miles north of Milan, Achilles Ambrogio Damiano Ratti, son of Francesco Ratti and of Rosa Galli, his wife, and at Desio the child spent his early years. Destined, almost by nature, for the priestly life, he made his first studies at Milan and then passed to Rome and the famous Gregorian University, where he took the Doctorate in philosophy, theology and Canon Law. Ordained priest in 1879, he returned to Milan and for a time taught theology and rhetoric in the seminary. In 1887 he was appointed one of the "doctors" of the Ambrosian Library, and in 1907 succeeded Monsgr. Ceriani as prefect of that great institution. Later he was called to Rome by Pius X and in 1914 became director of an even greater library, the Vatican. In 1918 Benedict XV sent him as Apostolic Visitor to Poland, then in the agony of war; on June 6, 1919, he was appointed Nuncio to Warsaw, and a month later titular Archbishop of Lepanto. When the Cardinal of Milan died in the spring of 1921, Monsgr. Ratti succeeded him both as Cardinal and Archbishop, making his solemn entry into the city on September 8th, but Milan lost him again, as we have seen, only five months later. Achilles Ratti, having played many parts, has now, without any question, the supreme part of all, there is every hope that he may play it long.

He seems, indeed, much younger than his years make him. Of middle height and well built, an observer is struck at once by the activity and ease of his movements; as an Italian journalist remarked: "One cannot imagine that Achilles Ratti has ever felt embarrassed." He has the wide full forehead of an able thinker, the hair, originally fair or reddish, is now thickly mixed wtih grey; the countenance is grave and takes easily the expression of great severity, but there is an ample smile in the deep eyes behind the spectacles, a smile that dwells also on the straight, fine lips. At

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Milan they forgot that he was a scholar, feeling in him only the heart of a priest; in Rome, doubtless, the Supreme Pontiff will be thought of chiefly as a Father. He is not a great or a ready talker, but rather a searcher for accurate and significant words, this being, in him, no trait of the diplomat, but rather the natural habit of a meditative mind. His laugh, that revealer of character, is low and quiet. He gives the impression of tranquility and strength, of high serenity and firm conviction, of the patience and philosophy of one who knows books and their multifold wisdom, but has seen, also, strange cities and the uncertain ways of men. He can speak with a winning sweetness; his manner is gracious and attractive; he seems a man to win easily profound affection. Nor is he one to have much doubt of his own powers. The late Monsgr. Benson expresses somewhere his preference for a country where priests are realized to be really priests and not merely men in black coats. Italian ecclesiastics are bred among great ecclesiastical traditions; they are a priestly caste; in them are often to be found that assurance as of complete character, that finished instinct and excellent manner that are thought to be the product of literal heredity. Such men know both what they are and what they can do.

Pius XI's brother, a silk merchant in Milan, recalls the healthy vivacity of his boyhood. Desio is but a small village, but it will now, as the local chemist said with satisfaction, "go down in history." In a plain two-storied house there lived for long Francesco Ratti, the Pope's father, director of a silk factory, not a rich man, but of comfortable means.

Achilles was one of a family of six, of whom two besides himself are living—Fermo, the eldest, and Camilla, the latest born. The Ratti family claim Brianza di Rogeno as their native place, and they are of that Lombard stock, so courageous and laborious, who have not only made industrial Milan, but turned Lombardy into one immense garden. The little Achilles knew by heart its flat irrigated plains set with vines and mulberries and rich with wheat; the straight roads; the ranks of poplars that run to indefinite horizons. There is a retired solicitor living in Desio who shared the Pope's boyhood. "Achilles and I were chums," he said, "and I could tell you a lot about our games and escapades. As a boy the new Pope loved two things, books and mountains—I don't know which he loved best. When he was ten we used to go for excursions over the nearer hills; he was never tired." His first schoolmaster was a priest, Don Giuseppe Volontieri, who in fine weather taught his school in an ivy-covered pergola. Here the boy, of strong body and already competent mind, learned letters, and still better, love of letters; learned to study as if he meant it, and acquired,

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perhaps, rudiments of the fine taste that made him, in after years, a lover of Leonardo da Vinci. As we have seen, he went to Rome. Cardinal Lualdi, who was his fellow student there, and served his first Mass in San Carlo in Corso, recalls how he and Achilles, as young priests, once waited for hours in the Vatican in order to see Leo XIII. Time passed; they had apparently been forgotten, but with Lombard patience they waited on. The great Pope at last appeared, on his way back from the gardens, called them to him, said that he had heard of them from Fr. Liberatore, S. J., talked to them long about St. Thomas and sound philosophy, exorted them, as only he could exort, to zeal and learning, and sent them back to Milan with the kindliest blessing. The student years in Rome must have left their deep mark on Achilles, as they do on all in whom the faith is really alight. The Tombs of the Apostles who saw Christ, the graves of the martyrs who died for him, the memories of the Saints who so loved him, the continual suggestion, direct and oblique, of the power of organized Christianity—what stronger influences could mould a young soul? Cardinal Luardi speaks with affectionate admiration of Achilles during these years, of the firm character, the mind, made for great affairs, the clear thought and rapid decision; he was even then what we call a "marked man." In or near Milan, Fr. Ratti spent the next thirty-two years, but his work took him to Paris, Vienna, London, Oxford; he even visited Manchester. For, in 1887, he was appointed to the Ambrosian Library, and there began an immense and varied work. Founded by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo in the seventeenth century, and named after St. Ambrose, the library is one of the noblest institutions of Italy—a treasure of books, manuscripts, pictures, many of incredible value. As one of its "doctors," men whose office it is to make its treasures known, Fr. Ratti was soon deep in the study of its incunabula papyri and codices. He became an Orientalist, a student of art, an archæologist, an historian, a writer. His essays, dealing largely with Milan and its story, its early Bishops and primitive poets, as well as with its monuments, number over one hundred. Monsgr. Gramatica, who succeeded him at the Ambrosian, speaks of him as simple in his ways, and a hard worker; not a specialist in any department, but with great erudition and an excellent memory. He soon had some of the heaviest work of the great institution on his shoulders, and, as Monsgr. Gramatica says, "worked all day." He was very courteous to students, putting all his learning at their disposal; his work brought him into close touch with the learned world of all countries, an intercourse greatly facilitated by his "gift of tongues." Rome proudly reported of him, the other day, that he "spoke ten languages and understood twenty-seven"—a pardonable

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exaggeration. In 1907 it seemed to all only natural that he should succeed Monsgr. Ceriani as Prefect of the Ambrosian. Under his auspices the picture gallery was reorganized, new rooms opened, collections arranged and a guide book—a model of what such things should be—compiled. Wise reform found in him its right hand. But these full years at the Ambrosian were full also of pastoral work. He was an Oblate of St. Charles and filled with his spirit; he was chaplain to the nuns of the Cenacle Convent and their adviser in the many apostolic works they carried on. Not only that, but he himself gave Retreats and Conferences, especially to young people, and in the Church of San Sepolcro, Monsgr. Ratti of the Ambrosian might often be seen with his own special confraternity of chimney sweeps, teaching them catechism and hearing their confessions. He was confessor at the prison also, and deeply attached to the outcasts he found there. Of austere and quiet life, he gained everywhere that high praise that is given so simply by Catholics when they say "he is a good priest." Many can remember his slow, careful Mass, and his recollected prayer.

From a little boy he had loved "books and mountains"; now in his summer holidays he left the library for the Alps. He was a born mountaineer, strong, successful, cool. His friend in Desio, who shared his boyish adventures, recalls now with pride Monsgr. Ratti's prowess on the high peaks. He was the first to reach Mont Blanc from the Italian side; in 1890 he reached the Dufour Spitze on Monte Rosa, being the first to cross the Zumstein Peak. By his cool courage he once saved the life of a guide who had fallen into a crevasse. He always carried his Breviary with him and would open it at any resting place. "When he left Milan for Rome in 1913," his friend continues, "I said to him, 'You are going away with a black hat; you will come back with a red one, and in time you will arrive at a white one!'" "That," said Monsgr. Ratti, seriously, "is a tremendous prophecy!" He succeeded Fr. Ehrle, S. J., at the Vatican Library, and remained in Rome till 1918. In that year Benedict XV called him from the congenial world of books and sent him as Apostolic Visitor to Poland. In the following year he became Nuncio at Warsaw, under the new government. Since the end of the eighteenth century, Poland had been struggling both for faith and nationality, against disheartening odds; now, out of the furnace of war, she snatched her independence. The country, after five years of the great war, had its civil administration disorganized, its clergy scattered, its people, though unconquered, were in shocking conditions. Monsgr. Ratti set his cool mind to the problem; for the clergy, a rapid reorganization; for the people, food, clothes, improvised hospitals, temporary schools, shelters. To

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the schismatic population, reduced by bolshevism to degradation and despair, and needing faith even more than bread, he showed a generous charity. With the new Polish government, Monsgr. Ratti had to establish the Catholic Church in its due position and ensure its right relation to the Holy See. When the Polish armies, defeated in the field, fell back on Warsaw, there was terrible panic, and the Diplomatic Body prepared to leave the town, but the Nuncio had other views. "I shall stay," he said calmly to one of the Italian Legation, who tells the story, "even if they burn the city. The people will need me even more in that case—you see I am not just a Diplomat like the others." When it was known that the Nuncio would stay, his house was besieged by the people, wild to express their gratitude, and after the Polish victory by which Warsaw was saved it fell to him to sing the "Te Deum" in the Cathedral. "Te Deum, yes," he said, "but remember this—the mercies of the Lord that we are not consumed."

The Cardinal of Milan died in the spring of 1921, and on September 8th following Monsgr. Ratti made his solemn entry into the city as its Cardinal and Archbishop—the successor of St. Ambrose and St. Charles Borromeo. Milan received him with joy as a dear and distinguished son come back to her; on his part he gave himself, at once, to the heavy labors that Milan demands. Rising before dawn, his Mass was said at five, and business of every kind filled his days; he wrote, preached, made the Visitation of the Diocese with incredible energy, lent himself to every duty and every good work. He had not to "make his way"; Milan knew and loved him and he loved Milan. When a crowd of young men, on one occasion, greeted him with "Hurrah for the young men's Cardinal!" he had his quick answer: "Hurrah for the Cardinal's young men!" They surrounded him when he left for the Conclave, calling, "Come back to us, come back!" The Cardinal's eyes were seen to be full of tears. His sister, Camilla, says that she saw him almost every day during the months of his Archbishopric, and when he left "he told me that he wanted to come back to his dear Milan. He is very reserved and does not like to talk about himself—still he said that."

It cannot have escaped Cardinal Ratti—the rather dire possibility that he would never see Milan again. His name was in every mouth. Gasparri, Ratti, Laurenti were everywhere spoken of as what the Romans call "papabili," likely candidates, and although "he who goes into conclave a Pope comes out a Cardinal," still it was felt that the singular gifts and "moderation" of Cardinal Ratti must bring him very near to the Tiara. To one who spoke to him of the tragedy of Benedict XV's death and of the mystery of his being taken away in the midst of great work, he had answered slowly:

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"Yes, but *we* don't know; God *does* know," and he added, "Pope Benedict had a presentiment. On the day he gave me the Hat he was very merry, but he said: 'Today there has been a great distribution of red; well, soon there will be a giving of white!'" Possibly Cardinal Ratti, also, had his presentiments, for on leaving the Lombard College to go into Conclave, he asid to the students: "God's will be done! But—pray for me." To the French Cardinals who, meeting him on the last day of the Conclave, expressed the hope that it was the last time they would call him "Eminence," he made answer: "God save me! I prayed at Mass today that it may not come." "And we," replied the courtly Frenchmen, "have prayed that it may!"

Of what happened when the high honor did "come," Cardinal Mercier has told us. When asked: "Do you accept your election now canonically made?" Cardinal Ratti sat for long in silence, with bowed head, and the Sacred College waited. At last he looked up. "It must not be said that I resisted the will of God, that I despised the desires of my colleagues, that I refused the burden; therefore, in spite of my unfitness, I do accept." "And what name do you choose?" Again the weighty pause. "I was born under a Pius, a Pius called me to Rome; it is a name of peace—I will be called Pius." Another pause. "And, without prejudice to the rights of the Church which I have sworn to defend, I will give my blessing from the outer Loggia—to Rome, to Italy, to the whole world!" He was very calm and seemed at once to forget himself; to each Cardinal he spoke in his native tongue—French, English, Spanish, German, Polish; to an English Cardinal's secretary he said words of sympathy on the recent death of his mother. He sent his warmly worded messages: "To my beloved Milan, my first blessing!" To England, "the widest and deepest blessing it is my power to give." To America, "My blessing with all my heart; I have always loved the American people. I hope they will now learn to love me." This, then, is the man who, with the happiest auguries, has succeeded to the See of Blessed Peter—the 261st of his line.

III.

Since 1870, as all know, the Holy See has been in thoroughly abnormal conditions and the "Roman Question" has been matter of continual and thorny debate. It was thought, in some quarters, that at the peace conference after the great war, this difficult problem might receive attention. But the policy of Benedict XV, who persistently sought peace by agreement, must always have prevented him from entering a conference assembled to deal with the conditions of a peace imposed by victors upon vanquished. The secret

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treaty with the allies, made by Italy on entering the war in 1915, had a clause excluding the Pope from any future peace conference—a clause perfectly idle, since he could never have contemplated entering it. But Benedict XV, who seemed to the shortsighted to be pursuing a policy predestined to failure, in an incrediby short space of time reaped a harvest as unexpected as satisfying. Europe had scarcely laid down her arms when she turned to the Holy See, desiring to set up or to renew diplomatic relations with the Vatican. England, of course, had established relations in 1916; France, "too great a lady to go up the back stairs," as Cardinal Merry del Val said, came back with fitting éclat in 1921, after a breach of seventeen years; the new states pressed for representation.

The Pope, who had been alternately abused as pro-German and pro-Ally, was now recognized to have been precisely what he had proclaimed himself—neutral. Many who had poured scorn on the idea of neutrality were now forced to see its courageous prudence, in view of supernatural ends. Before the war the Holy See had diplomatic relations with about half a dozen states; now relations were established with twenty-five. As against five Nuncios and two Internuncios before the war, the Vatican now sent out nineteen of the former and five of the latter. Diplomatic relations, it must be remembered, are for the Pope, no mere matter of honor or prestige, but it is through these accredited channels that interests, spiritual and verging on spiritual, are safeguarded. On the other hand, the disadvantages for a state, Catholic or non-Catholic, of no representation at the Vatican are very great, as the Allies discovered at the beginning of the war. France and England have, of course, remedied that. But Italy remains, legally, exactly as she was in 1870. Legally, but not morally. For the fires of revolution die down and religion and common sense get once more a patient hearing. The men of the Risorgimento felt a bitter aversion from the Papacy, a feeling which the taking of Rome only intensified, inevitably so, since the wrongdoer seldom pardons his victim. But a generation has grown up who had nothing to do with 1870, who finds United Italy a *fait accompli*, and desires to be, at once, good Catholics and good Italians. As the result of the great war, the numbers of those who, as the "Corriere della Sera" put it, "cannot endure a division between religion and patriotism" has greatly increased. That the Pope should be alienated from Italy, and Italy from the Pope, they feel to be intolerable. Now when a position is felt to be intolerable, there is usually found a way out of it. There has been, of late, wide acknowledgment, in the more reputable newspapers, that the traditional arguments for the real and visible independence of the Holy See are perfectly valid. As one newspaper summed up the position,

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"the Pope can be neither King of Italy nor yet Chaplain to the King." That is an immense advance in reason on the attitude that dictated the Laws of Guarantees. To sovereignty and independence the Holy See has, of course, inalienable claims, but what territorial and other safeguards for these the Pope may be willing to accept is evidently a matter for his own decision.

Is there near prospect of a rapprochment? Much of the water of this earth has run into the sea since 1870. The scandal of a Catholic country being alienated from the Holy See has been set in clearer light; the disadvantage to any state of being out of touch with a supernational institution like the Catholic Church has become far more evident; the special political interests of Italy are seen to be jeopardized in many ways by the present position. Ministers, especially Signor Nitti, are desirous of having the Roman question solved. Unofficially there is good feeling and good relations—the recent action of the Italian government on the occasion of the death of Benedict XV, the Conclave, and the Coronation are proof of this. The miseries of the war, shared in common, have visibly unified the country. Now Italy, new, shivering, united only on paper, in dread of the Pope as foe of her unity, was one thing, but Italy consolidated and ardent, even the Facisti excesses are witness to her ardor, can "afford," as the "Corriere della Sera" said, to deal generously with the Church. Perhaps it is a little odd to talk of generosity—but we let that pass.

It follows that we may, according to the signs, be on the eve of great changes, great reconciliations. And yet, as the Roman correspondent of the "Tablet" remarked in that paper some little time ago, no one can live in Rome without being conscious of a current of feeling, conservative and cautious, that sets in the direction of "letting well alone." Stone walls do not a prison make, and iron bars may be a protection rather than the reverse. There were those who did not like the cry of "Viva il Papa Italiano" at the Coronation; those who are inclined to ask themselves whether a Concordat with Italy would not partly damage the Pope's influence in other countries, even the blessing from the Loggia that thrilled all hearts brought its after mood, one seemed to see the Holy Father driving on the Pincio, and began forthwith to speculate on the power of mystery and remoteness! So are men made, looking "before and after," afraid of great steps, apt to linger in the enclosed garden of things that seem safe because they are known. And yet, who, in 1870, can have looked forward to the imprisonment of the Pope in the Vatican except with a cold dismay? Only one thing is certain. If Italy should make fitting and honorable proposals, if Pius XI should judge that the time had come to accept them, and end the

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long separation of Church and State, Catholics everywhere would have but one sentiment, confidence in his wisdom and willingness to do whatever in them lay to forward his views. The Church has in reality no "interests" to serve, except the interests of souls, and under Pius XI, as under Pius IX, Leo XIII and Pius X, it is those interests alone that the Pope has to consider.

MARY G. CHADWICK.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Jesuits, 1534-1921. A History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time. By Thomas J. Campbell, S. J. 8vo., pp. xvi-930. New York: Catholic Encyclopedia Press.

The trite saying that this book supplies a long felt want, takes on a special meaning when applied to Father Campbell's History of the Society of Jesus from the Beginning to the Present Time. No individual or organization has been more closely connected with the history of the Church and with the affairs of men than the Jesuit, and the Society of Jesus, since its foundation in 1534; and no individual or organization has, during that time, been more frequently misunderstood, savagely attacked and unjustly calumniated.

Because of the importance of the Society and its great activity in every field of endeavor since its inception, it has been almost impossible to confine its history, however briefly told, within the covers of one volume, even a large one. Heretofore, we have had histories of prominent individuals of the Society, of special events, or certain epochs in its history, or of labors in particular countries, but no full history in brief form. And yet that was very much needed. It is impossible for the ordinary reader or student, no matter how studious, to follow these special histories. He has not the opportunity, even if he had the time, for where can he find them? No public library contains them, and there are very few, if any, Catholic libraries that are complete in this respect, outside of our higher institutions of learning, and especially those belonging to the Society.

Father Campbell knew this well because of his long and wide experience with busy men, particularly in the city of New York. Therefore he took up this very difficult and laborious task which has just been brought to completion. Already it is being commended and quoted on all sides. Everywhere we hear Catholic men saying: "Just what we wanted."

Father Campbell has already made us his debtors by several learned historical works, but this will be his monument. Nor could he have erected a more lasting and honorable one. It reflects credit on himself, on the Society, and on the Church.

A Dream of Heaven; and Other Discourses. By Rev. Robert Kane, S. J. 12mo., pp. 222. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Generally a book which is a collection of units takes its name from the first. In this case the order is reversed, and the title is taken from the last sermon in the volume which was preached in

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Dublin on New Year's Eve, 1914. The collection is made up of sermons and lectures, seventeen in number, that were delivered on important occasions between 1896 and 1918.

There are three for St. Patrick's Day, three on Irish national subjects, one for the opening of the new century, one on Purgatory, and one on Heaven. The others include such subjects as church jubilees, the Holy Name, the Beatification of Madame Barat, and some literary topics.

Father Kane is well known as a preacher in his own country, but his fame extends further through three other volumes of sermons that have been already published, and a volume of lectures. The very fact that he has been chosen so frequently, on important occasions, is a guarantee of his ability. One is not disappointed in his expectations when he takes up this volume. He comes face to face with a well-read, well-informed, vigorous thinker, who expresses his thoughts in clear, convincing language arranged in logical order.

Perhaps the preacher is at his best when he treats of Irish subjects, because he is especially well equipped in that field, and he speaks with more than ordinary vigor.

The sermon preached on the occasion of the Seventh Centenary of the Foundation of the Dominican Order is a fine specimen of historical oratory, while the lecture on Lection as a fine art is excellent from a literary point of view.

Taken altogether, the book is very interesting for the reader, and very useful for the writer and preacher, who may be called on for similar occasions, and may not have the opportunity to look up, which the importance of the subject demands.

Loreto, Eine geschischts-kritische Untersuchung de Frage des Heiligen Hauses. Von Professor Dr. Georg Hüffer. 2 vols., pp. 288-206. Aschendorf, Münster: 1913-1921.

One prominent reviewer of this book styles it the last word on Loreto. We feel inclined to say, Deo Gratias. Differences of opinion in families concerning some question that cannot be absolutely settled one way or the other, while permissible, are hardly edifying, and invariably lead to dissension of a more or less serious nature, with show of temper, harsh words, and questioning of motives.

Of course, we all want historic truth, but in some cases we cannot get it. When a truth is founded on tradition which cannot be traced to its origin, but which has much corroborative evidence in its favor, the wisdom of discussing it indefinitely, without any additional evidence of real value on either side, is very questionable. There is always the danger of confusing an historic fact with tradition, and demanding the same proof for the latter as for the

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former. If this could be furnished, there would no longer be any question of tradition.

Let us consider the case before us. There is a small house at Loreto which is said to be the house in which the Blessed Virgin was born at Nazareth, in which the angel Gabriel appeared to her and in which the Word was made Flesh. Tradition says that it was carried by angels from Nazareth to Loreto hundreds of years ago and that it rested temporarily at two other places before finally occupying the present site. There is nothing to prove that angels moved this house. There are some frescoes, more or less ancient, of angels carrying a house through the air, which probably refer to this tradition, but that cannot be proven.

Now, in favor of the tradition, we have a small house at Loreto which has been known for centuries as the Holy House of Nazareth; it is enclosed within other walls, but rests on no foundation; the materials of which it is constructed—the stone and mortar, or cement—are not the kind of which other houses at Loreto are constructed, but do correspond with like materials used at Nazareth in ancient times; pilgrims from all parts of the world have visited the shrine in large numbers, have reverenced it as the Holy House of Nazareth, have professed their faith in it, have asked favors of God through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin in reward for that faith and in approval of it, and their prayers have been answered, even to the working of miracles.

Among these pilgrims we find the names of such illustrious saints as Charles Borromeo, Francis de Sales, Ignatius Loyola, Alphonsus Ligouri, besides other distinguished men and women. The tradition has been further honored with the approval of forty-seven Popes, including Leo XIII in 1894.

Now, against the tradition we have the assertion that there is no authentic document to prove it. Of course not. If there was, it would no longer be a tradition, but a proven historic fact.

It is further said that certain documents which have been quoted to prove the tradition have been shown to be spurious. But what is the conclusion? The tradition has not been proven by those documents, but neither has it been disproven; nor does it follow that authentic undiscovered documents do not exist. It is generally admitted now that Canon Chevalier, the chief representative of the negative side, pressed his evidence too far and overstated his case in his book, Notre Dame de Loreto, 1906. There are more distinguished authorities on the other side. Much is made of the fact that pilgrims to the Holy Land in ancient times did not find any house like this venerated at Nazareth. But that is another negative argument. The knowledge of it may have been lost with the passage

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of time; God may not have wished to make it known for some good reason; maybe the inhabitants of Nazareth were not worthy of so holy a relic; it may have been buried for ages, as other monuments of antiquity—even whole cities have been. It is true that a cave was shown as the abode of the Blessed Virgin, but that was only a tradition, as so many other shrines are only traditions.

Some writers say there is no account of the disappearance of any house from Nazareth until the sixteenth century. But do we generally find a record of the disappearance of every building, no matter how insignificant, in every town and village throughout the world? Is it not easier to imagine a deserted, decaying small cottage in an out-of-the-way place, completely overlooked and forgotten by the people. Or again, may it not have been buried, and if we are prepared to believe that God wished to preserve it or restore it, could he not as easily reconstruct it, even though it had completely disintegrated.

Even though there be documentary evidence to prove that a church of the Blessed Virgin existed at Loreto in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, before the translation, this does not necessarily disprove the translation.

Dr. Hüffer has made this question the subject of constant and painstaking study for many years. He approaches it in a reverent spirit and he treats it in a scholarly manner. He covers the whole field in an exhaustive way and his method is clear and logical. His first volume, dealing with the western evidence, appeared in 1913. The completion of the work was delayed by the late war. But in the meantime his critics were busy. They did not spare him and although his reply to them is tardy, on account of unavoidable delay of publication, it is for the same reason all the more complete and takes up more than thirty pages of an appendix to the second volume, which is dated 1921.

Professor Hüffer lays special stress on the reasonable certainty that a shrine of the Blessed Virgin existed at Loreto for a century or more before the alleged translation; upon the intrinsic improbability of the miracle itself; upon the absence of any direct testimony for nearly two hundred years after the supposed event; and upon the improbability, if not the impossibility, that the house of Loreto should have been detached from the cave at Nazareth which was the traditional residence of the Holy Family throughout the middle ages, and was visited by many pilgrims.

No one interested in this question at all can ignore Dr. Hüffer's work, which brings all the light possible at this moment to bear on the question, and it may well be that nothing more can be said on the subject in the future without some special revelation.

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Writers of Three Centuries, 1789-1914. By Claude C. H. Williamson. 12mo., pp. 515. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.

At first sight this title is startling. One might very well ask, is it possible to treat of the writers of three centuries in a 12mo. volume, in such a way as to amuse or instruct the reader? A glance at the inside of the book furnishes the answer. It is not the author's purpose to give a complete course in English literature. Therefore he does not include all the writers of three centuries, nor does he treat any of them in an exhaustive manner. The book is a collection of essays of variable length on writers—or perhaps, we should say, the principal writers between the time of the French Revolution and the Great War. Each is a brief study of a literary problem, or part of one, in which the author considers writers as personalities under the action of spiritual forces, or as so many forces themselves. By this method the reader gets a bird's-eye view of the field.

The author tells us that he is attempting to set right certain regulations which, owing to our general habit of reading quickly, and lazily accepting the current view of the case, are in danger of losing their proper proportion. He tells us also that formal criticism is not his purpose. "In fact," he says, "the book is only a kind of Bradshaw for amateurs." In this way he hopes to give the reader a bird's-eye view of the field, so that seeing generally what is contained there, he may be tempted to make a descent of his own, and investigate for himself more adequately the studies and thoughts which are merely suggested.

To avoid lengthening the book, quotations are not given, more is the pity, for well selected quotations, however brief, do more to prove a statement than any amount of comment.

As to the make-up of the audience that is addressed, the writer says: "I have written neither for schoolboys nor professors of literature, but for the class of cultivated and ignorant men and women to which I myself belong." Finally, "No more than a loose adhesion, more in spirit than in letter, has been attempted."

There are seventy-five essays in all, and they deal almost altogether with English authors, including only a few of other nationalities. They begin with Rousseau and end with Rupert Brooke, who died in the Great War. Before turning to the last page, we fully expected and hoped to find the name of our own Joyce Kilmer there, for no poet of modern times who laid down his life for his country in the recent great international struggle, is more worthy of a place in such goodly company. He was a poet who needs no apologist. A saintly, manly man, living with God, though moving among men, his thoughts were pure, bright, elevating and ennobling and were expressed in liquid words.

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Pages 701-704 = Table of Contents. Bd. at front of vol.

But it is not fair to blame this book for what it does not contain; let us rather praise it for what it is.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Williamson's essays, and their name ought to be legion, because he is a frequent contributor to the best magazines here and abroad, need not any assurance that in this book he is at his best. His analysis of authors and their purpose will help very much to a correct understanding of them and a better appreciation of them, while his language and style make the perusal of the book a pleasure rather than a task.

We should like to see the volume in the hands of high school and college students generally. It would be a great help to them in the study of literature.

Great Penitents. By Rev. Hugh Francis Blunt, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 245. New York: The Macmillan Co.

"Unless you do penance you shall all likewise perish." But the sacred writer says: "All men are sinners." Therefore all saints are penitents. Following out this line of reasoning, we might say that the lives of great penitents would fill many volumes. But the term penitent saint has a special meaning, and is applied only to those saints who were notorious sinners before their conversion, either because of some one great sin or because they led habitually sinful lives. But it is not of such as these the author speaks. He rather abstracts from the best known of the penitents and gives his attention to those less known, and he also introduces us to some penitents who have not been canonized at all. His list includes eleven persons altogether, with a twelfth chapter made up of short sketches of several others and called "A Litany of Penitents."

Those noticed in extenso are: The Fool of God (St. John of God), The Jesuates, The Gambler, St. Camillus de Lellis, Abbot de Ranci, Silvio Pellico, Paul Teval, Father Hermann—Musician and Monk, J. B. Carpeaux, Francois Coppeé, J. K. Huysmans, and Paul Verlaine.

The author tells us that in his selection of penitents his purpose has been to show that every age is an age of penitence; that every day the Prodigal Son is returning in the twentieth century as well as in the third. The men whose stories are told here are witnesses to the wisdom and beauty of the penitential life.

The author hopes that his book will be of service in providing spiritual reading to the individual and to communities; that priests may find in it many hints for addresses to sodalities and other societies.

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CONTENTS, JANUARY, 1921

VOLUME XLVI. NUMBER 181.

I. VENERABLE DON BOSCO,
R. F. O'Connor, 1

II. CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA,
Marc F. Vallette, LL. D., 29

III. THE LIMITATIONS OF REALISM IN MODERN FICTION,
J. B. Jacobi, 55

IV. ICELAND BEFORE AND AFTER THE REFORMATION,
Darley Dale, 70

V. CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: A MODERN REPUBLIC,
Herbert F. Wright, 91

VI. PLANTS AND FLOWERS,
Harriette Wilbur, 104

VII. THE INSPIRATION OF JOSEPH MARY PLUNKET,
James F. Cassidy, B. A., 126

VIII. POST-REFORMATION FEATURES OF ENGLISH DRINKING,
E. Von Rycken Wilson, 134

IX. THE POETRY AND ROMANCE OF THE SPANISH MISSIONS,
Thomas O'Hagan, Ph. D., Litt. D., 156

X. VENICE,
E. Leahy, 166

XI. BOOK REVIEWS, 174

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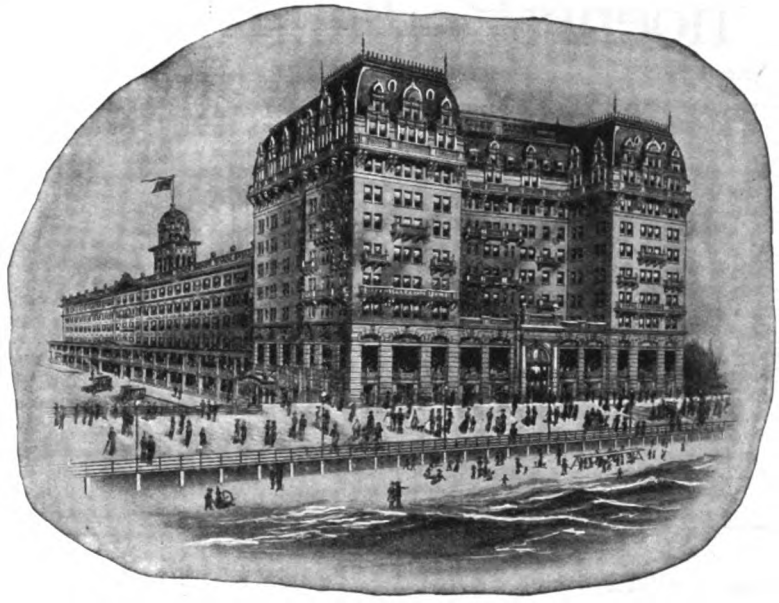
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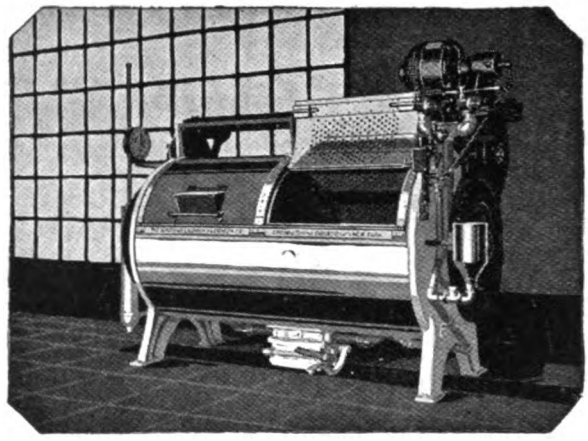
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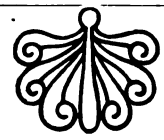
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	No. 100	No. 200	7 days	28 days
1901	93.8	78.2	264	352
1902	96.8	80.8	275	433
1903	96.1	79.1	272	335
1904	95.0	75.9	290	368
1905	94.9	76.4	278	370
1906	94.2	78.6	311	384
1907	96.6	86.1	301	372
1908	95.9	79.3	279	356
1909	96.2	78.5	256	330
1910	96.7	79.4	353	432
1911	97.3	81.3	369	449
1912	97.0	79.9	364	456
1913	97.8	82.5	359	456
1914	97.8	83.2	388	470
1915	97.6	81.6	372	447
Average for 15 years	96.2	79.7	315	401
The Specifications for the American for Testing Materials are	92.0	75.0	200	275

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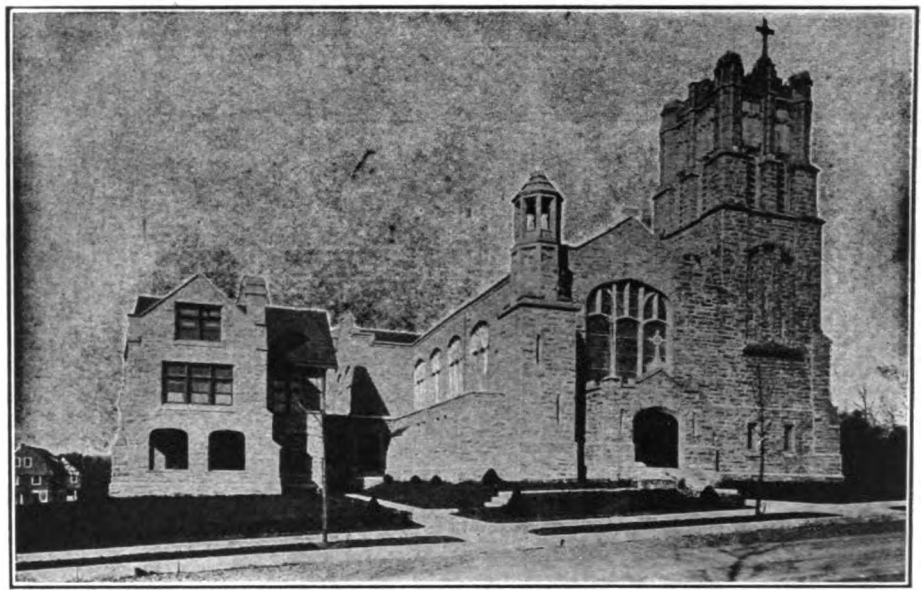
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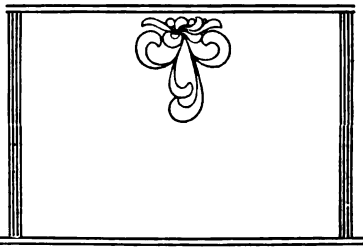
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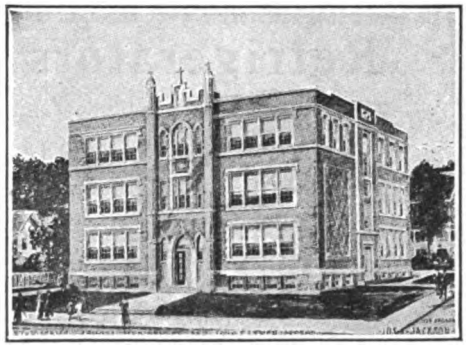
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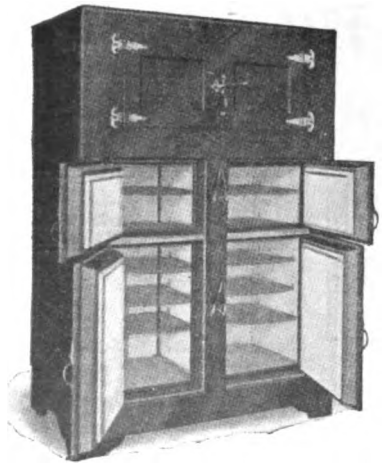
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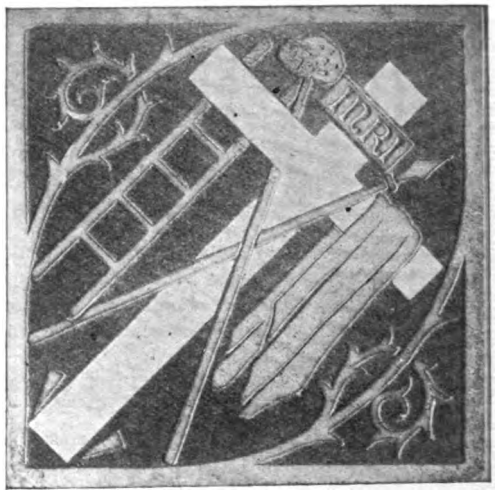
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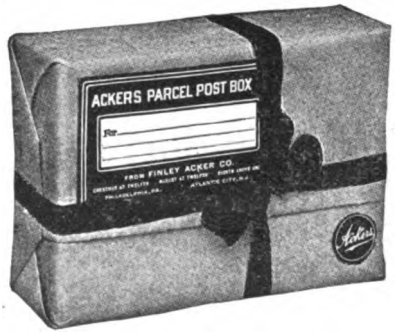
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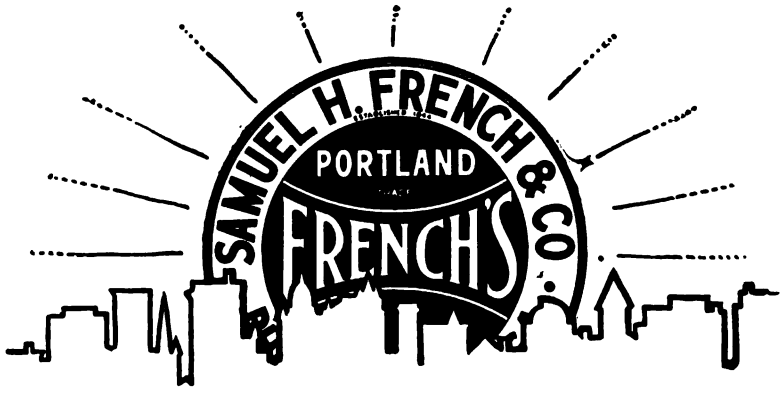
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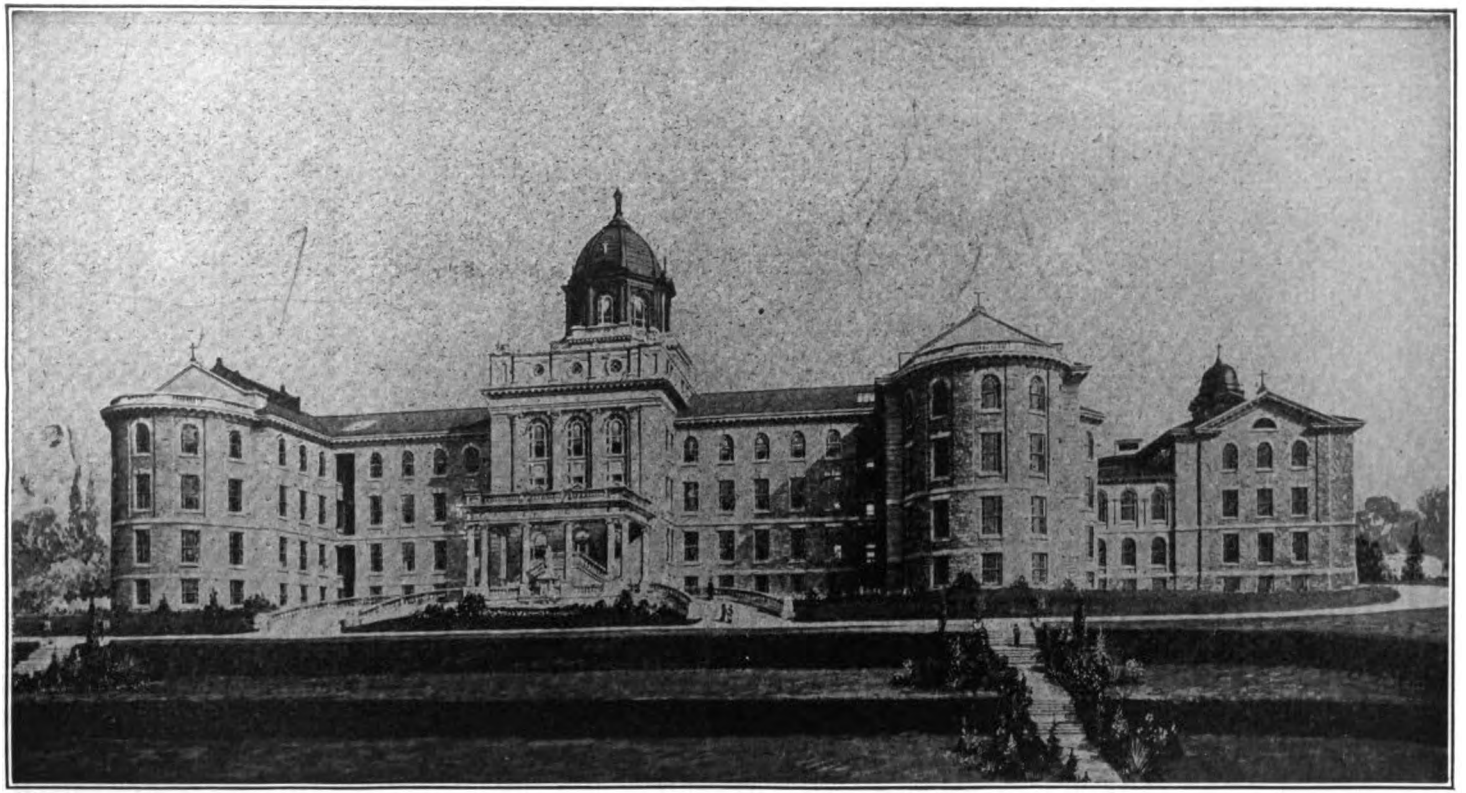
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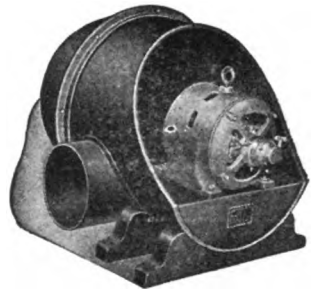
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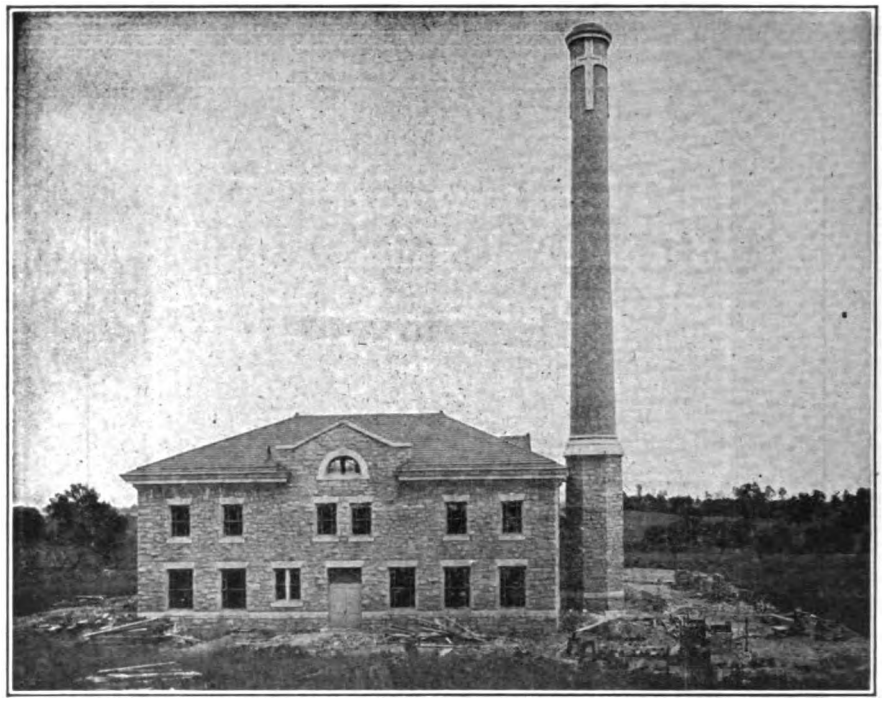
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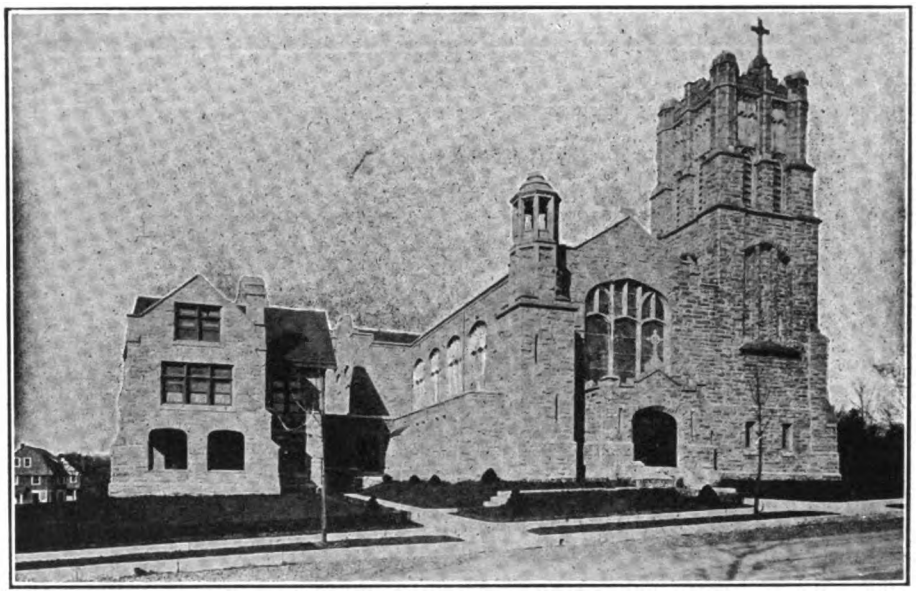
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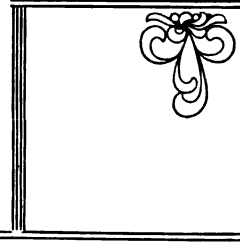
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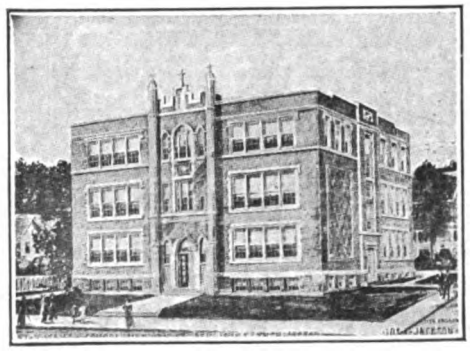
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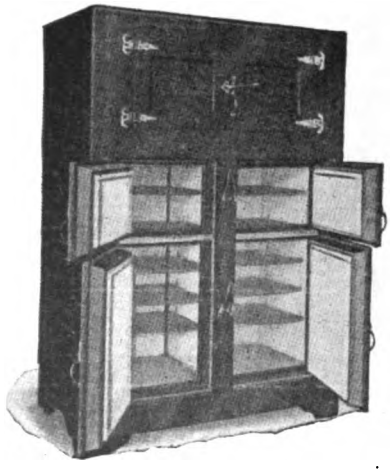
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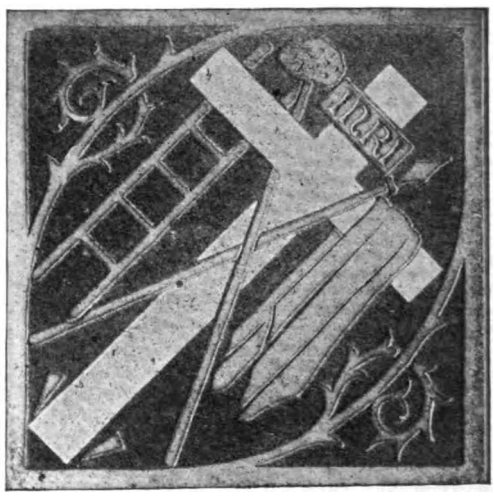
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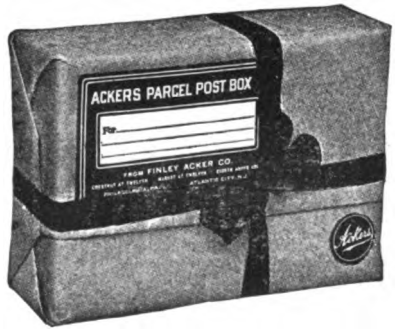
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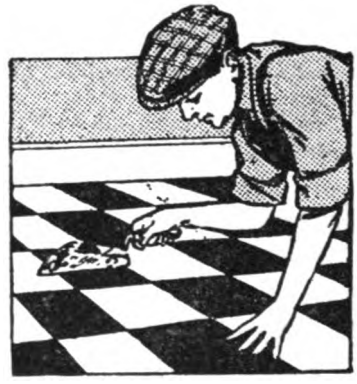
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